

**RESISTANCE TOWARD SUBORDINATION WOMEN IN
THE BREADWINNER NOVEL BY DEBORAH ELLIS:
A FEMINIST STUDY.**

REFERENCES

Submitted to the School of Foreign Language - JIA as a partial fulfillment of requirements for the undergraduate degree in English Literature Programme



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M.H. Abrams
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A Glossary of Literary Terms

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novel: The term “novel” is applied to a great variety of writings that have in common only the attribute of being extended works of *fiction* written in prose. As an extended narrative, the novel is distinguished from the *short story* and from the work of middle length called the *novelette*; its magnitude permits a greater variety of characters, greater complication of plot (or plots), ampler development of milieu, and more sustained exploration of character and motives than do the shorter, more concentrated modes. As a narrative written in prose, the novel is distinguished from the long narratives in verse of Geoffrey Chaucer, Edmund Spenser, and John Milton which, beginning with the eighteenth century, the novel has increasingly supplanted. Within these limits the novel includes such diverse works as Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela* and Laurence Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy*; Jane Austen’s *Emma* and Virginia Woolf’s *Orlando*; Charles Dickens’ *Pickwick Papers* and Henry James’ *The Wings of the Dove*; Leo Tolstoy’s *War and Peace* and Franz Kafka’s *The Trial*; Ernest Hemingway’s *The Sun Also Rises* and James Joyce’s *Finnegans Wake*; Doris Lessing’s *The Golden Notebook* and Vladimir Nabokov’s *Lolita*.

The term for the novel in most European languages is **roman**, which is derived from the medieval term, the *romance*. The English name for the form, on the other hand, is derived from the Italian **novella** (literally, “a little new thing”), which was a short tale in prose. In fourteenth-century Italy, there was a vogue for collections of such tales, some serious and some scandalous; the best known of these collections is Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, which is still available in English translation at any well-stocked bookstore. Currently the term “novella” (or in the German form, *Novelle*) is often used as an equivalent for *novelette*: a prose fiction of middle length, such as Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* or Thomas Mann’s *Death in Venice*. (See under *short story*.)

T H E

SECOND SEX

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DREAMS, FEARS, IDOLS

sure, but there have always been free women — that is, women of religious and social dignity. They accepted man's sovereignty and he did not feel menaced by a revolt that could make of him in turn the object. Woman thus seems to be the inessential who never goes back to being the essential, to be the absolute Other, without reciprocity. This conviction is dear to the male, and every creation myth has expressed it, among others the legend of Genesis, which, through Christianity, has been kept alive in Western civilization. Eve was not fashioned at the same time as the man; she was not fabricated from a different substance, nor of the same clay as was used to model Adam: she was taken from the flank of the first male. Not even her birth was independent; God did not spontaneously choose to create her as an end in herself and in order to be worshipped directly by her in return for it. She was destined by Him for man; it was to rescue Adam from loneliness that He gave her to him, in her mate was her origin and her purpose; she was his complement in the order of the inessential. Thus she appeared in the guise of privileged prey. She was nature elevated to transparency of consciousness; she was a conscious being, but naturally submissive. And therein lies the wondrous hope that man has often put in woman: he hopes to fulfil himself as a being by carnally possessing a being, but at the same time confirming his sense of freedom through the docility of a free person. No man would consent to be a woman, but every man wants women to exist. 'Thank God for having created woman.' 'Nature is good since she has given women to men.' In such expressions man once more asserts with naive arrogance that his presence in this world is an ineluctable fact and a right, that of woman a mere accident — but a very happy accident. Appearing as the Other, woman appears at the same time as an abundance of being in contrast to that existence the nothingness of which man senses in himself; the Other, being regarded as the object in the eyes of the subject, is regarded as *en soi*; therefore as a being. In woman is incarnated in positive form the lack that the existent carries in his heart, and it is in seeking to be made whole through her that man hopes to attain self-realization.

She has not represented for him, however, the only incarnation of the Other, and she has not always kept the same importance throughout the course of history. There have been moments when she has been eclipsed by other idols. When the City or the State devours the citizen, it is no longer possible for him to be occupied with his personal destiny. Being dedicated to the State, the Spartan woman's condition was above that of other Greek women. But it is also true that she was transfigured by no masculine dream. The cult of the leader, whether he be Napoleon,

INTRODUCTION

men began to view the matter objectively. Diderot, among others, strove to show that woman is, like man, a human being. Later John Stuart Mill came fervently to her defence. But these philosophers displayed unusual impartiality. In the nineteenth century the feminist quarrel became again a quarrel of partisans. One of the consequences of the industrial revolution was the entrance of women into productive labour, and it was just here that the claims of the feminists emerged from the realm of theory and acquired an economic basis, while their opponents became the more aggressive. Although landed property lost power to some extent, the bourgeoisie clung to the old morality that found the guarantee of private property in the solidity of the family. **Woman was ordered back into the home the more harshly as her emancipation became a real menace. Even within the working class the men endeavoured to restrain woman's liberation, because they began to see the women as dangerous competitors — the more so because they were accustomed to work for lower wages.**¹

In proving woman's inferiority, the anti-feminists then began to draw not only upon religion, philosophy, and theology, as before, but also upon science — biology, experimental psychology, etc. At most they were willing to grant 'equality in difference' to the *other* sex. That profitable formula is most significant; it is precisely like the 'equal but separate' formula of the Jim Crow laws aimed at the North American Negroes. As is well known, this so-called equalitarian segregation has resulted only in the most extreme discrimination. The similarity just noted is in no way due to chance, for whether it is a race, a caste, a class, or a sex that is reduced to a position of inferiority, the methods of justification are the same. 'The eternal feminine' corresponds to 'the black soul' and to 'the Jewish character'. True, the Jewish problem is on the whole very different from the other two — to the anti-Semite the Jew is not so much an inferior as he is an enemy for whom there is to be granted no place on earth, for whom annihilation is the fate desired. But there are deep similarities between the situation of woman and that of the Negro. Both are being emancipated today from a like paternalism, and the former master class wishes to 'keep them in their place' — that is, the place chosen for them. In both cases the former masters lavish more or less sincere eulogies, either on the virtues of 'the good Negro' with his dormant, childish, merry soul — the submissive Negro — or on the merits of the woman who is 'truly feminine' — that is, frivolous, infantile, irresponsible — the submissive woman. In both cases the dominant class bases its argument on a state of affairs that it has itself created. As George Bernard Shaw puts

¹ See Part II, pp. 136-8.

SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: THE
JOB AND THE VOTE

IT might well have been expected that the Revolution would change the lot of woman. It did nothing of the sort. That middle-class Revolution was respectful of middle-class institutions and values and it was accomplished almost exclusively by men. It is important to emphasize the fact that throughout the Old Regime it was the women of the working classes who as a sex enjoyed most independence. Woman had the right to manage a business and she had all the legal powers necessary for the independent pursuit of her calling. She shared in production as seamstress, laundress, burnisher, shopkeeper, and so on; she worked either at home or in small places of business; her material independence permitted her a great freedom of behaviour: a woman of the people could go out, frequent taverns, and dispose of her body as she saw fit almost like a man; she was her husband's associate and equal. It was on the economic, not on the sexual plane that she suffered oppression. In the country the peasant woman took a considerable part in farm labour; she was treated as a servant; frequently she did not eat at the table with her husband and sons, she slaved harder than they did, and the burdens of maternity added to her fatigue. But as in ancient agricultural societies, being necessary to man she was respected by him; their goods, their interests, their cares were all in common; she exercised great authority in the home. These are the women who, out of the midst of their hard life, might have been able to assert themselves and demand their rights; but a tradition of timidity and of submissiveness weighed on them. The *cahiers* of the States-General contained but few feminine claims, and these were restricted to keeping men out of women's occupations. And certainly women were to be seen beside their men in demonstrations and riots; these women went to seek at Versailles 'the baker, his wife, and his little journeyman'. But it was not the common people who led the Revolution and enjoyed its fruits.

As for the middle-class women, some ardently took up the cause of liberty, such as Mme Roland and Lucile Desmoulins. One of them who had a profound influence on the course of events was Charlotte Corday when she assassinated Marat. There was some feminist agitation. Olympe

THE SECOND SEX

de Gouges proposed in 1789 a 'Declaration of the Rights of Woman', equivalent to the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man', in which she asked that all masculine privilege be abolished; but she perished before long on the scaffold. Short-lived journals appeared, and fruitless efforts were made by a few women to undertake political activities.

In 1790 the right of the eldest and the masculine prerogative in inheritance were abolished; girls and boys became equals in this respect. In 1792 a law was passed establishing divorce and thus relaxing matrimonial bonds. But these were only insignificant victories. Middle-class women were too well integrated in the family to feel any definite solidarity as a sex; they did not constitute a separate caste capable of imposing claims: economically they led a parasitic existence. Thus it was that while women who, in spite of their sex, could have taken part in events were prevented from doing so on account of their class, those belonging to the active class were condemned to stand aside as being women. When economic power falls into the hands of the workers, then it will become possible for the working-woman to win rights and privileges that the parasitic woman, noble or middle-class, has never obtained.

During the Revolution woman enjoyed a liberty that was anarchic. But when society underwent reorganization, she was firmly enslaved anew. From the feminist point of view, France was ahead of other countries; but unfortunately for the modern Frenchwoman, her status was decided during a military dictatorship; the Code Napoléon, fixing her lot for a century, greatly retarded her emancipation. Like all military men, Napoleon preferred to see in woman only a mother; but as heir to a bourgeois revolution, he was not one to disrupt the structure of society and give the mother pre-eminence over the wife. He forbade the investigation of paternity; he set stern conditions for the unwed mother and the natural child. The married woman herself, however, did not find refuge in her dignity as mother; the feudal paradox was perpetuated. Girl and wife were deprived of the attribute of citizenship, which prevented them from practising law and acting as guardian. But the celibate woman, the spinster, enjoyed full civil powers, while marriage preserved the old dependency. The wife owed *obedience* to her husband; he could have her condemned to solitary confinement for adultery and get a divorce from her; if he killed her, caught in the act, he was excusable in the eyes of the law; whereas the husband was liable to penalty only if he brought a concubine into the home, and it was in this case only that the wife could obtain a divorce from him. The man decided where to live and had much more authority over the children than did the wife; and, except where the

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wife managed a commercial enterprise, his authorization was necessary for her to incur obligations. Her person and property were both under rigorous marital control.

During the nineteenth century jurisprudence only reinforced the rigours of the Code. Divorce was abolished in 1826, and was not restored until 1884, when it was still very difficult to obtain. The middle class was never more powerful, but it was uneasy in its authority, mindful of the menaces implied in the industrial revolution. **Woman was declared made for the family, not for politics; for domestic cares and not for public functions.** Auguste Comte declared that there were radical differences, physical and moral, between male and female which separated them profoundly, especially in the human race. Femininity was a kind of 'prolonged infancy' that set woman aside from 'the ideal of the race' and enfeebled her mind. He foresaw the total abolition of female labour outside the home. In morality and love woman might be set up as superior; but man acted, while she remained in the home without economic or political rights.

Balzac expressed the same ideal in more cynical terms. In the *Physiologie du mariage* he wrote: 'The destiny of woman and her sole glory are to make beat the hearts of men . . . she is a chattel and properly speaking only a subsidiary to man.' Here he speaks for the anti-feminist middle class, in reaction against both eighteenth-century licence and the threatening progressive ideas of the time. Balzac showed that bourgeois marriage where love is excluded naturally leads to adultery, and he exhorted husbands to keep a firm rein, deny their wives all education and culture, and keep them as unattractive as possible. The middle class followed this programme, confining women to the kitchen and the home, closely watching their behaviour, keeping them wholly dependent. In compensation they were held in honour and treated with the most exquisite politeness. 'The married woman is a slave whom one must be able to set on a throne,' said Balzac. She must be yielded to in trifles, given first place; instead of making her carry burdens as among primitives one must rush forward to relieve her of any painful task and of all care — and at the same time of all responsibility. Most bourgeois women accepted this gilded confinement, and the few who complained were unheard. Bernard Shaw remarks that it is easier to put chains on men than to remove them, if the chains confer benefits. The middle-class woman clung to her chains because she clung to the privileges of her class. Freed from the male, she would have to work for a living; she felt no solidarity with working-women, and she believed that the emancipation of bourgeois women would mean the ruin of her class.

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The march of history, however, was not stopped by such obstinate resistance; the coming of the machine destroyed landed property and furthered the emancipation of the working class along with that of women. All forms of socialism, wresting woman away from the family, favour her liberation: Plato envisioned a communal regime and promised women an autonomy in it such as they enjoyed in Sparta. With the utopian socialisms of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Cabet was born the utopia of the 'free woman'; the slavery of worker and of woman was to be abolished, for women like men were human beings. Unfortunately this reasonable idea did not prevail in the school of Saint-Simonism. Fourier, for example, confused the emancipation of women with the rehabilitation of the flesh, demanding for every individual the right to yield to the call of passion and wishing to replace marriage with love; he considered woman not as a person but only in her amorous function. Cabet promised the complete equality of the sexes, but he restricted woman's share in politics. Others demanded better education for women rather than emancipation. The lofty notion of woman the regenerating influence persisted through the nineteenth century and appears in Victor Hugo. But woman's cause was rather discredited by the ineptitude of woman's partisans. Clubs, magazines, delegations, movements like 'Bloomerism' -- all went down in ridicule. The most intelligent women of the time, like Mme de Staël and George Sand, remained apart from these movements while fighting their own battles for freedom. But feminism was favoured in general by the reform movement of the nineteenth century because it sought justice in equality. Proudhon was a remarkable exception. He broke the alliance between feminism and socialism, relegating the honest woman to the home and to dependence on the male, and attempting to demonstrate her inferiority. 'Housewife or harlot' was the choice he offered. But like all anti-feminists he addressed ardent litanies to 'the true woman', slave and mirror of the male. In spite of this devotion, he was unable to make his own wife happy: the letters of Mme Proudhon are one long lament.

These theoretical debates did not affect the course of events: rather they were a hesitant reflection of things taking place. Woman regained an economic importance that had been lost since prehistoric times, because she escaped from the hearth and assumed in the factory a new part in production. It was the machine that made possible this upheaval, for the difference in physical strength between male and female workers was to a large extent annulled. As the swift growth of industry demanded a larger working force than the males alone could furnish, the collaboration

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of women became necessary. That was the grand revolution of the nineteenth century, which transformed the lot of woman and opened for her a new era. Marx and Engels gauged its whole range, and they promised women a liberation implied in that of the proletariat. In fact, 'woman and the worker have this in common: that they are both oppressed,' said Bebel. And both would escape together from oppression, thanks to the importance their work would take on through technological evolution. Engels showed that the lot of woman has been closely tied to the history of private property; a calamity put the patriarchy in place of the matrilineal regime and enslaved woman to the patrimony. But the industrial revolution was the counterpart of that loss of rights and would lead to feminine emancipation. His conclusion has already been quoted (page 80).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century woman was more shamefully exploited than were male workers. Labour at home constituted what the English called the 'sweating system'; in spite of constant toil, the working-woman did not earn enough to satisfy her needs. Jules Simon in *L'Ouvrière* and even the conservative Leroy-Beaulieu in *Le Travail des femmes au XIX^e*, published in 1873, denounced odious abuses; the latter says that more than two hundred thousand women workers in France earned less than fifty centimes a day. It is understandable that they made haste to get out into the factories; besides, it was not long before nothing was left to do outside the workshops except needlework, laundering, and housework -- all slave's work, earning famine wages. Even lacemaking, millinery, and the like were monopolized by the factories. By way of compensation, there were large opportunities for employment in the cotton, wool, and silk industries; women were used especially in spinning- and weaving-mills. The employers often preferred them to men. 'They do better work for less pay.' This cynical formula lights up the drama of feminine labour. For it is through labour that woman has conquered her dignity as a human being; but it was a remarkably hard-won and protracted conquest.

Spinning and weaving were done under lamentably unhygienic conditions. 'In Lyon,' wrote Blanqui, 'in the lace workshops some of the women are compelled to work almost hanging on straps while they use both hands and feet.' In 1831 the silk workers laboured in summer from three o'clock in the morning until dark, and in winter from five to eleven at night, seventeen hours a day, 'in workshops that were often unwholesome and where the sunlight never penetrated,' as Norbert Truquin said. 'Half of these young girls became consumptive before finishing their

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apprenticeship. When they complained, they were accused of putting on airs.¹

Moreover, the male employees took advantage of the young working-girls. 'To attain their ends, they made use of the most shocking means: want and hunger,' said the anonymous author of the *Vérité sur les événements de Lyon*. Sometimes women did farm work in addition to their labour at the factory. 'They were cynically exploited. In a note in *Das Kapital* Marx relates the following: 'The manufacturer, Mr. E., informed me that he employed women only at his power looms, that he gave preference to married women and among them to those who had families at home to support, because these were more attentive and docile than the unmarried and had to work to the very end of their strength in order to obtain the necessaries of life for their families.' And Marx adds: 'Thus it is that woman's true qualities are warped to her disadvantage, and all the moral and delicate elements in her nature become the means for enslaving her and making her suffer.' Summing up Marx and commenting on Bebel, G. Derville wrote: 'Pet or beast of burden: such is woman almost exclusively today. Supported by man when she does not work, she is still supported by him when she works herself to death.' **The situation of the working-woman was so deplorable that Sismondi and Blanqui demanded that women be denied employment in the workrooms. The reason for their condition was in part because women at first did not know how to defend themselves and organize themselves in unions.** Women's 'associations' dated from 1848, and at the beginning these were associations of industrial workers. The movement advanced very slowly, as these figures show:

In 1905, there were 69,405 women out of 781,392 unionized workers; in 1908, 88,906 out of 957,120; in 1912, 92,336 out of 1,064,413.

In 1920, there were 329,016 working-women and female employees unionized out of 1,580,967 workers; and among women farm labourers only 36,193 unionized out of a total of 1,083,957. In all, there were 292,000 women unionized out of a total of 3,076,585 union workers. It was a tradition of resignation and submission, a lack of solidarity and collective consciousness, that left them thus disarmed before the new opportunities that were opening up for them.

The result of this attitude was that female labour was slowly and tardily regulated. Only in 1874 did the law intervene; and yet, in spite of the campaigns waged under the Empire, there were only two provisions

¹ N. TRUQUIN, *Mémoires et aventures d'un prolétaire*. Quoted from E. DOLLÉANS, *Histoire du mouvement ouvrier*, vol. I.

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industrious, she is ceremonially unclean, surrounded with taboos; her testimony is not acceptable in court. Ecclesiastes speaks of her with the most profound disgust: 'And I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands . . . one man among a thousand have I found; but a woman among all those have I not found.' Custom, if not the law, required that at the death of her husband the widow should marry a brother of the departed.

This custom, called the *levirate*, is found among many Oriental peoples. In all regimes where woman is under guardianship, one of the problems that must be faced is what to do with widows. The most extreme solution is to sacrifice them on the tomb of the husband. But it is not true that even in India the law has ever required such holocausts; the Laws of Manu permit wife to survive husband. The spectacular suicides were never more than an aristocratic fashion. Much more frequently the widow is handed over to the heirs of the husband. The levirate sometimes takes the form of polyandry; to forestall the uncertainties of widowhood, all the brothers in a family are given as husbands to one woman, a custom that serves also to protect the tribe against the possible infertility of the husband. According to a passage in Caesar, it appears that in Brittany all the men of a family had thus in common a certain number of women.

The patriarchate was not established everywhere in this radical form. In Babylon the laws of Hammurabi acknowledged certain rights of woman; she receives a part of the paternal estate, and when she marries, her father provides a dowry. In Persia polygamy was customary; the wife was required to be absolutely obedient to her husband, chosen for her by her father when she was of marriageable age; but she was held in honour more than among most Oriental peoples. Incest was not forbidden, and marriage was frequent between brother and sister. The wife was responsible for the education of children — boys up to the age of seven and girls up to marriage. She could receive a part of her husband's estate if the son showed himself unworthy; if she was a 'privileged spouse' she was entrusted with the guardianship of minor children and the management of business matters if the husband died without having an adult son. The marriage regulations show clearly the importance that the existence of a posterity had for the head of a family. It appears that there were five forms of marriage:¹ (1) When the woman married with her parents' consent, she was called a 'privileged spouse'; her children belonged to her husband. (2) When a woman was an only child, the first of her children was sent back to her parents to take the place of their

¹ This outline follows C. HUART, *Perse antique et la civilisation iranienne*, pp. 195-6.

CHAPTER IV

THROUGH THE MIDDLE AGES TO EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

THE evolution of woman's condition was not a continuous process. When the great invasions came, all civilization was again called in question. Roman law itself came under the influence of a new ideology, Christianity; and in the following centuries the barbarians succeeded in imposing their laws. The economic, social, and political situation was turned upside down: that of woman felt the repercussion.

Christian ideology has contributed no little to the oppression of woman. Doubtless there is in the Gospel a breath of charity that extends to women as to lepers; and it was, to be sure, humble folk, slaves, and women who clung most passionately to the new law. In early Christian times women were treated with relative honour when they submitted themselves to the yoke of the Church; they bore witness as martyrs side by side with men. But they could take only a secondary place as participants in worship, the 'deaconesses' were authorized to carry out only such lay tasks as caring for the sick and aiding the poor. And if marriage was held to be an institution demanding mutual fidelity, it seemed obvious that the wife should be totally subordinated to her husband: through St. Paul the Jewish tradition, savagely anti-feminist, was affirmed.

St. Paul enjoined self-effacement and discretion upon women; he based the subordination of woman to man upon both the Old and the New Testaments. 'For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man.' And in another place: 'For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church . . . Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything.' In a religion that holds the flesh accursed, woman becomes the devil's most fearsome temptation. Tertullian writes: 'Woman, you are the devil's doorway. You have led astray one whom the devil would not dare attack directly. It is your fault that the Son of God had to die; you should always go in mourning and in rags.' St. Ambrose: 'Adam was led to sin by Eve and not Eve by Adam. It is just and right that woman accept as lord and master him whom she led to sin.' And St. John Chrysostom: 'Among all savage beasts none is found so harmful as

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woman.' When the canon law was set up in the fourth century, marriage was viewed as a concession to human frailty, something incompatible with Christian perfection. 'Let us take axe in hand and cut off at its roots the fruitless tree of marriage,' wrote St. Jerome. From the time of Gregory VI, when celibacy was imposed on the priesthood, the dangerous character of woman was more severely emphasized: all the Fathers of the Church proclaimed her abjectly evil nature. St. Thomas was true to this tradition when he declared that woman is only an 'occasional' and incomplete being, a kind of imperfect man. 'Man is above woman, as Christ is above man,' he writes. **'It is unchangeable that woman is destined to live under man's influence, and has no authority from her lord.'** Moreover, **the canon law admitted no other matrimonial regime than the dowry scheme, which made woman legally incompetent and powerless.** Not only did the masculine occupations remain closed to her, but she was forbidden to make depositions in court, and her testimony was not recognized as having weight. The emperors were affected to some extent by the influence of the Church Fathers. Justinian's legislation honoured woman as wife and mother, but held her subservient to these functions; it was not to her sex but to her situation within the family that she owed her legal incompetence. Divorce was forbidden and marriage was required to be performed in public. The mother's authority over her children was equal to the father's, and she had the same rights in their inheritances; if her husband died she became their legal guardian. The Velleian act of the Senate was modified so that in future a woman could make contracts for the benefit of a third party; but she could not contract for her husband; her dowry became inalienable — it was the patrimony of the children and she was forbidden to dispose of it.

These laws came into contact with Germanic traditions in the territories occupied by the barbarians. In peacetime the Germans had no chieftain, the family being an independent society in which woman was completely under male domination, though she was respected and had some rights. Marriage was monogamous, and adultery was severely punished. In wartime the wife followed her husband into battle, sharing his lot in life and death, as Tacitus reports. Woman's inferiority was due to physical weakness and was not moral, and since women could act as priestesses and prophetesses, they may have been better educated than the men.

These traditions were continued into the Middle Ages, woman being in a state of absolute dependence on father and husband. The Franks did not maintain the Germanic chastity: polygamy was practised; woman was married without her consent, and put away at her husband's caprice;

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feudalism marriage remained as it was under military feudalism: the husband was still his wife's guardian. When the bourgeoisie arose, it followed the same laws; the girl and the widow have the rights of man; but in marriage woman was a ward, to be beaten, her conduct watched over in detail, and her fortune used at will. The interests of property require among nobility and bourgeoisie that a single administrator take charge. This could be a single woman; her abilities were admitted; but from feudal times to our days the married woman has been deliberately sacrificed to private property. The richer the husband, the greater the dependence of the wife; the more powerful he feels socially and economically, the more authoritatively he plays the paterfamilias. On the contrary, a common poverty makes the conjugal tie a reciprocal tie. Neither feudalism nor the Church freed woman. It was rather in emerging from serfdom that the passage from the patriarchal to the truly conjugal family was accomplished. The serf and his wife owned nothing; they had the use of house and furnishings, but that was no reason for the man to try to be master of a wife without wealth. On the contrary, common interests brought them together and raised the wife to the rank of companion. When serfdom was abolished, poverty remained; husband and wife lived on a footing of equality in small rural communities and among the workers; in free labour woman found real autonomy because she played an economic and social part of real importance. In the comedies and fables of the Middle Ages is reflected a society of workers, small merchants, and peasants in which the husband had no advantages over his wife except the strength to beat her; but she opposed guile to force, and the pair thus lived in equality. Meanwhile the rich woman paid with her subjection for her idleness.

Woman still retained a few privileges in the Middle Ages, but in the sixteenth century were codified the laws that lasted all through the Old Regime; the feudal mores were gone and nothing protected woman from man's wish to chain her to the hearth. The code denied woman access to 'masculine' positions, deprived her of all civil capacities, kept her, while unmarried, under the guardianship of her father, who sent her into a convent if she failed to marry later, and if she did marry put her and her property and children completely under her husband's authority. He was held responsible for her debts and conduct, and she had little direct relation with public authorities or persons who were strangers to her family. She seemed in work and in motherhood more a servant than an associate: the objects, the values, the beings she created were not her own wealth but belonged to the family, therefore to the man who was its head. In

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and she was treated as a servant. The laws gave her strong protection from injury and insult, but only as man's property and mother of his children. As the State became powerful, the same changes occurred as in Rome: guardianship became a public charge, protecting woman, but also continuing her enslavement.

When feudalism emerged from the convulsions of the early Middle Ages, woman's position seems to have been most uncertain. Feudalism involved confusion of authority between sovereignty and property, between public and private rights and powers. This explains why woman was alternately elevated and abased under this regime. At first she had no private rights because she had no political power, and this was because the social order up to the eleventh century was founded on might alone, and the fief was property held by military force, a power not wielded by woman. Later, woman could inherit in the absence of male heirs; but her husband was guardian and exercised control over the fief and its income; she was a part of the fief, by no means emancipated.

The domain was no longer a family affair, as in the time of the Romans: it belonged to the suzerain; and woman also. He chose her husband, and her children belonged to him rather than to her husband, being destined to become vassals who would protect his wealth. Thus she was slave of the domain and of the master of this domain through the 'protection' of a husband imposed upon her: there have been few periods in which her lot was harder. An heiress -- that meant land and a castle. At twelve or less she might be given in marriage to some baron. But more marriages meant more property, so annulments were frequent, hypocritically authorized by the Church. Pretexts were easily found in the rules against marriage between persons related in even remote degree and not necessarily by blood. Many women of the eleventh century had been thus repudiated four or five times.

If widowed, woman was expected to accept at once a new master. In the *chansons de geste* we see Charlemagne marrying in a group all the widows of his barons killed in Spain; and many epic poems tell of king or baron disposing tyrannically of girls and widows. Wives were beaten, chastised, dragged by the hair. The knight was not interested in women; his horse seemed much more valuable to him. In the *chansons de geste* young women always made the advances, but once they were married, a one-sided fidelity was demanded of them. Girls were brought up rudely, with rough physical exercises and without modesty or much education. When grown up, they hunted wild beasts, made difficult pilgrimages, defended the fief when the master was abroad. Some of these chatelaines

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and empty; she enjoyed neither economic autonomy nor social dignity; generally the old maid spent her life in the shadow of her father's family or joined others like her within the convents, where she scarcely knew any other form of liberty than disobedience and sin — just as the Roman women of the decadence found freedom only through vice. Negation was still the lot of women, since their emancipation remained negative.

In such conditions it was obviously rare for a woman to be able to act or simply to make her presence felt. In the working classes economic oppression nullified the inequality of the sexes, but it deprived the individual of all opportunity; among the nobility and the bourgeoisie the female sex as such was browbeaten: woman had only a parasitic existence; she had little education; only under exceptional circumstances could she envisage and carry out any concrete project. Queens and regents had this rare pleasure: their sovereignty lifted them above their sex. In France the Salic law forbade women to succeed to the throne; but beside their husbands, or after their death, they sometimes played a great role, as did, for example, St. Clotilda, St. Radegonde, and Blanche of Castile. Living in a convent made woman independent of man: certain abbesses wielded great power; Héloïse gained fame as an abbess as much as for her love. From the mystical relation that bound them to God, feminine souls drew all the inspiration and the strength of a male soul; and the respect paid them by society enabled them to accomplish difficult enterprises. Joan of Arc's adventure had in it something of the miraculous, and besides it was only a brief escapade. But the story of St. Catherine of Siena is significant; in the midst of a quite normal existence she created in Siena a great reputation by her active benevolence and by the visions that testified to her intense inner life; thus she acquired the authority necessary for success, which women usually lack. Appeal was made to her influence in exhorting those condemned to death, in bringing back wanderers, and in allaying quarrels between families and cities. She had the support of a society that recognized itself in her, and thus it was that she could fulfil her mission of pacification, preaching from city to city submission to the Pope, keeping up extensive correspondence with bishops and rulers, and in the end being chosen by Florence as ambassadress to go to seek out the Pope in Avignon. Queens by divine right, and saints by their dazzling virtues were assured a social support that enabled them to act on an equality with men. From other women, in contrast, only a modest silence was called for.

On the whole, men in the Middle Ages held a rather unfavourable opinion of women. The court poets, to be sure, exalted love; in the *Roman*

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de la Rose young men were urged to devote themselves to the service of the ladies. But opposed to this literature (inspired by that of the troubadours) were the writings of bourgeois inspiration, which attacked women with malignancy: fables, comedies, and lays charged them with laziness, coquetry, and lewdness. Their worst enemies were the clerics, who laid the blame on marriage. The Church had made it a sacrament and yet had forbidden it to the Christian *élite*: there lay a contradiction which was at the source of the 'quarrel of women'. Various clerics wrote 'lamentations' and diatribes about woman's failings, the martyrdom of man in marriage, and so on; and their opponents tried to prove woman's superiority. This quarrel went on through the fifteenth century, until for the first time we see a woman take up her pen in defence of her sex when Christine de Pisan made a lively attack on the clerics in her *Épître au Dieu d'Amour*. Later she maintained that if little girls were as well taught, they would 'understand the subtleties of all the arts and sciences' as well as boys. The truth of the matter was that this dispute concerned women only indirectly. No one dreamed of demanding for them a social role different from the one they had. It was rather a matter of contrasting the life of the cleric with the married state; that is to say, it was a male problem raised by the Church's ambiguous attitude in regard to marriage. This conflict Luther solved by refusing to accept the celibacy of priests. The situation of woman was not affected by that literary war; the 'quarrel' was a secondary phenomenon reflecting social attitudes but not changing them.

Woman's legal status remained almost unchanged from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the nineteenth, but in the privileged classes her actual situation did improve. The Italian Renaissance was an individualistic epoch favourable for the emergence of strong personalities, regardless of sex. Women were powerful sovereigns, military fighters and leaders, artists, writers, and musicians. Most of these women of distinction were courtesans, free in spirit, manners, and finances, and their crimes and orgies are legendary. In later centuries the same licence marked those women of rank or fortune who could escape the harsh common morality of the times. Apart from queens — Catherine de Medici, Elizabeth, Isabella — and such saints as Theresa and Catherine, who showed what women could achieve under favourable circumstances, the positive accomplishments of women were few, for education and other advantages were largely denied them through the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth century women of leisure applied themselves to

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arts and letters, playing an important part in the salons as culture spread in higher social levels. In France Mme de Rambouillet, Mme de Sévigné, and others enjoyed vast renown, and elsewhere Queen Christine, Mlle de Schurman, and others were similarly celebrated. Through such qualities and prestige, women of rank or reputation began to penetrate into the world of men, finally showing in the person of Mme de Maintenon how great an influence can be exerted in affairs of state by an adroit woman, working behind the scenes. And a few personalities escaped from the bourgeois repression to make their mark in the world; a hitherto unknown species appeared: the actress. The first woman was seen on the stage in 1545. Even at the beginning of the seventeenth century most actresses were actors' wives, but later they became independent in career as in private life. The courtesan attained her most accomplished incarnation in Ninon de Lenclos, who carried her independence and liberty to the highest extreme then permitted to a woman.

In the eighteenth century woman's freedom continued to increase. The mores were still strict: the young girl got only a sketchy education; and she was married off or sent into a convent without being consulted. The rising middle class imposed a strict morality upon wives. But women of the world led extremely licentious lives, and the upper middle class was contaminated by such examples; neither the convent nor the home could contain woman. Once again, for the majority this liberty remained abstract and negative: there was little more than the search for pleasure. But the intelligent and ambitious created opportunities. The salon took on new splendour; women protected and inspired the writer and made up his public; they studied philosophy and science and set up laboratories of physics and chemistry. In politics the names of Mme de Pompadour and Mme du Barry indicate woman's power; they really controlled the State. Actresses and women of gallantry enjoyed vast renown. Thus throughout the Old Regime the cultural sphere was the one most accessible to women who attempted to do something. Yet none ever reached the heights of a Dante or a Shakespeare, a fact that is explained by the general mediocrity of their situation. Culture was never an attribute of any but the feminine *élite*, never of the mass; and it is often from the mass that masculine genius has arisen. Even the privileged were surrounded with obstacles, and while nothing hindered the flights of a St. Theresa or a Catherine the Great, a thousand circumstances conspired against the woman writer. In *A Room of One's Own* Virginia Woolf contrasts the meagre and restricted life of an imaginary sister of Shakespeare with his life of learning and adventure. It was only in the eighteenth century that a middle-class woman, Mrs.

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Aphra Behn, a widow, earned her living by her pen like a man. Others followed her example, but even in the nineteenth century they were often obliged to hide. They did not have even 'a room of their own'; that is to say, they did not enjoy that material independence which is one of the necessary conditions for inner liberty. In England, Virginia Woolf remarks, women writers have always aroused hostility.

In France things were somewhat more favourable, because of the alliance between the social and the intellectual life, but, in general, opinion was hostile to 'bluestockings'. From the Renaissance on, women of rank and of wit, with Erasmus and other men, wrote in defence of women. Marguerite of Navarre did most for the cause, proposing, in opposition to licentious mores, an ideal of sentimental mysticism and of chastity without prudery that would reconcile marriage with love for the honour and happiness of women. The enemies of woman were not silent, of course. They revived the old arguments of the Middle Ages, and published *Alphabets* with a fault of woman for every letter. A libertine literature — *Cabinet Satyrique* and the like — arose to attack feminine follies, while the religious cited St. Paul, the Church Fathers, and Ecclesiastes for woman's disparagement.

The very successes of women aroused new attacks against them: the affected women called *précieuses* alienated public opinion; the *Précieuses ridicules* and *Femmes savantes* were applauded, though Molière was no enemy of women: he sharply attacked enforced marriage, demanding freedom of sentiment for the young girl and respect and independence for the wife. Bossuet preached against woman, and Boileau wrote satires, arousing fiery defenders of the sex. Poulain de la Barre, the leading feminist of the time, published in 1673 *De l'égalité des deux sexes*. Men, he thought, used their superior strength to favour their own sex, and women acquiesced by habit in their dependence. They had never had a fair chance — neither liberty nor education. Thus they could not be judged by past performance, he argued, and nothing indicated that they were inferior to men. He demanded real education for women.

The eighteenth century was also divided in the matter. Some writers tried to prove that woman had no immortal soul. Rousseau dedicated woman to husband and to maternity, thus speaking for the middle class. 'Women's entire education should be relative to men,' he said; '. . . woman was made to yield to man and to put up with his injustice.' The democratic and individualist ideal of the eighteenth century, however, was favourable to women; to most philosophers they seemed to be human beings equal to those belonging to the stronger sex. Voltaire denounced the injustice

THE YOUNG GIRL

At about thirteen is the time when boys go through a real apprenticeship in violence, when their aggressiveness is developed, their will to power, their love for competition; and it is at just this time that the girl gives up rough games. Sports are still open to her; but sport, which means specialization and obedience to artificial rules, is by no means the equivalent of a free and habitual resort to force; it is a marginal feature of life; it does not provide information about the world and the self as intimately as does a free fight, an unpremeditated climb. The sportswoman never knows the conquering pride of a boy who pins his opponent's shoulders to the ground. Moreover, in many countries most girls have no urge towards sports; since scuffles and climbing are forbidden, their bodies have to suffer things only in a passive manner; much more definitely than when younger, they must give up *emerging* beyond what is given and asserting themselves *above* other people: they are forbidden to explore, to venture, to extend the limits of the possible. In particular, the *competitive* attitude, most important to young men, is almost unknown to them. To be sure, women make comparisons among themselves, but competition, challenge, is something quite different from these passive comparisons: two free beings confront each other as having on the world a hold that they propose to enlarge; to climb higher than a playmate, to force an arm to yield and bend, is to assert one's sovereignty over the world in general. Such masterful behaviour is not for girls, especially when it involves violence.

In the adult world, no doubt, brute force plays no great part in normal times; but nevertheless it haunts that world; many kinds of masculine behaviour spring from a root of possible violence: on every street corner squabbles threaten; usually they flicker out; but for a man to feel in his fists his will to self-affirmation is enough to reassure him of his sovereignty. Against any insult, any attempt to reduce him to the status of object, the male has recourse to his fists, to exposure of himself to blows: he does not let himself be transcended by others, he is himself at the heart of his subjectivity. Violence is the authentic proof of each one's loyalty to himself, to his passions, to his own will; radically to deny this will is to deny oneself any objective truth, it is to wall oneself up in an abstract subjectivity; anger or revolt that does not get into the muscles remains a figment of the imagination. It is a profound frustration not to be able to register one's feelings upon the face of the world.

In the United States it is quite impossible for a Negro, in the South, to use violence against the whites; this rule is the key to the mysterious 'black soul'; the way the Negro feels in the white world, the behaviour by

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women apply themselves to changing her into a woman like themselves, manifesting a zeal in which arrogance and resentment are mingled; and even a generous mother, who sincerely seeks her child's welfare, will as a rule think that it is wiser to make a 'true woman' of her, since society will more readily accept her if this is done. She is therefore given little girls for playmates, she is entrusted to female teachers, she lives among the older women as in the days of the Greek gynaeceum, books and games are chosen for her which initiate her into her destined sphere, the treasures of feminine wisdom are poured into her ears, feminine virtues are urged upon her, she is taught cooking, sewing, housekeeping, along with care of her person, charm, and modesty; she is dressed in inconvenient and frilly clothes of which she has to be careful, her hair is done up in fancy style, she is given rules of deportment: 'Stand up straight, don't walk like a duck'; to develop grace she must repress her spontaneous movements; she is told not to act like a would-be boy, she is forbidden violent exercises, she is not allowed to fight. In brief, she is pressed to become, like her elders, a servant and an idol. Today, thanks to the conquests of feminism, it is becoming more and more normal to encourage the young girl to get an education, to devote herself to sports; but lack of success in these fields is more readily pardoned in her than in a boy; and success is made harder by the demands made upon her for another kind of accomplishment: at any rate she must be *also* a woman, she must not *lose* her femininity.

When very young the girl child resigns herself to all this without too much trouble. The child moves on the play and dream level, playing at being, playing at doing; to do and to be are not clearly distinguished when one is concerned only with imaginary accomplishments. The little girl can compensate for the present superiority of the boys by the promises that are inherent in her womanly destiny and that she already fulfils in play. Because she knows as yet only her childhood universe, her mother at first seems to her to be endowed with more authority than her father; she imagines the world to be a kind of matriarchate; she imitates her mother and identifies herself with her; frequently she even reverses their respective roles: 'When I am big, and you are little . . .' she likes to say to her mother. The doll is not only her double; it is also her child. These two functions do not exclude each other, inasmuch as the real child is also an *alter ego* for the mother. When she scolds, punishes, and then consoles her doll, she is at once vindicating herself as against her mother and assuming, herself, the dignity of a mother: she combines in herself the two elements of the mother-daughter pair. She confides in her doll, she

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brings it up, exercises upon it her sovereign authority, sometimes even tears off its arms, beats it, tortures it. Which is to say she experiences subjective affirmation and identification through the doll. Frequently the mother is associated in this imaginary life: The child plays with her mother at being father and mother of the doll, making a couple that excludes the man. Here again there is no 'maternal instinct', innate and mysterious. The little girl ascertains that the care of children falls upon the mother, she is so taught; stories heard, books read, all her little experiences confirm the idea. She is encouraged to feel the enchantment of these future riches, she is given dolls so that these values may henceforth have a tangible aspect. Her 'vocation' is powerfully impressed upon her.

Because the little girl feels that children will be her lot, and also because she is more interested in her 'insides' than is the boy, she is especially curious about the mystery of procreation. She soon ceases to believe that babies are born in cabbages, carried in the doctor's bag, or brought by storks; she soon learns, especially if brothers and sisters arrive, that babies develop in the mother's body. Besides, modern parents make less of a mystery about it than was formerly the custom. The little girl is generally more amazed than frightened, because the phenomenon seems magical to her; she does not as yet grasp all the physiological implications. At first she is unaware of the father's part and supposes that a woman becomes pregnant from eating certain foods. This is a legendary theme (in stories queens give birth to a little girl or a fine boy after having eaten a certain fruit, or a special kind of fish), and one that later leads certain women to associate the idea of gestation with that of the digestive system. These problems and discoveries together engage much of the interest of the young girl and help to nourish her imagination. I will bring forward as typical one of Jung's cases,¹ which has remarkable similarities with that of little Hans, analysed by Freud at about the same time:

Towards three, Anna began to ask where babies came from, and for a time believed they were little angels. At four she had a new brother, without having appeared to notice her mother's pregnancy. On returning from a short visit to her grandmother's, she showed jealousy of the new baby, misbehaving in various ways and frequently accusing her mother of not telling the truth, because she suspected her of having lied about the birth. She asked whether she would become a woman like her mother. She called to her parents at night, saying she was frightened by what she had heard about an

¹ From *Les Conflits de l'âme enfantine*.

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earthquake and asking questions about it. One day she asked point-blank where her brother was before he was born, why he did not come sooner, and the like. She seemed pleased to be told that he grew like a plant inside the mother; but she asked how he got out, since he couldn't walk, and if there was a hole in the chest, and so on. Then she declared she knew storks brought babies; but she ceased to worry about earthquakes. A little later, seeing her father in bed, she asked if he too had a plant growing inside him. She dreamed that the little animals fell out of her Noah's ark through a hole in the bottom. She put her doll under her skirt and then had it 'come out'. She was wondering about the father's role, and one day lay on his bed face-down and, kicking with her legs, asked if that wasn't what Papa did. Later she asked if eyes and hair are planted in the head, after she had planted some seeds in the garden. Her father explained that they were present as germs in the child before developing, and she asked how her little brother got inside Mamma, who had planted him there, how he got out. Her father asked what she thought, and she indicated her sex organ; he said that was right. But she still wanted to know how he got in, and so her father explained that it is the father who furnishes the seed. This seemed to satisfy her, and being almost fully informed by the time she was five, she had no further trouble with the subject.

This history is characteristic, though often the little girl asks less precisely about the role of the father, or the parents are evasive on this point. Many a little girl puts a pillow under her apron to play at being pregnant, or walks with a doll in the folds of her skirt and drops it in the cradle; she may give it the breast. Boys, like girls, wonder at the mystery of motherhood; all children have an imagination 'of depth' which makes them conceive the idea of secret riches in the interior of things; they all feel the miracle of encasements, of dolls that contain other similar dolls, of boxes containing other boxes, of pictures that contain replicas of decreasing size; all are delighted to see a bud taken apart, to observe the chick in its shell, to watch as 'Japanese flowers' expand when floated in a dish of water. It was a small boy who cried with delight: 'Oh, it's a mother!' when he opened an Easter egg filled with small sugar eggs. To make a baby emerge from one's body: that is as fine as any feat of legerdemain. The mother seems to be endowed with marvellous fairy powers. Many boys regret the lack of such a privilege; if, later on, they steal birds' eggs and trample down young plants, if they destroy life about them in a

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kind of frenzy, it is in revenge for their inability to bring forth life; while the little girl takes pleasure in the thought that she will create life one day.

In addition to this hope which playing with dolls makes concrete, family life provides the little girl with other opportunities for self-expression. A good deal of the housework is within the capability of a very young child; the boy is commonly excused, but his sister is allowed, even asked, to sweep, dust, peel potatoes, wash the baby, keep an eye on the cooking. In particular, the eldest sister is often concerned in this way with motherly tasks; whether for convenience or because of hostility and sadism, the mother thus rids herself of many of her functions; the girl is in this manner made to fit precociously into the universe of serious affairs; her sense of importance will help her in assuming her femininity. But she is deprived of happy freedom, the carefree aspect of childhood; having become precociously a woman, she learns all too soon the limitations this estate imposes upon a human being; she reaches adolescence as an adult, which gives her history a special character. A child overburdened with work may well become prematurely a slave, doomed to a joyless existence. But if no more than an effort suited to her powers is asked of her, she is proud to feel herself as capable as a grown-up, and she enjoys sharing responsibility with adults. This equal sharing is possible because it is not a far cry from child to housekeeper. A man expert in his trade is separated from the stage of childhood by his years of apprenticeship. Thus the little boy finds his father's activities quite mysterious, and the man he is to become is hardly sketched out in him at all. On the contrary, the mother's activities are quite accessible to the girl; 'she is already a little woman,' as her parents say; and it is sometimes held that she is more precocious than the boy. In truth, if she is nearer to the adult stage it is because this stage in most women remains traditionally more or less infantile. The fact is that the girl is conscious of her precocity, that she takes pride in playing the little mother towards the younger children; she is glad to become important, she talks sensibly, she gives orders, she assumes airs of superiority over her baby brothers, she converses on a footing of equality with her mother.

In spite of all these compensations, she does not accept without regret the fate assigned to her; as she grows, she envies the boys their vigour. Parents and grandparents may barely conceal the fact that they would have preferred male offspring to female; or they may show more affection for the brother than the sister. Investigations make it clear that the majority of parents would rather have sons than daughters. Boys are spoken to with greater seriousness and esteem, they are granted more rights; they

SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

wife managed a commercial enterprise, his authorization was necessary for her to incur obligations. Her person and property were both under rigorous marital control.

During the nineteenth century jurisprudence only reinforced the rigours of the Code. Divorce was abolished in 1826, and was not restored until 1884, when it was still very difficult to obtain. The middle class was never more powerful, but it was uneasy in its authority, mindful of the menaces implied in the industrial revolution. **Woman was declared made for the family, not for politics; for domestic cares and not for public functions.** Auguste Comte declared that there were radical differences, physical and moral, between male and female which separated them profoundly, especially in the human race. Femininity was a kind of 'prolonged infancy' that set woman aside from 'the ideal of the race' and enfeebled her mind. He foresaw the total abolition of female labour outside the home. In morality and love woman might be set up as superior; but man acted, while she remained in the home without economic or political rights.

Balzac expressed the same ideal in more cynical terms. In the *Physiologie du mariage* he wrote: 'The destiny of woman and her sole glory are to make beat the hearts of men . . . she is a chattel and properly speaking only a subsidiary to man.' Here he speaks for the anti-feminist middle class, in reaction against both eighteenth-century licence and the threatening progressive ideas of the time. Balzac showed that bourgeois marriage where love is excluded naturally leads to adultery, and he exhorted husbands to keep a firm rein, deny their wives all education and culture, and keep them as unattractive as possible. The middle class followed this programme, confining women to the kitchen and the home, closely watching their behaviour, keeping them wholly dependent. In compensation they were held in honour and treated with the most exquisite politeness. 'The married woman is a slave whom one must be able to set on a throne,' said Balzac. She must be yielded to in trifles, given first place; instead of making her carry burdens as among primitives one must rush forward to relieve her of any painful task and of all care — and at the same time of all responsibility. Most bourgeois women accepted this gilded confinement, and the few who complained were unheard. Bernard Shaw remarks that it is easier to put chains on men than to remove them, if the chains confer benefits. The middle-class woman clung to her chains because she clung to the privileges of her class. Freed from the male, she would have to work for a living; she felt no solidarity with working-women, and she believed that the emancipation of bourgeois women would mean the ruin of her class.

4
Edition



RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative,
Quantitative,
and
Mixed Methods
Approaches

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Data Analysis and Interpretation

A methods discussion in a qualitative proposal needs also to specify the steps in analyzing the various forms of qualitative data. In general, the intent is to make sense out of text and image data. It involves segmenting and taking apart the data (like Peeling back the layers of an onion) as well as putting it back together. The discussion in your proposal about qualitative data analysis might begin with several general points about the overall process:

- Data analysis in qualitative research will proceed hand-in-hand with other parts of developing the qualitative study, namely, the data collection and the write-up of findings. While interviews are going on, for example, researchers may be analyzing an interview collected earlier, writing memos that may ultimately be included as a narrative in the final report, and organizing the structure of the final report. This process is unlike quantitative research in which the investigator collects the data, then analyzes the information, and finally writes the report.

- Because text and image data are so dense and rich, not all of the information can be used in a qualitative study. Thus, in the analysis of the data, researchers need to “winnow” the data (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012), a process of focusing in on some of the data and disregarding other parts of it. This process, too, is different from quantitative research in which researchers go to great lengths to preserve all of the data and reconstruct or replace missing data. In qualitative research, the impact of this process is to aggregate data into a small number of themes, something like five to seven themes (Creswell, 2013).

- Also specify whether you will use a qualitative computer data analysis program to assist you in analyzing the data (or whether you will hand code the data). Hand coding is a laborious and time-consuming process, even for data from a few individuals. Thus, qualitative software programs have become quite popular, and they help researchers organize, sort, and search for information in text or image databases (see Guest and colleagues’ [2012] chapter on qualitative data analysis software). Several excellent computer software programs are available, and they have similar features: good tutorials and demonstration files, the ability to incorporate both text and image (e.g., photographs) data, the features of storing and organizing data, the search capacity of locating all text associated with specific codes, interrelated codes for making queries of the relationship among codes, and the import and export of qualitative data to *quantitative* programs, such as spreadsheets or data analysis programs. The basic idea behind these programs is that using the computer is an efficient means for storing and locating qualitative data. Although the researcher still needs to go through each line of text (as in hand coding by going through transcriptions) and assign codes, this process may be faster and more efficient than hand coding. Also, in large databases, the researcher can quickly locate all passages (or text segments) coded the same and determine whether participants are responding to a code idea in similar or different ways. Beyond this, the computer program can facilitate comparing different codes (e.g., How do males and females—the first code of *gender*—differ in terms of their *attitudes to smoking*—a second code?). These are just a few features of the software programs that make them a logical choice for qualitative data analysis over hand coding. As with any software program, qualitative software programs require time and skill to learn and employ effectively, although books for learning the programs are widely available. Demos are available for three popular qualitative data analysis software programs MAXqda (www.maxqda.com/), Atlas.ti

(www.atlasti.com), and QSR NVivo (www.qsrinternational.com/). The first two programs were developed in Germany and the third in Australia. These programs are available to work on a PC or MAC

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**FRAGILE STATES INDEX
ANNUAL REPORT 2022**

 **FRAGILE
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INDEX**
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- 70.3 Mexico (84) ▼
- 70.4 São Tomé and Príncipe (83) ▲
- 70.8 El Salvador (82) ▲
- 71.0 Micronesia (81) ▲
- 71.8 Georgia (80) ▲
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- 79.3 Sri Lanka (56) ▲
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- 80.4 Solomon Islands (52) ▼
- 80.4 Madagascar (52) ▼
- 80.5 Philippines (50) ▲
- 80.5 Cambodia (50) ▲
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- 81.3 Djibouti (48) ▲
- 82.3 Comoros (47) ▲
- 82.4 Sierra Leone (46) ▲
- 83.0 Malawi (45) ▲
- 83.6 Egypt (42) ▲
- 83.6 Zambia (42) ▲
- 83.6 Togo (42) ▲
- 83.7 Rwanda (41) ▲
- 84.1 Iran (39) ▲
- 84.1 Equatorial Guinea (39) =
- 84.5 Bangladesh (38) ▲
- 85.6 Palestine (37) ▲
- 87.9 Mauritania (36) ▲
- 88.1 Angola (35) ▲
- 88.2 Kenya (33) ▲
- 88.2 Liberia (33) ▲
- 89.1 North Korea (32) ▲
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- 91.3 Guinea-Bissau (27) ▲
- 91.6 Venezuela (26) ▲
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- 92.2 Congo (Republic) (24) ▲
- 93.8 Iraq (23) ▲
- 94.3 Mozambique (22) ▼
- 94.3 Libya (22) ▲
- 95.2 Niger (20) ▲
- 95.4 Burundi (19) ▲
- 95.9 Eritrea (18) ▲
- 96.0 Cameroon (17) ▲
- 97.2 Nigeria (16) ▲
- 97.8 Zimbabwe (15) ▲
- 98.6 Mali (14) ▼
- 99.3 Ethiopia (13) ▼
- 99.6 Guinea (12) ▼
- 99.7 Haiti (11) ▼

HIGH ALERT

- 100.0 Myanmar (10) ▼
- 105.7 Chad (9) ▲
- 105.9 Afghanistan (8) ▼
- 107.1 Sudan (7) ▼
- 107.3 Congo (Democratic Republic) (6) ▲
- 108.1 Central African Republic (5) ▼
- 108.4 South Sudan (3) ▲
- 108.4 Syria (3) ▲

VERY HIGH ALERT

- 110.5 Somalia (2) ▲
- 111.7 Yemen (1)



Afghan women pose for a portrait

Amnesty International conducted research on the situation of women and girls under Taliban rule from September 2021 to June 2022, interviewing a total of 90 Afghan women and 11 girls. The ages of these women and girls ranged from 14 to 74 years old, and they lived in 20 of Afghanistan's 34 provinces. Amnesty International also interviewed six current or former staff members of Taliban-run detention centres; 22 staff members of national and international NGOs and UN agencies and mechanisms; and 10 Afghan and international experts and journalists. The research was conducted through in-person interviews in Afghanistan from 4 to 20 March 2022, as well as through remote interviews.

This report describes a web of interrelated restrictions and prohibitions in which Afghan women and girls are trapped. It shows how the Taliban's violation of any single right can have pernicious implications for the exercise of other rights. Cumulatively, Taliban policies form a system of repression that discriminates against women and girls in Afghanistan in almost every aspect of their lives.

On 1 July 2022, Amnesty International communicated the key findings detailed in this report in letters addressed to Minister of Foreign Affairs Amir Khan Muttaqi and Minister of Labor and Social Affairs Abdul Wali. No response had been received as of 15 July 2022, when the report was finalized.

Taliban Restrictions on Women and Girls

Since their takeover, the Taliban have issued a series of policies, decrees and guidelines that violate the human rights of women and girls in Afghanistan, including those related to education, work, free movement and clothing.

In the area of education, the Taliban have prevented the vast majority of girls at the secondary level from returning to school. The Taliban called girls at the secondary level to return to school on 23 March 2022, only to send them home the same day, citing a "technical issue" related to their uniforms. Fatima, a 25-year-old high school teacher based in Nangarhar province, summarized the feelings of her students: "These young girls just wanted to have a future, and now they don't see any future ahead of them... There are millions of Afghan girls waiting for action."

At the university level, the Taliban's harassment of female students as well as restrictions on students' behaviour, dress and opportunities have contributed to an unsafe environment where female students are systematically disadvantaged compared to male students. As a result, many female students have either stopped attending or decided not to enrol in university. Other challenges affect girls' and women's access to education at all levels, including restrictions on their movement, teacher shortages and students' lack of motivation due to limited career options under the Taliban.

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Second edition

Mario Klarer



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WHAT IS LITERATURE, WHAT IS A TEXT?

Look up the term **literature** in any current encyclopedia and you will be struck by the vagueness of its usage as well as by an inevitable lack of substance in the attempts to define it. In most cases, literature is referred to as the entirety of written expression, with the restriction that not every written document can be categorized as literature in the more exact sense of the word. The definitions, therefore, usually include additional adjectives such as “aesthetic” or “artistic” to distinguish literary works from texts of everyday use such as telephone books, newspapers, legal documents, and scholarly writings.

Etymologically, the Latin word “litteratura” is derived from “littera” (letter), which is the smallest element of alphabetical writing. The word **text** is related to “textile” and can be translated as “fabric”: just as single threads form a fabric, so words and sentences form a meaningful and coherent text. The origins of the two central terms are, therefore, not of great help in defining literature or text. It is more enlightening to look at literature or text as cultural and historical phenomena and to investigate the conditions of their production and reception.

Underlying literary production is certainly the human wish to leave behind a trace of oneself through creative expression, which will exist detached from the individual and, therefore, outlast its creator. The earliest manifestations of this creative wish are prehistoric paintings in caves, which hold “encoded” information in the form of visual signs. This visual component inevitably remains closely connected to literature throughout its various historical and social manifestations. In

2

MAJOR GENRES IN TEXTUAL STUDIES

As early as Greco-Roman antiquity, the classification of literary works into different genres has been a major concern of literary theory, which has since then produced a number of divergent and sometimes even contradictory categories. Among the various attempts to classify literature into genres, the triad *epic*, *drama*, and *poetry* has proved to be the most common in modern literary criticism. Because the epic was widely replaced by the new prose form of the novel in the eighteenth century, recent classifications prefer the terms *fiction*, *drama*, and *poetry* as designations of the three major literary genres. The following section will explain the basic characteristics of these literary genres as well as those of film, a fourth textual manifestation in the wider sense of the term. We will examine these types of texts with reference to concrete examples and introduce crucial textual terminology and methods of analysis helpful for understanding the respective genres.

1

FICTION

Although the novel emerged as the most important form of prose fiction in the eighteenth century, its precursors go back to the oldest texts of literary history. Homer's **epics**, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (c. seventh century BC), and Virgil's (70–19 BC) *Aeneid* (c. 31–19 BC) influenced the major medieval epics such as Dante Alighieri's (1265–1321) Italian *Divina Commedia* (*Divine Comedy*, c. 1307–21) and the early modern English epics such as Edmund Spenser's (c. 1552–99) *Faerie Queene* (1590; 1596) and John Milton's (1608–74) baroque long poem *Paradise Lost* (1667). The majority of traditional epics revolve

around a hero who has to fulfill a number of tasks of national or cosmic significance in a multiplicity of episodes. Classical epics in particular, through their roots in myth, history, and religion, reflect a self-contained world-view of their particular periods and nationalities. With the obliteration of a unified *Weltanschauung* in early modern times, the position of the epic weakened and it was eventually replaced by the novel, the mouthpiece of relativism that was emerging in all aspects of cultural discourse.

Although traditional epics are written in verse, they clearly distinguish themselves from other forms of poetry by length, narrative structure, depiction of characters, and plot patterns and are therefore regarded—together with the **romance**—as precursors of the modern novel. As early as classical times, but more strongly in the late Middle Ages, the romance established itself as an independent genre. Ancient romances such as Apuleius' *Golden Ass* (second century AD) were usually written in prose, while medieval works of this genre use verse forms, as in the anonymous Middle English Arthurian romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (fourteenth century). Despite its verse form and its eventful episodes, the romance is nevertheless considered a forerunner of the novel mainly because of its tendency toward a focused plot and unified point of view (see also the sections on plot and point of view in this chapter).

While the scope of the traditional epic is usually broad, the romance condenses the action and orients the plot toward a particular goal. At the same time, the protagonist or main character is depicted in more detail and with greater care, thereby moving beyond the classical epic whose main character functions primarily as the embodiment of abstract heroic ideals. In the romances, individual traits, such as insecurity, weakness, or other facets of character come to the foreground, anticipating distinct aspects of the novel. The individualization of the protagonist, the deliberately perspectival point of view, and above all the linear plot structure, oriented toward a specific climax which no longer centers on national or cosmic problems, are among the crucial features that distinguish the romance from epic poetry.

The **novel**, which emerged in Spain during the seventeenth century and in England during the eighteenth century, employs these elements in a very deliberate manner, although the early novels

remain deeply rooted in the older genre of the epic. Miguel de Cervantes' (1547–1616) *Don Quixote* (1605; 1615), for instance, puts an end to the epic and to the *chivalric romance* by parodying their traditional elements (a lady who is not so deserving of adoration is courted by a not-so-noble knight who is involved in quite unheroic adventures). At the same time, however, Cervantes initiates a new and modified epic tradition. Similarly, the Englishman Henry Fielding (1707–54) characterizes his *novel Joseph Andrews* (1742) as a “comic romance” and “comic epic poem in prose,” i.e., a parody and synthesis of existing genres. Also, in the plot structure of the early novel, which often tends to be episodic, elements of the epic survive in a new attire. In England, Daniel Defoe's (1660–1731) *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Samuel Richardson's (1689–1761) *Pamela* (1740–41) and *Clarissa* (1748–49), Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), and Laurence Sterne's (1713–68) *Tristram Shandy* (1759–67) mark the beginning of this new literary genre, which replaces the epic, thus becoming one of the most productive genres of modern literature.

The newly established novel is often characterized by the terms “realism” and “individualism,” thereby summarizing some of the basic innovations of this new medium. While the traditional epic exhibited a cosmic and allegorical dimension, the modern novel distinguishes itself by grounding the plot in a distinct historical and geographical reality. The allegorical and typified epic hero metamorphoses into the protagonist of the novel, with individual and realistic character traits.

These features of the novel which, in their attention to individualism and realism, reflect basic sociohistorical tendencies of the eighteenth century, soon made the novel a dominant literary genre. The novel thus mirrors the modern disregard for the collective spirit of the Middle Ages that heavily relied on allegory and symbolism. The rise of an educated middle class, the spread of the printing press, and a modified economic basis which allowed authors to pursue writing as an independent profession underlie these major shifts in eighteenth-century literary production. To this day, the novel still maintains its leading position as the genre which produces the most innovations in literature.

The term “novel,” however, subsumes a number of subgenres such as the **picaresque novel**, which relates the experiences of a vagrant rogue (from the Spanish “pícaro”) in his conflict with the norms of

a)
Plot

Plot is the logical interaction of the various thematic elements of a text which lead to a change of the original situation as presented at the outset of the narrative. An ideal traditional plot line encompasses the following four sequential levels:

exposition—complication—climax or turning point—
 resolution

The **exposition** or presentation of the initial situation is disturbed by a **complication** or **conflict** which produces suspense and eventually leads to a climax, crisis, or turning point. The **climax** is followed by a resolution of the complication (French **denouement**), with which the text usually ends. Most traditional fiction, drama, and film employ this basic plot structure, which is also called linear plot since its different elements follow a chronological order.

In many cases—even in linear plots—**flashback** and foreshadowing introduce information concerning the past or future into the narrative. The opening scene in Billy Wilder's (1906–2002) *Sunset Boulevard* (1950) is a famous example of the **foreshadowing** effect in film: the first-person narrator posthumously relates the events that lead to his death while drifting dead in a swimming pool. The only break with a linear plot or chronological narrative is the anticipation of the film's ending—the death of its protagonist—thus eliminating suspense as an important element of plot. This technique directs the audience's attention to aspects of the film other than the outcome of the action (see also [Chapter 2](#), §4: Film).

The *drama of the absurd* and the *experimental novel* deliberately break with linear narrative structures while at the same time maintaining traditional elements of plot in modified ways. Many contemporary novels alter linear narrative structures by introducing elements of plot in an unorthodox sequence. Kurt Vonnegut's (1922–) postmodern novel *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) is a striking example of experimental plot structure which mixes various levels of action and time, such as the experiences of a young soldier in World War II, his life in America after the war, and a science-fiction-like dream-world in

which the protagonist is kidnapped by an extraterrestrial force. All three levels are juxtaposed as fragments by rendering the different settings as well as their internal sequences of action in a non-chronological way. Kurt Vonnegut offers an explanation of this complex plot structure in his protagonist's report on the unconventional literary practice of the extraterrestrial people on the planet Tralfamadore:

Tralfamadorian [...] books were laid out—in brief clumps of symbols separated by stars [...] each clump of symbols is a brief, urgent message—describing a situation, a scene. We Tralfamadorians read them all at once, not one after the other. There isn't any particular relationship between all the messages, except that the author has chosen them carefully, so that, when seen all at once, they produce an image of life that is beautiful and surprising and deep. There is no beginning, no middle, no end [...]. What we love in our books are the depths of many marvelous moments seen at one time.¹

Kurt Vonnegut is actually talking about the structure of his own novel, which is composed of similarly fragmentary parts. The different levels of action and time converge in the mind of the protagonist as seemingly simultaneous presences. Vonnegut's technique of non-linear narrative, which introduces traditional elements of plot in an unconventional manner, conveys the schizophrenic mind of the protagonist through parallel presentations of different frames of experiences.

Slaughterhouse-Five borrows techniques from the visual arts, whose representational structures are considered to be different from literary practice. Literature is generally regarded as a temporal art since action develops in a temporal sequence of events. The visual arts, however, are often referred to as a spatial art since they are able to capture one particular segment of the action which can then be perceived in one instant by the viewer. Vonnegut and other experimental authors try to apply this pictorial structure to literary texts. Fragmented narratives which abandon linear plots surface in various genres and media, including film and drama, always indirectly determining the other main elements, such as setting and character presentation.

over her shoulder toward me, and said, without even a smile in her voice. “Misto C—, is you inarnest?”²

The first paragraph of this short story provides a very formal configuration, where characters are reduced to mere types, yet still reflect a highly meaningful structure. The most significant constellation is rendered in one sentence: “‘Aunt Rachel’ was sitting respectfully below our level, on the steps—for she was our servant, and colored.” The phrase “Misto C—, is you inarnest?” further specifies the inherent relationship. Twain manages not only to juxtapose African Americans and whites, slaves and slave-owners, but also female and male. In this very short passage, Twain delineates a formal relationship between two character types which also represents a multi-leveled structure of dependence. He introduces typified characterization for a number of reasons: as a stylistic feature of the short story which does not permit lengthy depictions, and as a meaningful frame within which the story evolves. The analyses of African American and feminist literary theory focus on mechanisms of race, class, and gender as analogously functioning dimensions. By juxtaposing a black, female slave with a white, male slave-owner, Twain highlights these patterns of oppression in their most extreme forms. The setting—a farm in the South of the US—and, above all, the spatial positioning of the figures according to their social status (“‘Aunt Rachel’ was sitting respectfully *below* our level, on the steps”) emphasizes the mechanisms of dependence inherent in these mere character types.

The **individualization** of a character, however, has evolved into a main feature of the genre of the novel. Many modern fictional texts reflect a tension between these modes of representation by introducing both elements simultaneously. Herman Melville’s (1819–91) novel *Moby Dick* (1851), for instance, combines allegorical and individualistic elements in the depiction of its main character in order to lend a universal dimension to the action which, despite being grounded in the particularities of a round figure, nevertheless points beyond the specific individual.

Both typified and individualized characters can be rendered in a text through showing and telling as two different **modes of presentation**. The explanatory characterization, or **telling**,

describes a person through a narrator, for example, the depiction of Mr Rochester by the protagonist in Charlotte Brontë's (1816–55) novel *Jane Eyre* (1847).

Mr. Rochester, as he sat in his damask-covered chair, looked different to what I had seen him look before; not quite so stern—much less gloomy. There was a smile on his lips, and his eyes sparkled, whether with wine or not, I am not sure; but I think it very probable. He was, in short, in his after dinner mood [...].³

In this example from a Victorian novel, the character is represented through the filter of a selective and judging narrator. This technique deliberately places the narrator in the foreground, inserting him or her as a judgmental mediator between the action and the reader (see the section on *point of view* in this chapter).

Dramatic characterization, or **showing**, does away with the position of an obvious narrator, thus avoiding any overt influence on the reader by a narrative mediator. This method of presentation creates the impression on the reader that he or she is able to perceive the acting figures without any intervening agency, as if witnessing a dramatic performance. The image of a person is “shown” solely through his or her actions and utterances without interfering commentary, thereby suggesting an “objective” perception which leaves interpretation and evaluation solely to the judgment of the reader. Ernest Hemingway's (1899–1961) texts are among the most famous for this technique, which aims at an “objective” effect by means of a drama-like presentation.

“Will you have lime juice or lemon squash?” Macomber asked.

“I'll have a gimlet,” Robert Wilson told him.

“I'll have a gimlet too. I need something,” Macomber's wife said.

“I suppose it's the thing to do,” Macomber agreed. “Tell him to make three gimlets.”⁴

This passage from “The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber” (1938) exemplifies this technique, typical of Hemingway, which offers only

narratological changes when Marian says: “Now that I was thinking of myself in the first person singular again I found my own situation much more interesting” (ibid.: 290). Atwood’s novel is an obvious example of how thematic aspects of a text, in this case the protagonist’s loss of identity, can be emphasized on a structural level by means of narratological techniques such as point of view.

d) Setting

Setting is another aspect traditionally included in analyses of prose fiction, and it is relevant to discussions of other genres, too. The term ‘g’ “setting” denotes the location, historical period, and social surroundings in which the action of a text develops. In James Joyce’s *Ulysses* (1922), for example, the setting is clearly defined as Dublin, 16 June 1904. In other cases, for example William Shakespeare’s (1564–1616) *Hamlet* (c. 1601), all we know is that the action takes place in medieval Denmark. Authors hardly ever choose a setting for its own sake, but rather embed a story in a particular context of time and place in order to support action, characters, and narrative perspective on an additional level.

In the gothic novel and certain other forms of prose fiction, setting is one of the crucial elements of the genre as such. In the opening section of “The Fall of the House of Usher” (1840), Edgar Allan Poe (1809–49) gives a detailed description of the building in which the uncanny short story will evolve. Interestingly, Poe’s setting, the House of Usher, indirectly resembles Roderick Usher, the main character of the narrative and lord of the house.

I know not how it was—but, with the first glimpse of the building, a sense of insufferable gloom pervaded my spirit. [...] I looked upon the scene before me—upon the mere house, and the simple landscape features of the domain—upon the bleak walls—upon the vacant eye-like windows—upon a few rank sedges—and upon a few white trunks of decayed trees—with an utter depression of soul which I can compare to no earthly sensation [...]. Perhaps the eye of a scrutinising observer might have discovered a barely perceptible fissure, which, extending

the facade of his characters by dwelling solely on exterior aspects of dialogue and actions without further commentary or evaluation. Dramatic presentation, however, only pretends to represent objectively while it always necessarily remains biased and perspectival.

As shown above, one can distinguish between two basic kinds of characters (round or flat), as well as between two general **modes of presentation** (showing or telling):

Kinds of characters

typified character

flat

individualized character

round

Modes of presentation

explanatory method

narration

dramatic method

dialogue—monologue

Similar to typification and individualization, explanatory and dramatic methods hardly ever appear in their pure forms, but rather as hybrids of various degrees, since the narrator often also acts as a character in the text. Questions concerning character presentation are always connected with problems of narrative perspective and are therefore hard to isolate or deal with individually. The following section on point of view thus inevitably touches upon aspects already mentioned.

c)

Point of view

The term **point of view**, or narrative perspective, characterizes the way in which a text presents persons, events, and settings. The subtleties of narrative perspectives developed parallel to the emergence of the novel and can be reduced to three basic positions: the action of a text is either mediated through an exterior, unspecified narrator (omniscient point of view), through a person involved in the action (first-person narration), or presented without additional commentary (figural narrative situation). This tripartite structure can

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PROSE

LITERARY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

EDITED BY KATHLEEN KUIPER

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CHAPTER 1

NOVEL

An invented prose narrative of considerable length and a certain complexity that deals imaginatively with human experience, usually through a connected sequence of events involving a group of persons in a specific setting, is called a novel. Within its broad framework, the genre of the novel has encompassed an extensive range of types and styles: picaresque, epistolary, Gothic, romantic, realist, historical—to name only some of the more important ones.

The novel is a genre of fiction, and fiction may be defined as the art or craft of contriving, through the written word, representations of human life that instruct or divert or both. The various forms that fiction may take are best seen less as a number of separate categories than as a continuum or, more accurately, a cline, with some such brief form as the anecdote at one end of the scale and the longest conceivable novel at the other. When any piece of fiction is long enough to constitute a whole book, as opposed to a mere part of a book, then it may be said to have achieved novelhood. But this state admits of its own quantitative categories, so that a relatively brief novel may be termed a novella (or, if the insubstantiality of the content matches its brevity, a novelette), and a particularly long novel may overflow the banks of a single volume and become a *roman-fleuve*, or river novel. Length is very much one of the dimensions of the genre.

The term *novel* is a truncation of the Italian word *novella* (from the plural of Latin *novellus*, a late variant of *novus*,

CHAPTER 2

SCIENCE FICTION

The form of fiction that deals principally with the effect of actual or imagined science upon society or individuals is called science fiction, or in shortened form sci-fi or SF. The term *science fiction* was popularized, if not invented, in the 1920s by one of the genre's principal advocates, the American publisher Hugo Gernsback. The Hugo Awards, given annually since 1953 by the World Science Fiction Society, are named after him. These achievement awards are given to the top SF writers, editors, illustrators, films, and "fanzines."

THE WORLD OF SCIENCE FICTION

Science fiction is a modern genre. Though writers in antiquity sometimes dealt with themes common to modern science fiction, their stories made no attempt at scientific and technological plausibility, the feature that distinguishes science fiction from earlier speculative writings and other contemporary speculative genres such as fantasy and horror. The genre formally emerged in the West, where the social transformations wrought by the Industrial Revolution first led writers and intellectuals to extrapolate the future impact of technology. By the beginning of the 20th century, an array of standard science fiction "sets" had developed around certain themes, among them space travel, robots, alien beings, and time travel (see Major Science Fiction Themes section in

the following text). The customary “theatrics” of science fiction include prophetic warnings, utopian aspirations, elaborate scenarios for entirely imaginary worlds, titanic disasters, strange voyages, and political agitation of many extremist flavours, presented in the form of sermons, meditations, satires, allegories, and parodies—exhibiting every conceivable attitude toward the process of techno-social change, from cynical despair to cosmic bliss.

Science fiction writers often seek out new scientific and technical developments to prognosticate freely the techno-social changes that will shock the readers’ sense of cultural propriety and expand their consciousness. This approach was central to the work of H.G. Wells, a founder of the genre and likely its greatest writer. Wells was an ardent student of the 19th-century British scientist T.H. Huxley, whose vociferous championing of Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution earned him the epithet “Darwin’s Bulldog.” Wells’s literary career gives ample evidence of science fiction’s latent radicalism, its affinity for aggressive satire and utopian political agendas, as well as its dire predictions of technological destruction.

This dark dystopian side can be seen especially in the work of T.H. Huxley’s grandson, Aldous Huxley, who was a social satirist, an advocate of psychedelic drugs, and the author of a dystopian classic, *Brave New World* (1932). The sense of dread was also cultivated by H.P. Lovecraft, who invented

the famous *Necronomicon*, an imaginary book of knowledge so ferocious that any scientist who dares to read it succumbs to madness. On a more personal level, the works of Philip K. Dick (often adapted for film) present metaphysical conundrums about identity, humanity, and the nature of reality. Perhaps bleakest of all, the English philosopher Olaf Stapledon’s mind-stretching novels picture all of human history as a frail, passing bubble in the cold galactic stream of space and time.

Stapledon’s views were rather specialized for the typical science fiction reader. When the genre began to gel in the early 20th century, it was generally disreputable, particularly in the United States, where it first catered to a juvenile audience. Following World War II, science fiction spread throughout the world from its epicentre in the United States, spurred on by ever more staggering scientific feats, from the development of nuclear energy and atomic bombs to the advent of space travel, human visits to the Moon, and the real possibility of cloning human life.

By the 21st century, science fiction had become much more than a literary genre. Its avid followers and practitioners constituted a thriving worldwide subculture. Fans relished the seemingly endless variety of SF-related products and pastimes, including books, movies, television shows, computer games, magazines, paintings, comics, and, increasingly, collectible figurines, Web sites, DVDs, and toy weaponry. They frequently held

silent film *Aelita* (1924), based on the 1923 novel of the same title by Aleksey Tolstoy. The film's imaginative set and costume designs had a strong artistic influence on Fritz Lang's film *Metropolis* (1927). Both *Aelita*'s design and its scenes of an Earthman leading a Martian proletarian revolt against an oppressive regime were echoed in the 1930s American film serial *Flash Gordon*. Another notable work of this period was Yevgeny Zamyatin's *My* (written in 1920, circulated in manuscript and not published in Russian until 1952; translated into English as *We* in 1924), which won a wide readership overseas, though the author's satiric daring led to his banishment under Joseph Stalin. The book's depiction of life under a totalitarian state influenced the other two great dystopian novels of the 20th century, Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) and George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-four* (1949).

MAJOR SCIENCE FICTION THEMES

Since its first appearance as the dream-world of adolescent boys, science fiction has gained a modicum of respectability. Students of the genre often discuss these works according to the themes they examine. Several more or less clearly defined topics can be discerned.

UTOPIAS AND DYSTOPIAS

Sir Thomas More's learned satire *Utopia* (1516)—the title is based on a pun of the

Greek words *eutopia* ("good place") and *outopia* ("no place")—shed an analytic light on 16th-century England along rational, humanistic lines. *Utopia* portrayed an ideal society in a hypothetical "no-place" so that More would be perceived as undertaking a thought experiment, giving no direct offense to established interests.

Since More's time, utopias have been attractive primarily to fringe political thinkers who have little practical redress within the power structures of the day. Under these conditions, a published thought experiment that airs hidden discontents can strike with revelatory force and find a broad popular response.

Utopias can be extravagant castles-in-the-air, nostalgic Shangri-Las, provocative satires, and rank political tracks thinly disguised as novels. Society's esteem for utopian thinking has fluctuated with the times. The failure of Soviet communism caused an immense archive of utopian work to shift catastrophically in value from sober social engineering to dusty irrelevancy. The line between reforming insight and political crankdom is often thin.

Utopias thrived amid the 19th century's infatuation with scientific progress. Many philosophers—Karl Marx included—thought that historical forces and the steady accumulation of rational knowledge would someday yield an "end state" for history. According to this way of thinking, the thoughtful futurist needed only to spot and nurture tomorrow's dominant progressive trends and

growth. His son, hurrying to the field, found the seedlings dead.

Tales such as this were often borrowed from folklore, but others were probably original creations, including a striking story that opens the *Zhuangzi*, a summa of Daoist thought. It makes the point that ordinary people frequently deplore the actions of a man of genius because they are unable to understand his vision, which is not answerable to the laws of “common sense”:

A giant fish, living at the northern end of the world, transformed itself into a bird so that it could make the arduous flight to the southernmost sea. Smaller birds, measuring his ambition against their own capabilities, laughed at the impossibility of it.

But the full development of fable, as it is understood in the West, was hindered by the fact that Chinese ways of thinking prohibited them from accepting the notion of animals that thought and behaved as humans. Actual events from the past were thought to be more instructive than fictitious stories, and this led to the development of a large body of legendary tales and supernatural stories. Between the 4th and 6th centuries, however, Chinese Buddhists adapted fables from Buddhist India in a work known as *Bore jing*, and they also began to make use of traditional Chinese stories that

could further understanding of Buddhist doctrines.

JAPAN

In Japan the *Kojiki* (712; “Records of Ancient Matters”) and the *Nihon shoki* (8th century; “Chronicles of Japan”), both official histories of Japan, were studded with fables, many of them on the theme of a small intelligent animal getting the better of a large stupid one. The same is true of the *fudoki* (local gazetteers dating from 713 and later). The form reached its height in the Kamakura period (1192–1333). Toward the end of the Muromachi period (1338–1573), Jesuit missionaries introduced the fables of Aesop to Japan, and the influence of these can be traced in stories written between then and the 19th century.

FABLE, ALLEGORY, AND PARABLE: TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Two representative genres related to fable, allegory, and parable are the bestiary and the dream allegory. Both were prevalent in the Middle Ages, though one modern version of the former type is *The Book of Imaginary Beings* by Jorge Luis Borges.

BESTIARY

The bestiary is a literary genre of the European Middle Ages consisting of a collection of stories, each based on a

CHAPTER 4

ROMANCE

Romance is a literary form, usually characterized by its treatment of chivalry, that came into being in France in the mid-12th century. It had antecedents in many prose works from classical antiquity (the so-called Greek romances), but as a distinctive genre it was developed in the context of the aristocratic courts of such patrons as Eleanor of Aquitaine.

The Old French word *romanz* originally meant “the speech of the people,” or “the vulgar tongue,” from a popular Latin word, *Romanice*, meaning written in the vernacular (in contrast to the written form of literary Latin). Its meaning then shifted from the language in which the work was written to the work itself. Thus, an adaptation of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britanniae* (1135–39; *History of the Kings of Britain*), made by the Anglo-Norman Wace of Jersey in 1155, was known as *Li Romanz de Brut*, while an anonymous adaptation (of slightly later date) of Virgil’s *Aeneid* was known as *Li Romanz d’Enéas*. It is difficult to tell whether in such cases *li romanz* still meant “the French version” or had already come to mean “the story.” It soon specialized in the latter sense, however, and was applied to narrative compositions similar in character to those imitated from Latin sources but totally different in origin. And, as the nature of these compositions changed, the word itself acquired an increasingly wide spectrum of meanings. In modern French a *roman* is just a novel, whatever its content and structure, whereas in modern English the word *romance* (derived from

CHAPTER 5

SAGA

Any type of medieval Icelandic prose story or history, irrespective of the kind or nature of the narrative or the purposes for which it was written, is called a saga. Used in this general sense, the term applies to a wide range of literary works, including those of hagiography (biography of saints), historiography, and secular fiction in a variety of modes. Lives of the saints and other stories for edification are entitled sagas, as are the Norse versions of French romances and the Icelandic adaptations of various Latin histories. Chronicles and other factual records of the history of Scandinavia and Iceland down to the 14th century are also included under the blanket term *saga literature*. In a stricter sense, however, the term *saga* is confined to legendary and historical fictions, in which the author has attempted an imaginative reconstruction of the past and organized the subject matter according to certain aesthetic principles.

The origin and evolution of saga writing in Iceland are largely matters for speculation. A common pastime on Icelandic farms, from the 12th century down to modern times, was the reading aloud of stories to entertain the household, known as *sagnaskemmtun* ("saga entertainment"). It seems to have replaced the traditional art of storytelling. All kinds of written narratives were used in *sagnaskemmtun*: secular, sacred, historical, and legendary. The Icelandic church took a sympathetic view of the writing and reading of sagas, and many of the authors whose identity is still known were monks or priests.

CHAPTER 7

SATIRE

Satire is a chiefly literary and dramatic artistic form, in which human or individual vices, follies, abuses, or shortcomings are held up to censure by means of ridicule, derision, burlesque, irony, parody, caricature, or other methods, sometimes with an intent to inspire social reform.

Satire is a protean term. Together with its derivatives, it is one of the most heavily worked literary designations and one of the most imprecise. The great English lexicographer Samuel Johnson defined satire as “a poem in which wickedness or folly is censured,” and more elaborate definitions are rarely more satisfactory. No strict definition can encompass the complexity of a word that signifies, on one hand, a kind of literature—as when one speaks of the satires of the Roman poet Horace or calls the American novelist Nathanael West’s *A Cool Million* a satire—and, on the other, a mocking spirit or tone that manifests itself in many literary genres but can also enter into almost any kind of human communication. Wherever wit is employed to expose something foolish or vicious to criticism, there satire exists, whether it be in song or sermon, in painting or political debate, on television or in the movies. In this sense satire is everywhere. In literary works, satire can be direct or indirect. With direct satire, the narrator speaks directly to the reader. With indirect satire, the author’s intent is realized within the narrative and its story. Although this chapter deals primarily with satire as a

CHAPTER 8

BIOGRAPHY

A biography is commonly a work of nonfiction, the usual subject of which is the life of an individual. Starting in the 20th century, the term also was used to describe other types of portrait, for example, that of a region or continent (*Night Comes to the Cumberland: A Biography of a Depressed Area*, 1963; *Africa: A Biography of a Continent*, 1997), an object (*America's Constitution: A Biography*, 2005), and an ethnic group (*Latinos: A Biography of the People*, 1992). One of the oldest forms of literary expression, the biography still typically seeks to re-create in words the life of a human being—as understood from the historical or personal perspective of the author—by drawing upon all available evidence, including that retained in memory as well as written, oral, and pictorial material. These portraits may be of several types.

HISTORICAL ASPECTS

Biography is sometimes regarded as a branch of history, and earlier biographical writings—such as the 15th-century *Mémoires* of the French counselor of state, Philippe de Commines, or George Cavendish's 16th-century life of Thomas Cardinal Wolsey—have often been treated as historical material rather than as literary works in their own right. Some entries in ancient Chinese chronicles included biographical sketches. Embedded in the Roman historian Tacitus's *Annals* is the most famous biography of

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dan penokohan tak mungkin dilakukan tanpa melibatkan unsur peristiwa dan tokoh. Oleh karena itu, perbedaan unsur tertentu ke dalam unsur bentuk atau isi sebenarnya lebih bersifat teoretis di samping terlihat untuk menyederhanakan masalah.

b. Fakta, Tema, Sarana Cerita

Stanton (1965: 11-36) membedakan unsur pembangun sebuah novel ke dalam tiga bagian: fakta, tema, dan sarana pengucapan (sastra). Fakta (*facts*) dalam sebuah cerita meliputi karakter (tokoh cerita), plot, dan setting. Ketiganya merupakan unsur fiksi yang secara faktual dapat dibayangkan peristiwanya, eksistensinya, dalam sebuah novel. Oleh karena itu, ketiganya dapat pula disebut sebagai struktur faktual (*factual structure*) atau derajat faktual (*factual level*) sebuah cerita. Ketiga unsur tersebut harus dipandang sebagai satu kesatuan dalam rangkaian keseluruhan cerita, bukan sebagai sesuatu yang berdiri sendiri dan terpisah satu dengan yang lain. Tema adalah sesuatu yang menjadi dasar cerita. Ia selalu berkaitan dengan berbagai pengalaman kehidupan, seperti masalah cinta, kasih, rindu, takut, maut, religius, dan sebagainya. Dalam hal tertentu, sering, tema dapat disinonimkan dengan ide atau tujuan utama cerita.

Sarana pengucapan sastra, sarana kesastraan (*literary devices*) adalah teknik yang dipergunakan oleh pengarang untuk memilih dan menyusun detil-detil cerita (peristiwa dan kejadian) menjadi pola yang bermakna. Tujuan penggunaan (tepatnya: pemilihan) sarana kesastraan adalah untuk memungkinkan pembaca melihat fakta sebagaimana yang dilihat pengarang, menafsirkan makna fakta sebagaimana yang ditafsirkan pengarang, dan merasakan pengalaman seperti yang dirasakan pengarang. Macam sarana kesastraan yang dimaksud antara lain berupa sudut pandang penceritaan, gaya (bahasa) dan nada, simbolisme, dan ironi.

Setiap novel akan memiliki tiga unsur pokok, sekaligus merupakan unsur terpenting, yaitu **tokoh utama**, **konflik utama**, dan **tema utama**. Ketiga unsur utama itu saling berkaitan erat dan membentuk satu kesatuan yang padu, kesatuan organisme cerita. Ketiga

cerita, sehingga boleh dikatakan bahwa hal itu bersifat mengikat adanya sifat saling keterkaitan antarepisode (perlu dicatat pula: menafsirkan tema sebuah novel pun bukan merupakan pekerjaan mudah).

Unsur-unsur pembangun sebuah novel, seperti, plot, tema, penokohan, dan latar, secara umum dapat dikatakan bersifat lebih rinci dan kompleks daripada unsur-unsur cerpen. Hal yang dimaksud terlihat pada pembicaraan berikut.

Plot. Plot cerpen pada umumnya tunggal, hanya terdiri dari satu urutan peristiwa yang diikuti sampai cerita berakhir (bukan selesai, sebab banyak cerpen, juga novel, yang tidak berisi penyelesaian yang jelas, penyelesaian diserahkan kepada interpretasi pembaca). Urutan peristiwa dapat dimulai dari mana saja, misalnya dari konflik yang telah meningkat, tidak harus bermula dari tahap perkenalan (para) tokoh atau latar. Kalaupun ada unsur perkenalan tokoh dan latar, biasanya tak berkepanjangan. Berhubung berplot tunggal, konflik yang dibangun dan klimaks yang akan diperoleh pun, biasanya, bersifat tunggal pula.

Novel, di pihak lain, berhubung adanya ketidakterikatan pada panjang cerita yang memberi kebebasan kepada pengarang, umumnya memiliki lebih dari satu plot: terdiri dari satu plot utama dan sub-subplot. Plot utama berisi konflik utama yang menjadi inti persoalan yang diceritakan sepanjang karya itu, sedangkan sub-subplot adalah berupa (munculnya) konflik(-konflik) tambahan yang bersifat menopang, mempertegas, dan mengintensifkan konflik utama untuk sampai ke klimaks. Plot-plot tambahan atau sub-subplot tersebut berisi konflik-konflik yang mungkin tidak sama kadar "ke-penting-annya" atau perannya terhadap plot utama. Masing-masing subplot berjalan sendiri, bahkan mungkin sekaligus dengan "penyelesaian" sendiri pula, namun harus tetap berkaitan satu dengan yang lain, dan tetap dalam hubungannya dengan plot utama.

Novel *Maut dan Cinta* karya Mochtar Lubis, misalnya, mengikuti satu plot utama di samping menampilkan sub-subplot tersebut. Plot utama adalah urutan peristiwa yang ditokohi oleh Sadeli. Namun, tokoh-tokoh lain seperti Umar Yunus dan Ali Nurdin pun membawakan plot, konflik, dan penyelesaian sendiri, walau keduanya menjadi penting karena kaitannya dengan tokoh Sadeli sang pendukung plot utama.

Harimau! Harimau!, Canting, Para Priyayi, dan lain-lain? Klimaks novel-novel tersebut, antara lain, dapat dikenali melalui konflik-konflik utama yang diperani oleh tokoh utama, berturut-turut yaitu tokoh Fuyuko, Permana, Setodewo (dan Larasati), Rasus dan Srintil, Sadeli, Boyung dan Wak Katok, Bu Bei (Pak Bei dan Ni), Lantip (Sastra-darsana). Menentukan klimaks sebuah cerita, memang, diperlukan berbagai pertimbangan, kejelian, dan kekritisan dalam membaca karya fiksi yang bersangkutan. Penentuan di mana letak klimaks sebuah karya fiksi, sebagaimana halnya dengan aspek-aspek yang lain, orang dapat berbeda pendapat.

3. KAIDAH PEMLOTAN

Sebagaimana telah dikemukakan, novel merupakan sebuah karya yang bersifat imajiner dan kreatif. Sifat kreativitas itu antara lain terlihat pada kebebasan pengarang untuk mengemukakan (baca: menciptakan) cerita, peristiwa, konflik, tokoh, dan lain-lain yang termasuk dalam aspek "material" fiksi, dengan teknik dan gaya yang paling disukai. Tentu saja kesemuanya itu tak akan lepas dari kontrol tujuan estetis. Karena adanya unsur kreativitas inilah dimungkinkan sekali pengarang menciptakan karya yang baru, asli, yang belum pernah dikemukakan orang sebelumnya. Adanya unsur kebaruan dan keaslian, baik yang menyangkut apa yang ingin dikemukakan maupun terlebih bagaimana cara mengemukakan, dalam banyak hal, khususnya dalam pendekatan struktural, dipandang sebagai kriteria yang penting untuk menilai keberhasilan karya yang bersangkutan sebagai karya sastra.

Masalah kreativitas, kebaruan, dan keaslian dapat juga menyangkut masalah pengembangan plot. Pengarang memiliki kebebasan untuk memilih cara untuk mengembangkan plot, membangun konflik, menyiasati penyajian peristiwa, dan sebagainya sesuai dengan selera estetisnya. Mencari kebaruan cara pengucapan dalam karya sastra merupakan suatu hal yang esensial. Pengarang tak mau hanya berlaku dan bersifat "menjiplak" sesuatu yang telah dikemukakan dan dipergunakan orang sebelumnya, apalagi sampai menciptakan karya yang

4. PENAHAPAN PLOT

Awal peristiwa yang ditampilkan dalam karya fiksi, seperti diungkapkan di atas, mungkin saja langsung berupa adegan(-adegan) yang tergolong menegangkan. Pembaca langsung dihadapkan pada peristiwa cerita yang berkadar konflik dan dramatik tinggi, yang barangkali, justru konflik yang amat menentukan plot karya yang bersangkutan. Padahal, pembaca belum lagi dibawa masuk ke dalam suasana cerita, belum lagi tahu awal mula dan sebab-sebab terjadinya konflik. Cerita yang diawali dengan tanpa basa-basi dan langsung menukik ke inti permasalahan, adalah cerita yang menampilkan plot yang bersifat *in medias res*. Namun, bahwa yang ditemui di bagian awal itu adegan konflik berkadar tinggi, baru akan diketahui pembaca setelah melewati bagian-bagian yang lebih kemudian.

Hal yang demikian dapat terjadi disebabkan urutan waktu penceritaan (jadi, secara linear, *sujet*) sengaja dimanipulasikan dengan urutan peristiwa (secara logika, *fabel*). Ia mungkin dimaksudkan untuk mendapatkan bentuk pengucapan baru dan efek artistik tertentu, kejutan, ataupun sebetuk *suspense* di pihak pembaca. Teknik pengungkapan cerita, atau teknik pemplotan, yang demikian biasanya justru lebih menarik karena memang langsung dapat menarik perhatian pembaca. Pembaca langsung berhadapan dengan konflik, yang tentu saja, ingin segera mengetahui sebab-sebab kejadian dan bagaimana kelanjutannya.

Plot sebuah cerita bagaimanapun tentulah mengandung unsur urutan waktu, baik dikemukakan secara eksplisit maupun implisit. Oleh karena itu, dalam sebuah cerita, sebuah teks naratif, tentulah ada awal kejadian, kejadian-kejadian berikutnya, dan barangkali ada pula akhirnya. Namun, plot sebuah karya fiksi sering tak menyajikan urutan peristiwa secara kronologis dan runtut, melainkan penyajian yang dapat dimulai dan diakhiri dengan kejadian yang mana pun juga tanpa adanya keharusan untuk memulai dan mengakhiri dengan kejadian awal dan kejadian (ter-)akhir. Dengan demikian, tahap awal cerita tidak harus berada di awal cerita atau di bagian awal teks, melainkan dapat terletak di bagian mana pun.

dari di mana letak mereka masing-masing pada urutan sintagmatik cerita. Tahap awal cerita membawa kita dari eksposisi dan pengenalan setting ke tanda-tanda munculnya konflik, tahap tengah menyajikan semakin meningkatnya konflik, pertautan dan kompleksitas konflik untuk akhirnya sampai ke klimaks yang kesemuanya itu merupakan inti cerita, dan tahap akhir membawa kita dari klimaks ke penyelesaian.

b. Tahapan Plot: Rincian Lain

Selain rincian tahapan plot seperti di atas, ada tahapan lain yang dikemukakan orang dan terlihat lebih rinci. Rincian yang dimaksud adalah yang dikemukakan oleh Tasrif (dalam Mochtar Lubis, 1978: 10; mungkin dengan mendasarkan diri pada pendapat Richard Summers?), yaitu yang membedakan tahapan plot menjadi lima bagian. Kelima tahapan itu adalah sebagai berikut.

(1) **Tahap *situation*** (Tasrif juga memakai istilah dalam bahasa Inggris): **tahap penyituasian**, tahap yang terutama berisi pelukisan dan pengenalan situasi latar dan tokoh(-tokoh) cerita. Tahap ini merupakan tahap pembukaan cerita, pemberian informasi awal, dan lain-lain yang, terutama, berfungsi untuk melandastumpui cerita yang dikisahkan pada tahap berikutnya.

(2) **Tahap *generating circumstances***: **tahap pemunculan konflik**, masalah(-masalah) dan peristiwa-peristiwa yang menyulut terjadinya konflik mulai dimunculkan. Jadi, tahap ini merupakan tahap awalnya munculnya konflik, dan konflik itu sendiri akan berkembang dan atau dikembangkan menjadi konflik-konflik pada tahap berikutnya. Tahap pertama dan kedua pada pembagian ini, tampaknya, berkesesuaian dengan tahap awal pada penahapan seperti yang dikemukakan di atas.

(3) **Tahap *rising action***: **tahap peningkatan konflik**, konflik yang telah dimunculkan pada tahap sebelumnya semakin berkembang dan dikembangkan kadar intensitasnya. Peristiwa-peristiwa dramatik yang menjadi inti cerita semakin mencengkam dan menegangkan. Konflik-konflik yang terjadi, internal, eksternal, ataupun keduanya, pertentangan-pertentangan, benturan-benturan antarkepen-

kaitannya dengan berbagai unsur yang lain dan peranannya dalam cerita secara keseluruhan. Tokoh memang unsur yang terpenting dalam karya fiksi, namun, bagaimanapun juga, ia tetap terikat oleh unsur-unsur yang lain. Bagaimana jalinan dan bentuk keterikatan unsur tokoh dengan unsur-unsur yang lain dalam sebuah fiksi, perlu ditinjau satu per satu. Jika tokoh memang berjalanan erat, saling melengkapi dan menentukan dengan unsur-unsur yang lain dalam membentuk keutuhan yang artistik, tokoh mempunyai bentuk relevansi dengan cerita secara keseluruhan. Penokohan telah dikembangkan sesuai dengan tuntutan cerita.

2. PEMBEDAAN TOKOH

Tokoh-tokoh cerita dalam sebuah fiksi dapat dibedakan ke dalam beberapa jenis penamaan berdasarkan dari sudut mana penamaan itu dilakukan. Berdasarkan perbedaan sudut pandang dan tinjauan, seorang tokoh dapat saja dikategorikan ke dalam beberapa jenis penamaan sekaligus, misalnya sebagai tokoh utama-protagonis-berkembang-tipikal.

a. Tokoh Utama dan Tokoh Tambahan

Membaca sebuah novel, biasanya, kita akan dihadapkan pada sejumlah tokoh yang dihadirkan di dalamnya. Namun, dalam kaitannya dengan keseluruhan cerita, peranan masing-masing tokoh tersebut tak sama. Dilihat dari segi **peranan** atau **tingkat pentingnya** tokoh dalam sebuah cerita, ada tokoh yang tergolong penting dan ditampilkan terus-menerus sehingga terasa mendominasi sebagian besar cerita, dan sebaliknya, ada tokoh(-tokoh) yang hanya dimunculkan sekali atau beberapa kali dalam cerita, dan itu pun mungkin dalam porsi penceritaan yang relatif pendek. Tokoh yang disebut pertama adalah tokoh utama cerita (*central character, main character*), sedang yang kedua adalah tokoh tambahan (*peripheral character*).

Tokoh utama adalah tokoh yang diutamakan penceritaannya

Manyar, ia memiliki kadar keutamaan yang lebih daripada Atik. Atik pun dapat dianggap sebagai tokoh utama, karena ia juga banyak diceritakan, banyak berhubungan dengan Teto, mempengaruhi perkembangan plot, bahkan penemuan jati diri Teto melalui simbolisasi burung manyar, Atiklah yang melantarkannya. Dari segi cerita, dapat dikatakan bahwa novel ini mengisahkan perjalanan kehidupan Teto dan Atik. Dengan demikian, Atik pun berhak disebut sebagai tokoh utama, walau utama yang tambahan. Tokoh-tokoh yang lain seperti Verbruggen, Janakatamsi, Bu Antana, dan Marice, walau relatif tak banyak, juga mempengaruhi plot. Dominasi mereka dalam cerita ada di bawah Atik, sehingga mereka dapat dipandang sebagai tokoh tambahan, walau harus dicatat: tokoh tambahan yang utama.

Apa yang dikemukakan di atas menunjukkan bahwa perbedaan antara tokoh utama dan tambahan tak dapat dilakukan secara eksak. Perbedaan itu lebih bersifat gradasi, kadar keutamaan tokoh-tokoh itu bertingkat: tokoh utama (yang) utama, utama tambahan, tokoh tambahan utama, tambahan (yang memang) tambahan. Hal inilah antara lain yang menyebabkan orang bisa berbeda pendapat dalam hal menentukan tokoh-tokoh utama sebuah cerita fiksi.

b. Tokoh Protagonis dan Tokoh Antagonis

Jika dilihat dari **peran tokoh-tokoh** dalam pengembangan plot dapat dibedakan adanya tokoh utama dan tokoh tambahan, dilihat dari **fungsi penampilan tokoh** dapat dibedakan ke dalam tokoh protagonis dan tokoh antagonis. Membaca sebuah novel, pembaca sering mengidentifikasikan diri dengan tokoh(-tokoh) tertentu, memberikan simpati dan empati, melibatkan diri secara emosional terhadap tokoh tersebut. Tokoh yang disikapi demikian oleh pembaca disebut sebagai tokoh protagonis (Altenbernd & Lewis, 1966: 59).

Tokoh protagonis adalah tokoh yang kita kagumi—yang salah satu jenisnya secara populer disebut hero—tokoh yang merupakan pengejawantahan norma-norma, nilai-nilai, yang ideal bagi kita (Altenbernd & Lewis, 1966: 59). Tokoh protagonis menampilkan sesuatu yang sesuai dengan pandangan kita, harapan-harapan kita,

Aiuk, memaafkan kekeliruannya itu. Itu semua disebabkan Teto banyak diceritakan dan diberi kesempatan untuk mengeluarkan sikap dan pandangannya, walau kadang-kadang terasa keras, "menusuk dan menyakitkan", namun diam-diam dalam hati kita-pembaca toh membenarkannya juga.

Pembedaan antara tokoh utama dan tambahan dengan tokoh protagonis dan antagonis sering digabungkan, sehingga menjadi tokoh-utama-protagonis, tokoh-utama-antagonis, tokoh-tambahan-protagonis, dan seterusnya. Pembedaan secara pasti antara tokoh utama protagonis dengan tokoh utama antagonis juga sering tidak mudah dilakukan. Pembedaan itu sebenarnya lebih bersifat penggradasian. Apalagi tokoh cerita pun dapat berubah, khususnya pada tokoh yang berkembang, sehingga tokoh yang semula diberi rasa antipati belakangan justru menjadi disimpati, atau sebaliknya. Atau paling tidak, pemberian rasa simpati, atau antipati, menjadi berkurang, atau bertambah, dari semula. Nikap Teto pun belakangan juga berubah menjadi cinta Republik.

c. Tokoh Sederhana dan Tokoh Bulat

Berdasarkan **perwatakannya**, tokoh cerita dapat dibedakan ke dalam tokoh sederhana (*simple* atau *flat character*) dan tokoh kompleks atau tokoh bulat (*complex* atau *round character*). Pembedaan tersebut berasal dari Forster dalam bukunya *Aspects of the Novel* yang terbit pertama kali 1927. Pembedaan tokoh ke dalam sederhana dan kompleks (Forster, 1970: 75) tersebut kemudian menjadi sangat terkenal. Hampir semua buku sastra yang membicarakan penokohan, tak pernah lupa menyebut pembedaan itu, baik secara langsung menyebut nama Forster maupun tidak. Pengkategorian seorang tokoh ke dalam sederhana atau bulat haruslah didahului dengan analisis perwatakan (baca: Catatan tentang Identifikasi Tokoh pada akhir bab ini). Setelah deskripsi perwatakan seorang tokoh diperoleh, kita dapat menentukan ke dalam kategori mana secara lebih dapat dipertanggungjawabkan.

Tokoh Sederhana. Tokoh sederhana, dalam bentuknya yang asli, adalah tokoh yang hanya memiliki satu kualitas pribadi tertentu,

2. UNSUR LATAR

Unsur latar dapat dibedakan ke dalam tiga unsur pokok, yaitu tempat, waktu, dan sosial. Ketiga unsur itu walau masing-masing menawarkan permasalahan yang berbeda dan dapat dibicarakan secara sendiri, pada kenyataannya saling berkaitan dan saling mempengaruhi satu dengan yang lainnya.

a. Latar Tempat

Latar tempat menyoran pada lokasi terjadinya peristiwa yang diceritakan dalam sebuah karya fiksi. Unsur tempat yang dipergunakan mungkin berupa tempat-tempat dengan nama tertentu, inisial tertentu, mungkin lokasi tertentu tanpa nama jelas. Tempat-tempat yang bernama adalah tempat yang dijumpai dalam dunia nyata, misalnya Magelang, Yogyakarta, Juranggede, Cemarajajar, Kramat, Grojogan, dan lain-lain yang terdapat di dalam *Burung-burung Manyar*. Tempat dengan inisial tertentu, biasanya berupa huruf awal (kapital) nama suatu tempat, juga menyoran pada tempat tertentu, tetapi pembaca harus memperkirakan sendiri, misalnya kota M, S, T, dan desa B seperti dipergunakan dalam *Bawuk*. Latar tempat tanpa nama jelas biasanya hanya berupa penyebutan jenis dan sifat umum tempat-tempat tertentu, misalnya desa, sungai, jalan, hutan, kota, kota kecamatan, dan sebagainya.

Penggunaan latar tempat dengan nama-nama tertentu haruslah mencerminkan, atau paling tidak tak bertentangan dengan sifat dan keadaan geografis tempat yang bersangkutan. Masing-masing tempat tentu saja memiliki karakteristiknya sendiri yang membedakannya dengan tempat-tempat yang lain, misalnya Gunung Kidul, Juranggede, Pejaten, dan Paruk. Jika terjadi ketidaksesuaian deskripsi antara keadaan tempat secara realistik dengan yang terdapat di dalam novel, terutama jika pembaca mengenalinya, hal itu akan menyebabkan karya yang bersangkutan kurang meyakinkan. Deskripsi tempat secara teliti dan realistik ini penting untuk mengesani pembaca seolah-olah hal yang diceritakan itu sungguh-sungguh ada dan terjadi, yaitu di tempat (dan waktu) seperti yang diceritakan itu.

Untuk dapat mendeskripsikan suatu tempat secara meyakinkan, pengarang perlu menguasai medan. Pengarang haruslah menguasai situasi geografis lokasi yang bersangkutan lengkap dengan karakteristik dan sifat khasnya. Tempat-tempat yang berupa desa, kota, jalan, sungai, laut, gubug reot, rumah, hotel, dan lain-lain tentu memiliki ciri-ciri khas yang menandainya. Hal itu belum lagi diperhitungkan adanya ciri khas tertentu untuk tempat tertentu sebab, tentunya tak ada satu pun desa, kota, atau sungai yang sama persis dengan desa, kota atau sungai yang lain. Pelukisan tempat tertentu dengan sifat khasnya secara rinci biasanya menjadi bersifat kedaerahan, atau berupa pengangkatan suasana daerah.

Pengangkatan suasana kedaerahan, sesuatu yang mencerminkan unsur *local color*, akan menyebabkan latar tempat menjadi unsur yang dominan dalam karya yang bersangkutan. Tempat menjadi sesuatu yang bersifat khas, tipikal, dan fungsional. Ia akan mempengaruhi pengaluran dan penokohan, dan karenanya menjadi koheren dengan cerita secara keseluruhan. Namun, perlu ditegaskan bahwa sifat ketipikalitas daerah tak hanya ditentukan oleh rincinya deskripsi lokasi, melainkan terlebih harus didukung oleh sifat kehidupan sosial masyarakat penghuninya. Dengan kata lain, latar sosial, latar spiritual, justru lebih menentukan ketipikalitas latar tempat yang ditunjuk. Pengangkatan lokasi secara demikian, menunjukkan bahwa ia digarap secara teliti oleh pengarang. Hanya pengarang-pengarang yang menguasai medan, latar, baik fisik maupun spiritual, yang dapat melakukannya dengan meyakinkan. Biasanya pengarang itu adalah mereka yang berasal dari daerah yang bersangkutan, misalnya Korrie Layun Rampan dalam *Upacara*, Ahmad Tohari dalam *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*, Lintang Kemukus Dini Hari dan Jantera Bianglala, Linus Suryadi dalam *Pengakuan Pariyem*, atau Arswenda dalam *Canting*.

Namun, tidak semua latar tempat digarap secara teliti dalam berbagai fiksi, novel atau cerpen. Dalam sejumlah karya tertentu, penunjukan latar hanya sekedar sebagai latar, lokasi hanya sekedar tempat terjadinya peristiwa-peristiwa, dan kurang mempengaruhi perkembangan alur dan tokoh. Misalnya, nama-nama tempat tertentu sekedar disebut: Jakarta, hotel, Yogyakarta, Malioboro, atau yang lain

sehingga nama-nama itu dapat diganti dengan nama-nama lain begitu tanpa mempengaruhi perkembangan cerita. Unsur tempat, dengan demikian, menjadi kurang fungsional, kurang koheren dengan unsur-unsur cerita yang lain dan dengan cerita secara keseluruhan. Namun, perlu juga dicatat bahwa kadar fungsionalitas tempat tidaklah terbagi menjadi dua bagian: fungsional dan tak fungsional, melainkan lebih bersifat gradasi.

Penyebutan latar tempat yang tidak ditunjukkan secara jelas namanya, mungkin disebabkan perannya dalam karya yang bersangkutan kurang dominan. Unsur latar sebagai bagian keseluruhan karya dapat jadi dominan dan koherensif, namun hal itu lebih ditentukan oleh unsur latar yang lain. Ketakjelasan penunjukkan tempat dapat juga mengisyaratkan bahwa peristiwa-peristiwa yang diceritakan dapat terjadi di tempat lain sepanjang memiliki sifat khas latar sosial (dan waktu) yang mirip. Namun, jika latar sosial telah menunjuk pada kehidupan sosial masyarakat tertentu, misalnya Jawa, pemilihan latar tempat pun mau tak mau menjadi "terbatas", terbatas pada tempat-tempat yang memiliki kehidupan sosial masyarakat Jawa. Tempat-tempat yang demikian relatif cukup luas dan banyak sehingga penyebutannya dapat saling digantikan tanpa harus mempengaruhi unsur latar yang lain.

Akhirnya perlu dikemukakan bahwa latar tempat dalam sebuah novel biasanya meliputi berbagai lokasi. Ia akan berpindah-pindah dari satu tempat ke tempat lain sejalan dengan perkembangan plot dan tokoh. Dalam *Burung-burung Manyar* di atas misalnya, latar tempat banyak berpindah-pindah, dari Magelang, Surakarta, Jakarta, Semarang, Yogyakarta, masing-masing dengan lokasi tertentu, desa, jalan desa, Juranggede, rumah, rumah sakit, kamar, dan sebagainya. Dari sekian banyak tempat yang disebut tentu saja tak semuanya fungsional dan sama pentingnya. Jika dalam novel tersebut terdapat banyak tempat, dalam karya fiksi yang lain mungkin lebih membatasi diri pada sejumlah tempat tertentu saja. Dalam *Sri Sunarah* dan *Bawuk* misalnya, tempat yang dipergunakan dan disebut relatif lebih sedikit.

Namun, banyak atau sedikitnya latar tempat tak berhubungan

dengan kadar kelitereran karya yang bersangkutan. Keberhasilan latar tempat lebih ditentukan oleh ketepatan deskripsi, fungsi, dan keterpaduannya dengan unsur latar yang lain sehingga semuanya bersifat saling mengisi. Keberhasilan penampilan unsur latar itu sendiri antara lain dilihat dari segi koherensinya dengan unsur fiksi lain dan dengan tuntutan cerita secara keseluruhan.

b. Latar Waktu

Latar waktu berhubungan dengan masalah "kapan" terjadinya peristiwa-peristiwa yang diceritakan dalam sebuah karya fiksi. Masalah "kapan" tersebut biasanya dihubungkan dengan waktu faktual, waktu yang ada kaitannya atau dapat dikaitkan dengan peristiwa sejarah. Pengetahuan dan persepsi pembaca terhadap waktu sejarah itu kemudian dipergunakan untuk mencoba masuk ke dalam suasana cerita. Pembaca berusaha memahami dan menikmati cerita berdasarkan acuan waktu yang diketahuinya yang berasal dari luar cerita yang bersangkutan. Adanya persamaan perkembangan dan atau kesejajaran waktu tersebut juga dimanfaatkan untuk mengesani pembaca seolah-olah cerita itu sebagai sungguh-sungguh ada dan terjadi.

Misalnya, usaha memahami kehidupan tokoh Teto dalam *Burung-burung Manyar* itu mau tak mau kita akan menghubungkannya dengan waktu sejarah, seperti keadaan tangsi militer Magelang zaman kekuasaan Belanda, semasa pendudukan Jepang di tanah air, penyerbuan Belanda ke Yogyakarta pada masa *clash II*, walau tokoh Teto itu sendiri kita sadari betul sebagai tokoh fiktif. Tanpa memahami latar belakang sejarah apresiasi kita terhadap novel tersebut akan menjadi lain, tak dapat mendapatkan kesan dan makna secara penuh. Demikian pula halnya jika kita membaca *Maut dan Cinta* yang berlatar sejarah masa revolusi kemerdekaan. Dalam karya-karya lain seperti *Lintang Kemukus Dini Hari*, *Kubah*, *Sri Sumarah*, dan *Bawuk*, peristiwa G-30-S/PKI bahkan menjadi inti konflik. Unsur waktu dalam novel-novel tersebut sangat dominan, secara jelas mempengaruhi perkembangan plot dan cerita secara keseluruhan. Latar waktu, dengan demikian, bersifat fungsional.

Masalah waktu dalam karya naratif, kata Genette (1980: 33; 35), dapat bermakna ganda: di satu pihak menyoran pada waktu penceritaan, waktu penulisan cerita, dan di pihak lain menunjuk pada waktu dan urutan waktu yang terjadi dan dikisahkan dalam cerita. Kejelasan waktu yang diceritakan amat penting dilihat dari segi waktu penceritaannya. Tanpa kejelasan (urutan) waktu yang diceritakan, orang hampir tak mungkin menulis cerita—khususnya untuk cerita yang ditulis dalam bahasa-bahasa yang mengenal *tenses* seperti bahasa Inggris. Dalam hubungan ini, kejelasan masalah waktu menjadi lebih penting daripada kejelasan unsur tempat (Genette, 1980: 215). Hal itu disebabkan orang masih dapat menulis dengan baik walau unsur tempat tak ditunjukkan secara pasti, namun tidak demikian halnya dengan pemilihan bentuk-bentuk kebahasaan sebagai sarana pengungkapannya.

Latar waktu dalam fiksi dapat menjadi dominan dan fungsional jika digarap secara teliti, terutama jika dihubungkan dengan waktu sejarah. Namun, hal itu membawa juga sebuah konsekuensi: sesuatu yang diceritakan harus sesuai dengan perkembangan sejarah. Segala sesuatu yang menyangkut hubungan waktu, langsung atau tidak langsung, harus berkesesuaian dengan waktu sejarah yang menjadi acuannya. Jika terjadi ketidaksesuaian waktu peristiwa antara yang terjadi di dunia nyata dengan yang terjadi di dalam karya fiksi, hal itu akan menyebabkan cerita tak wajar, bahkan mungkin sekali tak masuk akal, pembaca merasa dibohongi. Hal inilah yang dalam dunia fiksi dikenal dengan sebutan *anakronisme*, tak cocok dengan urutan (perkembangan) waktu (sejarah). Dengan demikian, anakronisme lebih menyoran pada hal-hal yang bersifat negatif (baca: Catatan tentang Anakronisme di belakang).

Pengangkatan unsur sejarah ke dalam karya fiksi akan menyebabkan waktu yang diceritakan menjadi bersifat khas, tipikal, dan dapat menjadi sangat fungsional, sehingga tak dapat diganti dengan waktu yang lain tanpa mempengaruhi perkembangan cerita. Latar waktu menjadi amat koheren dengan unsur cerita yang lain. Ketipikalan unsur waktu dapat menyebabkan unsur tempat menjadi kurang penting, khususnya waktu sejarah yang berskala nasional. Misalnya, pada masa revolusi kemerdekaan banyak tentara pelajar turun ke medan untuk ikut

berjuang. Masalah di mana mereka berjuang sebenarnya tidak penting, dapat di mana pun, di pelosok Yogyakarta, Jawa Tengah, atau Jawa Timur dan Jawa Barat. Namun, masalah kapan mereka berjuang sudah pasti dan tidak dapat diganti waktu lain. Itulah sebabnya cerpen-cerpen Nugroho Notosusanto yang terkumpul dalam *Hujan Kepagian* latar waktu lebih tipikal dan fungsional daripada latar tempat.

Dalam sejumlah karya fiksi lain, latar waktu mungkin justru tampak samar, tidak ditunjukkan secara jelas. Dalam karya yang demikian, yaitu tidak ditonjolkannya unsur waktu, mungkin karena memang tidak penting untuk ditonjolkan dengan kaitan logika ceritanya. Dalam *Harimau-Harimau* misalnya, penekanan waktu yang dominan hanya berupa siang dan malam, walau latar tempat dan sosial dominan. Ketidajelasan waktu sejarah dalam novel itu memang tidak diperlukan. Tokoh-tokoh kelas sosial bawah yang pendamar yang lebih banyak hidup di hutan tidak memerlukan latar sejarah itu. Urusan mereka dengan waktu lebih terpusat pada soal siang dan malam, siang untuk bekerja dan berjalan, malam untuk mengaso. Dalam hubungan cerita itu yang lebih kemudian, malam dipergunakan bersiap-siap menghadapi amukan harimau dan siang untuk meneruskan perjalanan. Dengan demikian, latar waktu yang fungsional dalam kaitannya dengan cerita hanyalah siang dan malam.

Lama Waktu Cerita. Masalah waktu dalam karya fiksi juga sering dihubungkan dengan lamanya waktu yang dipergunakan dalam cerita. Dalam hal ini terdapat variasi pada berbagai novel yang ditulis orang. Ada novel yang membutuhkan waktu sangat panjang, katakanlah (hampir) sepanjang hayat tokoh, misalnya *Sitti Nurbaya* dan *Burung-burung Manyar*, ada yang relatif agak panjang, membutuhkan waktu beberapa tahun, misalnya *Keberangkatan*, *Maut dan Cinta*, ada pula yang relatif pendek misalnya hanya beberapa hari seperti dalam *Harimau-Harimau* atau bahkan hanya beberapa jam seperti dalam *Bila Malam Bertambah Malam* dan *Perburuan*.

Novel yang membutuhkan waktu cerita panjang tidak berarti menceritakan semua peristiwa yang dialami tokoh, melainkan dipilih peristiwa-peristiwa tertentu yang dramatik-fungsional dan mempunyai pertalian secara plot. Novel yang demikian biasanya tebal. Sebaliknya,

novel yang hanya membutuhkan waktu cerita singkat biasanya juga tidak hanya menceritakan kejadian-kejadian dalam waktu yang sesingkat itu pula. Ia dapat saja menceritakan kejadian-kejadian lampau—tentunya yang berkaitan dengan peristiwa masa kini—dengan cara sorot balik, retroversi, yang mungkin lewat cerita atau renungan tokoh. Dengan demikian, novel jenis ini pun sebenarnya membutuhkan waktu cerita relatif panjang, bahkan mungkin juga hampir sepanjang hayat tokoh, hanya karena disiasati pengarang maka ia tampak menjadi singkat.

Akhirnya, latar waktu harus juga dikaitkan dengan latar tempat (juga: sosial) sebab pada kenyataannya memang saling berkaitan. Keadaan suatu yang diceritakan mau tidak mau harus mengacu pada waktu tertentu karena tempat itu akan berubah sejalan dengan perubahan waktu. Misalnya, Gunung Kidul tahun 1950-an seperti dalam cerpen *Gunung Kidul*-nya Nugroho, tentunya tidak sama dengan Gunung Kidul dewasa ini, Surabaya dalam *Bumi Manusia* (akhir abad ke-19) jelas berbeda dengan Surabaya pada *Petualang*-nya Trisnojuwono pada masa revolusi. Dengan demikian, cerita *Gunung Kidul* dan Surabaya tersebut mungkin sekali tidak bisa lagi diterapkan dalam waktu kini walau untuk lokasi yang sama sekalipun. Ketidaksesuaian antara deskripsi tempat dengan perkembangan waktu pun menyebabkan adanya "anakronisme"—jangkauan anakronisme dapat pula mencakup aspek selain waktu, namun masih ada kaitannya dengan masalah waktu. Misalnya, sebuah karya yang berlatar waktu tahun 1940-an di Jakarta, menunjuk tugu Monumen Nasional sebagai salah satu tempat terjadinya peristiwa. Hal itu jelas ngawur sebab waktu itu Monumen Nasional belum dibangun.

e. Latar Sosial

Latar sosial menyorot pada hal-hal yang berhubungan dengan perilaku kehidupan sosial masyarakat di suatu tempat yang diceritakan dalam karya fiksi. Tata cara kehidupan sosial masyarakat mencakup berbagai masalah dalam lingkup yang cukup kompleks. Ia dapat berupa kebiasaan hidup, adat istiadat, tradisi, keyakinan, pandangan hidup, cara berpikir dan bersikap, dan lain-lain yang tergolong latar spiritual

2. MACAM SUDUT PANDANG

Sudut pandang dapat banyak macamnya tergantung dari sudut mana ia dipandang dan seberapa rinci ia dibedakan. Friedman (dalam Stevick, 1967: 118) mengemukakan adanya sejumlah pemertanyaan yang jawabnya dapat dipergunakan untuk membedakan sudut pandang. Pemertanyaan yang dimaksud adalah sebagai berikut.

- (1) Siapa yang berbicara kepada pembaca (pengarang dalam persona ketiga atau pertama, salah satu pelaku dengan "aku", atau seperti tak seorang pun)?
- (2) Dari posisi mana cerita itu dikisahkan (atas, tepi, pusat, depan, atau berganti-ganti)?
- (3) Saluran informasi apa yang dipergunakan narator untuk menyampaikan ceritanya kepada pembaca (kata-kata, pikiran, atau persepsi pengarang; kata-kata, tindakan, pikiran, perasaan, atau persepsi tokoh)?
- (4) Sejauh mana narator menempatkan pembaca dari ceritanya (dekat, jauh, atau berganti-ganti).

Selain itu perbedaan sudut pandang juga dilihat dari bagaimana kehadiran cerita itu kepada pembaca: lebih bersifat penceritaan, *telling*, atau penunjukkan, *showing*, naratif atau dramatik. Perbedaan sudut pandang yang akan dikemukakan berikut berdasarkan perbedaan yang telah umum dilakukan orang, yaitu bentuk persona tokoh cerita: persona ketiga dan persona pertama.

a. Sudut Pandang Persona Ketiga: "Dia"

Pengisahan cerita yang mempergunakan sudut pandang persona ketiga, gaya "dia", narator adalah seseorang yang berada di luar cerita yang menampilkan tokoh-tokoh cerita dengan menyebut nama, atau kata gantinya; ia, dia, mereka. Nama-nama tokoh cerita, khususnya yang utama, kerap atau terus menerus disebut, dan sebagai variasi dipergunakan kata ganti. Hal ini akan mempermudah pembaca untuk mengenali siapa tokoh yang diceritakan atau siapa yang bertindak. Tokoh-tokoh itu misalnya, Srintil, Kartareja, Sakarya, dan Sakum

dalam *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*, atau Sadeli, Maria, David, Wayne dalam *Maut dan Cinta*.

Sadeli dan David memandang padanya separuh takjub. Apakah Maria berbicara sungguh-sungguh, atau hanya hendak memperlmainkan mereka saja?

Melihat air muka mereka yang keheranan, Maria tiba-tiba tertawa, merasa amat lucu. David Wayne dan Sadeli ikut tertawa, meskipun tak begitu mengerti apa yang ditertawakan Maria, dan segera mereka merasa seakan sudah berkenalan lama.

(*Maut dan Cinta*, 1977: 215).

Dalam adegan percakapan antartokoh banyak terdapat penyebutan "aku", seperti juga "engkau", sebab tokoh-tokoh "dia" tersebut oleh narator sedang dibiarkan untuk mengungkapkan diri sendiri. Cerita yang dikisahkan secara berselang-seling antara *showing* dan *telling*, narasi dan dialog, menyebabkan cerita menjadi lancar, hidup, dan natural. Hal inilah antara lain yang merupakan kelebihan teknik sudut pandang "dia".

Sudut pandang "dia" dapat dibedakan ke dalam dua golongan berdasarkan tingkat kebebasan dan keterikatan pengarang terhadap bahan ceritanya. Di satu pihak pengarang, narator, dapat bebas menceritakan segala sesuatu yang berhubungan dengan tokoh "dia", jadi bersifat **mahatahu**, di lain pihak ia terikat, mempunyai keterbatasan "pengertian" terhadap tokoh "dia" yang diceritakan itu, jadi bersifat **terbatas**, hanya selaku **pengamat** saja.

(1) "Dia" Mahatahu

Sudut pandang persona ketiga mahatahu dalam literatur bahasa Inggris dikenal dengan istilah-istilah *the omniscient point of view*, *third-person omniscient*, *the omniscient narrator*, atau *author omniscient*. Dalam sudut pandang ini, cerita dikisahkan dari sudut "dia", namun pengarang, narator, dapat menceritakan apa saja hal-hal yang menyangkut tokoh "dia" tersebut. Narator mengetahui segalanya,

ia bersifat mahatahu (*omniscient*). Ia mengetahui berbagai hal tentang tokoh, peristiwa, dan tindakan, termasuk motivasi yang melatarbelakanginya. Ia bebas bergerak dan menceritakan apa saja dalam lingkup waktu dan tempat cerita, berpindah-pindah dari tokoh "dia" yang satu ke "dia" yang lain, menceritakan atau sebaliknya "menyembunyikan" ucapan dan tindakan tokoh, bahkan juga yang hanya berupa pikiran, perasaan, pandangan, dan motivasi tokoh secara jelas seperti halnya ucapan dan tindakan nyata (Abrams, 1981: 143)

Dia melihat betapa Maria sekuat tenaga menjaga dirinya jangan menangis terisak-isak karena ada ibunya, dan karena ibunya telah mengatakan padanya, bahwa semua ini akan terjadi, dan Maria mengatakan pada ibunya dia akan kuat menahannya.

Apa yang dilakukan Maria kini? tanya Sadeli pada dirinya sendiri. Dan Sadeli tak tahu, bahwa saat itu Maria sedang terbaring di tempat tidurnya, air mata mengalir membasahi pipinya, membasahi bantalnya, dan dia mencoba menghidupkan kembali dalam ingatannya, dalam seluruh badannya apa yang pernah terjadi di tempat tidur antara dia dengan Sadeli.

(*Maut dan Cinta*, 1977: 245-6)

Kita melihat dalam teknik mahatahu tersebut bahwa narator mampu menceritakan sesuatu baik yang bersifat fisik, dapat diindera, maupun sesuatu yang hanya terjadi dalam hati dan pikiran tokoh, bahkan lebih dari seorang tokoh. Lebih dari itu, ia tak hanya mampu melapor dan menceritakan kisah tentang tokoh-tokoh saja, melainkan juga dapat mengomentari dan menilai secara bebas dengan penuh otoritas, seolah-olah tak ada satu rahasia pun tentang tokoh yang tidak diketahuinya. Ia dapat memasukkan berbagai informasi tanpa harus menerangkan cara memperolehnya. Ia dapat bergerak ke seluruh "arena" untuk memberikan kepada pembaca detail-detail cerita secara lengkap seperti tak ubahnya gambar tiga dimensi (Altenberd & Lewis, 1966: 62)

Oleh karena narator secara bebas menceritakan hati dan tindakan tokoh-tokohnya, hal itu akan segera "mengobati" rasa ingin tahu pembaca. Pembaca menjadi tahu keadaan "luar-dalam" masing-masing

tokoh, yang berposisi ataupun yang tidak, dan itu berarti bahwa pembaca menjadi lebih tahu daripada tokoh-tokoh cerita itu sendiri. Keadaan semacam ini menjadikan pembaca lebih terlibat secara emosional terhadap cerita. Bahkan, rasanya pembaca ingin membisikkan sesuatu kepada tokoh tentang hal-hal "penting" yang tak diketahuinya. Misalnya, pembaca ingin memberi tahu seorang tokoh bahwa kawan seperjuangannya itu sebenarnya seorang pengkhianat bangsa yang sangat membahayakan. Keluwesan bercerita teknik mahatahu yang demikian kurang dimiliki oleh teknik gaya "aku".

Pembicaraan di atas menunjukkan betapa kuatnya teknik "dia" mahatahu untuk mengisahkan sebuah cerita. Ia merupakan teknik yang paling natural dari semua teknik yang ada, sekaligus dikenal sebagai teknik yang memiliki fleksibilitas yang tinggi. Dengan teknik tersebut pengarang dapat mengekspresikan sedemikian rupa ceritanya dengan penuh kebebasan. Hal-hal inilah yang merupakan kelebihan sudut pandang gaya "dia" mahatahu (Kenny, 1966: 50). Namun, teknik ini juga mengandung hal-hal yang dapat dipandang sebagai kelemahannya. Walau merupakan teknik yang paling natural, sebenarnya, ia sekaligus bersifat tak natural. Hal itu disebabkan dalam realitas kehidupan tak ada seorang pun yang bersifat mahatahu, paling-paling orang mampu menuturkan apa yang dapat dilihat atau didengarnya jika itu menyangkut orang lain. Itulah sebabnya teknik tersebut tak selamanya merupakan teknik yang tepat. Di samping itu, adanya kebebasan pengarang justru dapat menyebabkan adanya kecenderungan untuk "kehilangan" sehingga menjadi kurang koheren. Teknik mahatahu memang kurang memberikan sifat kedisiplinan kepada pengarang (Kenny, 1966: 50).

(2) "Dia" Terbatas, "Dia" sebagai Pengamat

Dalam sudut pandang "dia" terbatas, seperti halnya dalam "dia" mahatahu, pengarang melukiskan apa yang dilihat, didengar, dialami, dipikir, dan dirasakan oleh tokoh cerita, namun terbatas hanya pada seorang tokoh saja (Stanton, 1965: 26), atau terbatas dalam jumlah yang sangat terbatas (Abrams, 1981: 144). Tokoh cerita mungkin saja

cukup banyak, yang juga berupa tokoh "dia", namun mereka tidak diberi kesempatan (baca: tak dilukiskan) untuk menunjukkan sosok dirinya seperti halnya tokoh pertama. Oleh karena dalam teknik ini hanya ada seorang tokoh yang terseleksi untuk diungkap, tokoh tersebut merupakan fokus, cermin, atau pusat kesadaran, *center of consciousness* (Abrams, 1981: 144). Berbagai peristiwa dan tindakan yang diceritakan disajikan lewat "pandangan" dan atau kesadaran seorang tokoh, dan hal itu sekaligus berfungsi sebagai "filter" bagi pembaca.

Contoh terkenal dari sastra Barat, misalnya adalah tokoh Maisie dalam novel *What Maisie Knew* karya Henry James. Sudut pandang cerita tersebut berasal dari "dia" Maisie yang masih anak-anak. Berbagai peristiwa dan tindakan orang dewasa yang diceritakan telah "disaring" lewat pandangan dan kacamata Maisie dan hanya dari Maisie. Maisie merupakan fokus, pusat kesadaran cerita, focalisasi hampir seluruhnya dilakukan oleh Maisie (Abrams, 1981; Luxemburg, 1984: 132).

Dalam teknik "dia" terbatas sering juga dipergunakan teknik narasi aliran kesadaran, *stream of consciousness*, yang menyajikan kepada pembaca pengamatan-pengamatan luar yang berpengaruh terhadap pikiran, ingatan, dan perasaan yang membentuk kesadaran total pengamatan. Sudut pandang cerita, dengan demikian, menjadi bersifat objektif, *objective point of view*, atau narasi objektif, *objective narration*. Pengarang tidak "menggangu" dengan memberikan komentar dan penilaian yang bersifat subjektif terhadap peristiwa, tindakan, ataupun tokoh-tokoh yang diceritakannya. Ia hanya berlaku sebagai pengamat, *observer*, melaporkan sesuatu yang dialami dan dijalani oleh seorang tokoh yang sebagai pusat kesadaran. Ia sama halnya dengan pembaca, adalah seorang yang berdiri di luar cerita.

Namun, terhubung cerita itu merupakan hasil kreasi imajinasi pengarang, tentu saja ia dapat mengomentari dan menilai sesuatu yang diamatinya sesuai dengan pandangan dan pengalamannya. Namun, hal itu harus hanya berasal dari satu sudut pandang tokoh tertentu yang telah dipilih sebagai pengamat. Dalam hal inilah pengarang menjadi tidak terbatas karena harus membatasi diri dengan berangkat dari kaca mata

b. Sudut Pandang Persona Pertama: "Aku"

Dalam pengisahan cerita yang mempergunakan sudut pandang persona pertama, *first-person point of view*, "aku", jadi : gaya "aku", narator adalah seseorang ikut terlibat dalam cerita. Ia adalah si "aku" tokoh yang berkisah, mengisahkan kesadaran dirinya sendiri, *self-consciousness*, mengisahkan peristiwa dan tindakan, yang diketahui, dilihat, didengar, dialami, dan dirasakan, serta sikapnya terhadap orang (tokoh) lain kepada pembaca. Kita, pembaca, menerima apa yang diceritakan oleh si "aku", maka kita hanya dapat melihat dan merasakan secara terbatas seperti yang dilihat dan dirasakan tokoh si "aku" tersebut.

Si "aku" tentu saja punya nama, namun karena ia mengisahkan pengalaman sendiri, nama itu jarang disebut. Penyebutan nama si "aku" mungkin justru berasal dari ucapan tokoh lain yang bagi si "aku" merupakan tokoh "dia". Demikianlah, kita akan berhadapan dengan tokoh-tokoh "aku", misalnya Sri dan Michel dalam *Pada Sebuah Kapal*, Hiroko dalam *Namaku Hiroko*, dan Fujuko dalam *Gairah untuk Hidup dan Mati*. Penggunaan sudut pandang "aku" dalam sebuah cerita hanya merupakan gaya, teknik. Jadi, ia tidak perlu dihubungkan dan diartikan sebagai aku-nya pengarang walau tidak pelak sikap dan pandangan pengarang akan tercermin di dalamnya.

Jika dalam sudut pandang "dia" mahatahu narator bebas melukiskan apa saja dari tokoh yang satu ke tokoh yang lain, dalam sudut pandang "aku" sifat kemahatahuanannya terbatas. Persona ketiga merupakan sudut pandang yang bersifat eksternal, maka narator dapat mengambil sikap terbatas atau tidak terbatas, tergantung keadaan cerita yang akan dikisahkan. Sebaliknya, persona pertama adalah sudut pandang yang bersifat internal, maka jangkauannya terbatas (Meredith & Fitzgerald, 1972: 49). Dalam sudut pandang "aku", narator hanya bersifat mahatahu bagi diri sendiri dan tidak terhadap orang-orang (tokoh) lain yang terlibat dalam cerita. Ia hanya berlaku sebagai pengamat saja terhadap tokoh-tokoh "dia" yang bukan dirinya.

Sudut pandang persona pertama dapat dibedakan ke dalam dua golongan berdasarkan peran dan kedudukan si "aku" dalam cerita. Si

"aku" mungkin menduduki peran utama, jadi tokoh utama protagonis, mungkin hanya menduduki peran tambahan, jadi tokoh tambahan protagonis, atau berlaku sebagai saksi.

(1) "Aku" Tokoh Utama

Dalam sudut pandang teknik ini, si "aku" mengisahkan berbagai peristiwa dan tingkah laku yang dialaminya, baik yang bersifat batiniah, dalam diri sendiri, maupun fisik, hubungannya dengan sesuatu yang di luar dirinya. Si "aku" menjadi fokus, pusat kesadaran, pusat cerita. Segala sesuatu yang di luar diri si "aku", peristiwa, tindakan, dan orang, diceritakan hanya jika berhubungan dengan dirinya, atau dipandang penting. Jika tidak, hal itu tidak disinggung sebab si "aku" mempunyai keterbatasan terhadap segala hal yang di luar dirinya, di samping memiliki kebebasan untuk memilih masalah-masalah yang akan diceritakan. Dalam cerita yang demikian, si "aku" menjadi tokoh utama, *first-person central*.

Si "aku" yang menjadi tokoh utama cerita praktis menjadi tokoh protagonis. Hal itu amat memungkinkan pembaca menjadi merasa benar-benar terlibat. Pembaca akan mengidentifikasikan diri terhadap tokoh "aku", dan karenanya akan memberikan empati secara penuh. Kita, walau hanya secara imajinatif, akan ikut mengalami dan merasakan semua petualangan dan pengalaman si "aku". Pegangan moral si "aku" adalah ideal bagi kita. Efek terhadap pembaca yang demikian, memang, dapat juga dicapai dengan sudut pandang lain, namun ia tidak akan sedemikian meyakinkan seperti yang dilakukan oleh si "aku" protagonis (Altenbernd & Lewis, 1966: 63-4).

Berbagai pengalaman kehidupan yang diceritakan tokoh "aku" akan berhubungan erat dengan pengalaman pembaca. Pembaca dengan sendirinya akan merasa menjadi tokoh protagonis. Sebab, seperti halnya si tokoh "aku", pembaca akan mengetahui diri sendiri dari dalam, sedang orang lain dari luar. Kita akan tahu pikiran dan perasaan sendiri secara langsung karena kita yang mengalaminya, sedang orang lain hanya dapat menafsirkan berdasarkan yang terlihat, misalnya dari kata-kata dan tindakan (Kenny, 1966: 51).

Si "aku" tentu saja dapat memberikan komentar dan penilaian terhadap tokoh utama. Namun, hal itu bersifat terbatas. Hal itu disebabkan tokoh utama tersebut bagi si "aku" merupakan tokoh "dia" sehingga ia menjadi tidak bersifat mahatahu. Pandangan dan penilaian si "aku" akan mengontrol pandangan dan penilaian pembaca terhadap tokoh utama. Tokoh "aku" tambahan adalah tokoh protagonis, sedang tokoh utama itu sendiri juga protagonis. Dengan demikian, empati pembaca ditujukan kepada si "aku" dan tokoh utama cerita.

Cerita pokok yang "dipengantari" oleh si "aku" tambahan itu sendiri, seperti novel dan cerpen yang dicontohkan di atas, pada umumnya juga mempergunakan sudut pandang "aku". Jadi, tokoh utama cerita itu adalah juga tokoh "aku". Dengan demikian, dalam sebuah karya itu terdapat dua "aku", si "aku" tokoh tambahan dan si "aku" tokoh utama. Jika si "aku" tokoh utama sering diketahui namanya, misalnya lewat "pemberitahuan" tokoh lain, seperti Jono pada cerpen Nugroho di atas, si "aku" tambahan sering tak jelas karena tak disebutkan, kecuali tokoh Thalib (Thalibu Sang) pada *Gairah untuk Hidup dan untuk Mati*.

c. Sudut Pandang Campuran

Penggunaan sudut pandang dalam sebuah novel mungkin saja lebih satu teknik. Pengarang dapat berganti-ganti dari teknik yang satu ke teknik yang lain untuk sebuah cerita yang dituliskannya. Kesemuanya itu tergantung dari kemauan dan kreativitas pengarang, bagaimana mereka memanfaatkan berbagai teknik yang ada demi tercapainya efektivitas penceritaan yang lebih, atau paling tidak untuk mencari variasi penceritaan agar memberikan kesan lain. Pemanfaatan teknik-teknik tersebut dalam sebuah novel misalnya, dilakukan dengan mempertimbangkan kelebihan dan keterbatasan masing-masing teknik.

Penggunaan sudut pandang yang bersifat campuran itu di dalam sebuah novel, mungkin berupa penggunaan sudut pandang persona ketiga dengan teknik "dia" mahatahu dan "dia" sebagai pengamat, persona pertama dengan teknik "aku" sebagai tokoh utama dan "aku" tambahan atau sebagai saksi, bahkan dapat berupa campuran antara persona pertama dan ketiga, antara "aku" dan "dia" sekaligus.



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RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: TOOLS AND TECHNIQUES

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Data Organization:

Whatever method is used for collection of data it will be necessary that an extensive set of supplementary notes should be made for the following;

- (a) Sources of data
- (b) Conditions under which data were gathered.

There should be stored in such a way as offer some reasonable prospects of retrieval when required.

Collecting Primary Data and Secondary Data:

The primary data can be collected through laboratory measurement, field observation, questionnaires, interviews, opinionnaires, schedules etc.

The secondary data can be collected from technical publications such as manuals, handbooks, data sheets, and standards, books and journals, official publications of the Central government, state governments, local bodies, private data services and computer data base.

General Rules:

There are some general rules that apply to all types of data collection. They are as follows;

- (i) Do not collect more information than is required for the research problem.
- (ii) Make sure the wording of the data collection instrument is clear and unambiguous.
- (iii) Use clear and explicit instructions in data collection instruments.
- (iv) Design the response options as carefully as the items stems themselves.
- (v) Make responding to the measuring instrument as alternative as possible.
- (vi) Make sure that the final products look professional.

RUTH PHILLIPS

PRACTISING FEMINISM FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

A Global Perspective

ROUTLEDGE


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practice of feminism arising in many sites of political and social change, human services and social policy governance across the world. This book will be both an exploration and analysis of some of the many sites where feminism is being practiced across the world. In doing so important, contextual elements such as the role of social media, the dominance of neoliberalism and the rise of state-based economic austerity in the industrialised world, a new generation of young people encountering sexism, the recent rise of populist and nationalistic politics and wider international events such as the global Corona Virus pandemic, which have forced women's status onto the public agenda will form the backdrop. I also engage with the concept of transformations in contemporary feminism as praxis and the potential and possibilities of a fourth wave of feminism, which is the focus of the concluding chapter.

Importantly, feminist debates, observations and research are seen more as a means than an end. Feminism, when practised, is done as part of an over-arching framework for social justice and a key hope of this book is to add to strategies that will achieve greater social justice on a broad scale and more specifically in spheres of social welfare. This means relationships between social welfare, social work, social policy and human services more generally and feminism and feminist objectives as part of everyday life are the basic infrastructure of this book as well as its intellectual purpose.

The Positioning of Feminism

The initial, early prompting to write this book emerged from growing concerns about the apparent failures and fissures of feminism, the further we moved into the 21st century. As a feminist who recognised myself as a feminist as a very young woman, practised feminism throughout my daily life and pursued its application in analysis and research in my scholarship, I have had a sense that there may have been a shift away from some of the early aspirations of my local feminism, at least those that formed my emergence into feminism. This is not to suggest that feminism is not meant to be in a constant state of transformation or evolution, but it does suggest that for feminists and daughters of the second wave of feminism (late 1960s to the early 1990s), objectives for the overall project of feminism have changed, shifted, or failed. There is a difference between defining feminism and discussing one's *sense* of feminism as the definition relies on determinable and external arguments and evidence and one's sense of feminism is more complicated – it relates to how to live feminism, both as a sense of identity and as a framework for how to see, improve or change the world around you. This book is about both of those ways of seeing and doing feminisms. Once again, I acknowledge that this is my white feminist worldview, but it *is* inclusive of connections to my other passions for change which include countering the overwhelming consumption of the world's natural resources, to include in all political action the responsibility for our environment, our earth and the imperative to connect human need with sustainability. It is also inclusive of resistance

6 Feminism as Praxis

to other 'isms' that oppress – racism, ageism, ableism – always aware that a core aspect of practice that resists is the capacity for emancipatory practice from both institutional and personal impositions.

It would be naïve to think that a body of thought and practice stands apart from cultural, political and marketised influences. Appropriations of feminism, for example, were achieved by creating commodified types of womanhood and girlhood that kept changing to keep pace with the broadest popularised social changes in attitudes about how women should be (Zeisler, 2016). The selling of feminine beauty as an element of women's 'emancipation' was explored by Michelle Lazar in her research on contemporary advertising's appropriation of choice and freedom in selling aids to being feminine as a 'right to be beautiful', as a fitting aspect of 'postfeminism' (2011, pp. 39–40).

The popularised commodification of feminism is an important point to make about white feminism's journey and how to be a feminist worker for social justice as it represents the constant pressure of popular notions of how to be a woman, which, due to their market or economic base, invariably impose exclusions based on gender, race, class, sexuality and/or ethnicity. It is important to see this wider context, a commodified world, that likes to use feminist ideas and even words but at the same time supports an anti-feminist agenda that works against social justice, because it is ever-present in every sphere of life. In fact, amid the rise of open right-wing, white-supremist views heralded by the election of President Trump (2017) in the USA, there is an extreme appropriation of some of feminism's achievements via the voice of women in that movement. Lana Lotkeff, a spokeswoman for alt-right women stated in a speech widely circulate via You Tube, that:

It was white women who got Trump elected and to be real edgy, it was also white women who got Hitler elected. [And:]

While feminists whine about the patriarchy and having another abortion (which, by the way, I'm OK with) we are raising the future of European countries.

There are three important things for a woman, they are ingrained in our psyche and no matter how hard you try they will never be removed: beauty, family, home.

(Lotkeff, 2017)

Although the Lotkeff example is extreme, it illustrates the complex capture of non-feminist identified women by asserting the collective empowerment of women so strongly promoted by feminism. She too appropriates feminism and is complicit with the idealised notion of how a woman should look (beauty) and behave (for family and the home). Conservative and 'alt-right' politics clings to traditional patriarchal ideals for women and eschews socially progressive movements that seek to gain equality for oppressed groups. However, on a more general level, this can be seen as a direct result of the power and success of the

WORLD

Some Afghan girls can wrestle, play sports, and work – but only if they live as a boy

In Afghanistan's heavily patriarchal, male-dominated society, bacha posh, Dari for "dressed as a boy," is the one tradition allowing girls access to the freer male world.

— Sanam, a girl living as a boy, sits among Afghan boys during a class at a mosque, in Kabul, Afghanistan, in December. Matyslav Chernov / AP



Inggris → Indonesia

Jan. 16, 2022, 4:30 PM WIB / Updated Jan. 16, 2022, 7:57 PM WIB

By Associated Press

In a [Kabul](#) neighborhood, a gaggle of boys kick a yellow ball around a dusty playground, their boisterous cries echoing off the surrounding apartment buildings.

Dressed in sweaters and jeans or the traditional Afghan male clothing of baggy pants and long shirt, none stand out as they jostle to score a goal. But unbeknown to them, one is different from the others.

At not quite 8 years old, Sanam is a bacha posh: a girl living as a boy. One day a few months ago, the girl with rosy cheeks and an impish smile had her dark hair cut short, donned boys' clothes and took on a boy's name, Omid.

The move opened up a boy's world: playing [soccer](#) and [cricket](#) with boys, wrestling with the neighborhood butcher's son, working to help the family make ends meet.

— Sanam stands next to her father at their street stand selling masks, in Kabul, Afghanistan, last month. Matyslav Chernov / AP

In [Afghanistan's](#) heavily patriarchal, male-dominated society, where women and girls are usually relegated to the home, bacha posh, Dari for “dressed as a boy,” is the one tradition allowing girls access to the freer male world.

Under the practice, a girl dresses, behaves and is treated as a boy, with all the freedoms and obligations that entails. The child can play sports, attend a madrassa, or religious school, and, sometimes crucially for the family, work. But there is a time limit: Once a bacha posh reaches puberty, she is expected to revert to traditional girls' gender roles. The transition is not always easy.

It is unclear how the practice is viewed by Afghanistan's new rulers, [the Taliban](#), who [seized power in mid-August](#) and have made no public statements on the issue.

Their rule so far has been less draconian than the last time they were in power in the 1990s, but women's freedoms have still been severely curtailed. Thousands of women have been barred from working, and girls beyond primary school age have not been able to return to public schools in most places.

With a crackdown on women's rights, the bacha posh tradition could become even more attractive for some families. And as the practice is temporary, with the children eventually reverting to female roles, the Taliban might not deal with the issue at all, said Thomas Barfield, a professor of anthropology at Boston University who has written several books on Afghanistan.

“Because it's inside the family and because it's not a permanent status, the Taliban may stay out (of it),” Barfield said.

It is unclear where the practice originated or how old it is, and it is impossible to know how widespread it might be. A somewhat similar tradition exists in [Albania](#), another deeply patriarchal society, although it is limited to adults. Under Albania's “sworn virgin” tradition, a woman would take an oath of celibacy and declare herself a man, after which she could inherit property, work and sit on a village council – all of which would have been out of bounds for a woman.

In Afghanistan, the bacha posh tradition is “one of the most under-investigated” topics in terms of gender issues, said Barfield, who spent about two years in the 1970s living with an Afghan nomad family that included a bacha posh. “Precisely because the girls revert

Girls chosen as bacha posh usually are the more boisterous, self-assured daughters. “The role fits so well that sometimes even outside the family, people are not aware that it exists,” he said.

“It’s almost so invisible that it’s one of the few gender issues that doesn’t show up as a political or social question,” Barfield noted.

The reasons parents might want a bacha posh vary. With sons traditionally valued more than daughters, the practice usually occurs in families without a boy. Some consider it a status symbol, and some believe it will bring good luck for the next child to be born a boy.

But for others, like Sanam’s family, the choice was one of necessity. Last year, with Afghanistan’s economy collapsing, construction work dried up. Sanam’s father, already suffering from a back injury, lost his job as a plumber. He turned to selling coronavirus masks on the streets, making the equivalent of \$1-\$2 per day. But he needed a helper.

The family has four daughters and one son, but their 11-year-old boy doesn’t have full use of his hands following an injury. So the parents

Still, Fahima refers to Sanam as “my daughter.” In their native Dari language, the pronouns are not an issue since one pronoun is used for “he” and “she.”

Sanam says she prefers living as a boy.

“It’s better to be a boy...I wear (Afghan male clothes), jeans and jackets, and go with my father and work,” she said. She likes playing in the park with her brother’s friends and playing cricket and soccer.

Once she grows up, Sanam said, she wants to be either a doctor, a commander or a soldier, or work with her father. And she’ll go back to being a girl.

“When I grow up, I will let my hair grow and will wear girl’s clothes,” she said.

The transition isn’t always easy.

“When I put on girls’ clothes, I thought I was in prison,” said Najieh, who grew up as a bacha posh, although she would attend school as a girl. One of seven sisters, her boy’s name was Assadollah.

Now 34, married and with four children of her own, she weeps for the freedom of the male world she has lost.

“In Afghanistan, boys are more valuable,” she said. “There is no oppression for them, and no limits. But being a girl is different. She gets forced to get married at a young age.”

Young women can’t leave the house or allow strangers to see their face, Najieh said. And after the Taliban takeover, she lost her job as a schoolteacher because she had been teaching boys.

“Being a man is better than being a woman,” she said, wiping tears from her eye. “It is very hard for me. ... If I were a man, I could be a teacher in a school.”

“I wish I could be a man, not a woman. To stop this suffering.” 🇺🇸

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STUDYING LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

AN INTRODUCTION

Dominic Rainsford



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6 Prose fiction

Now we come to the kind of text that most people these days think of as ‘literature’. Works of prose fiction, especially novels, get reviewed in daily newspapers; occasionally even on television. Some get made into blockbuster movies. When a novelist wins a big prize, a relatively large number of people pay attention. A few novelists can become so successful that they start making serious money – becoming richer, in one famous case, than the Queen of England. That doesn’t happen to poets.

So, for quite a lot of people, prose fiction is what literature is. Note that this is a historically specific phenomenon. In ancient Greece and Rome, most literature was in verse. We may read Homer’s *Iliad* or Virgil’s *Aeneid* now, in translation, as prose novels of a sort, but originally, and in some modern translations, they are verse epics. In Elizabethan England it was much smarter to be a sonneteer than a prose fiction author. Again, that is not the way it is now.

Even if people do not think of literature automatically as prose, they may assume that it is fiction – but that is also a historically specific way of thinking. ‘Prose’ and ‘fiction’: these are important concepts, and – like all concepts – they shouldn’t be taken for granted.

Prose fiction genres – and narrative

Prose fiction consists of many sub-genres. Some of these are usually defined quite simply by length. The main categories are the novel and the short story. *Pride and Prejudice*, for example, which is a couple of hundred pages long in most editions, is a novel. A fairly good working definition of a novel might be a fictional narrative that is long enough to be published as a book by itself. It is not really that straightforward, of course. Some extremely short prose fiction texts – for example, some of the late writings of Samuel Beckett – have been published by themselves in very slim volumes. But, for at least 99 per cent of prose fiction texts, it works. If it is a single prose fiction narrative, and long enough to have been published originally as a book in itself (or even in two or more volumes), then it’s a novel. The way that we apply this term is usually no more scientific than that.

I have been using the word 'narrative', which is much more general than 'novel' or even 'prose fiction'. A narrative is a sequence of events, fictional or non-fictional, told or narrated by someone – the narrator – to someone else. *Pride and Prejudice* is a narrative, but so is the *Iliad*, and so are most films, and so was the account that you may once have given your teacher of why you failed to do your homework, regardless of whether it was fictional ('I took my maths book home, laid it on the table, went out for a walk to get myself in the right frame of mind, and, when I came back, the dog had eaten it!') or true ('The dog really did eat it!'). In literary narrative, the person – known or unknown, named or anonymous – who narrates the narrative is the narrator. The person to whom the narrative is narrated may be called the audience or the reader, but is sometimes termed – more technically and abstractly – the narratee. The narratee is the person to whom the narrative *seems* to be directed: in that sense, producing a narrative involves creating a reader, just as it involves creating a narrator and characters. The whole business of how narrators narrate narratives to narratees is a sub-discipline in itself, and is called narratology!

David Foster Wallace's fictional narrative 'Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature' is less than 10 pages long, and was originally published in a magazine, alongside other texts by other people. It was then republished with seven other texts by Wallace that together make up one book. One could imagine Wallace expanding the theme, developing the characters, perhaps adding more characters and events, and turning 'Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature' into a perfectly good novel! But he didn't. He decided that he had said what he wanted to say after a few pages, and so the text is something else: what we straightforwardly call a short story.

There is also a category of prose fiction texts in between: texts that can fill a whole book but do not seem quite big enough to be in the same category as *War and Peace*, *Ulysses* or even *Pride and Prejudice*. We might choose to call these short novels or long short stories. Or we might call them novellas. Is *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, which weighs in at about 80 pages, a short novel, a long short story, or a novella? And does it make any difference? The only really interesting questions are these: what does categorising this text as a novel allow us to say about it? And, on the other hand, what would be achieved by categorising it as a short story or novella? This goes for so many literary categorisations, from 'poetry' or 'tragedy' to 'Romantic' or 'modernist'. Even 'literature' itself. A term is only as good as the thoughts and readings that it generates. It is a tool for opening and working on real texts. If you can find a better tool, use it. As for *Jekyll and Hyde*, thinking of it as a short story might lead to an emphasis on the relatively simple central 'point' of the narrative: a riddle (what has Hyde to do with Jekyll?) and its sudden, complete and sensational solution. Thinking of it as a novel might, on the other hand, turn the reader's attention to its complex narrative structure, the relatively large number of significant characters, and the extent to which it depicts an elaborate urban setting, even a fictional 'world'.

little too Circumstantial. There is an Air of Truth apparent through the Whole; and indeed, the Author was so distinguished for his Veracity, that it became a sort of Proverb among his Neighbours at *Redriff*, when anyone affirmed a Thing, to say, it was as true as if Mr. *Gulliver* had spoke it.

The great irony, of course, is that this infallibly truth-telling Mr Gulliver never existed; nor did his cousin Sympson. Later in the book our credulity will be tested by accounts of people a few inches high, and of talking horses. All of this, in reality, has been made up by the literary author, Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), for his own very good reasons. But he obviously thinks that publishing hundreds of pages of descriptions of events that never happened is a funny thing to do, and so he creates a story to account for the story, a metanarrative, that allows the reader (at least the Gulliver-like gullible reader) to think that nothing that is going on here has anything to do with fiction.

That was one early-eighteenth-century approach. In Swift's case it was deliberately ironical: his provocative assertions of Gulliver's truthfulness suggest that he wanted the deception to be seen through by sophisticated readers. But many other authors of the time really seem to have tried to pass off their novels as non-fiction, for instance by writing them in the form of a collection of letters between the characters, which, according to the explanatory metanarrative, somebody just happens to have found, gathered together, and published. We can see the vestiges of this kind of novel in letters, or 'epistolary' novel, in parts of *Pride and Prejudice* and other works by Jane Austen in which at least some significant narration is placed in a letter from one character to another. Epistolary novels are still occasionally written and published, and even novels that pretend to be collections of e-mails.

But *Pride and Prejudice* is clearly a novel from a time when people had got used to the novelty of novels, and the pretence of non-fiction was not felt to be necessary or interesting. Letters and other documents that could conceivably have an excuse for existing, as non-fiction texts in the real world – or, in other words, in a world without literature – do occur in Austen's novel, but they are only a small part of it. The rest consists of a narrative that an unidentified narrator seems to be narrating to a potential readership or narratee, apparently 'us', who have no personal connection with the people whose actions are described and no obvious real-life reason to be told about them.

The *Travels* of Lemuel Gulliver exist, so the metafiction goes, because there really was a Lemuel Gulliver who went on these travels and wrote accounts of them, and because his cousin has decided to publish them. But why does *Pride and Prejudice* exist? Who is narrating to whom?

Let's have another look at the way the novel begins:

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife.

However little known the feelings or views of such a man may be on his first entering a neighbourhood, this truth is so well fixed in the minds of

the surrounding families, that he is considered as the rightful property of some one or other of their daughters.

'My dear Mr. Bennet,' said his lady to him one day, 'have you heard that Netherfield Park is let at last?'

Mr. Bennet replied that he had not.

'But it is,' returned she; 'for Mrs. Long has just been here, and she told me all about it.'

Mr. Bennet made no answer.

'Do not you want to know who has taken it?' cried his wife impatiently.

'You want to tell me, and I have no objection to hearing it.'

This was invitation enough.

'Why, my dear, you must know, Mrs. Long says that Netherfield is taken by a young man of large fortune from the north of England; that he came down on Monday in a chaise and four to see the place, and was so much delighted with it that he agreed with Mr. Morris immediately; that he is to take possession before Michaelmas, and some of his servants are to be in the house by the end of next week.'

Once the dialogue gets going, the narrative begins to fuel itself. Mr Bennet says something because Mrs Bennet has asked him a question. Mrs Bennet says something because, as we have already found out, she is present in this scene and is a person who cannot keep her mouth shut. But where on Earth have these people come from? What have they to do with me, the random reader who happens to have acquired the book, and, above all, who is this other person, the narrator, who confides or dictates to us in the first two paragraphs?

We may, of course, be such seasoned or habituated readers of fictions of all kinds that these seem like silly questions. But they are worth giving a bit of thought. Likewise a more general and fundamental question: How is it, exactly, that we have got to a point where some of the most widely admired achievements of human civilisation are actually a pack of lies, from cover to cover?

'Fiction' means things that are made up; not true. Insofar as fiction is characteristic of literature, literature has been seen as suspicious, over the centuries, by many smart people, from Plato onwards. And many authors of fiction have enjoyed the paradox of being licensed liars, and have exploited it, not just creating metanarratives that provide an excuse or alibi for their narratives but instead writing kinds of metafiction – in other words, fiction about fiction – in which the strange human tendency to make things up becomes an object of satirical and often humorous scrutiny. Mark Twain's *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), for example, is full of authors of fiction, downright liars, and everything in between – and some of David Foster Wallace's stories include, disconcertingly, a character called David Wallace.

Yes, it is a funny thing to spend your time writing fiction. But then, it is not that easy *not* to write fiction, or to draw the line between fiction and non-fiction. If you think of an autobiographical novel, for example – a novel extensively based upon events from the author's own life – how exactly do we tell the

difference between that and a 'non-fiction' autobiography? When somebody tries to describe, as faithfully as possible, something that they experienced 30 years ago (or even yesterday), and wants to 'bring it to life' in a way that will hold the reader's attention, they are soon going to start using their imaginations: selecting, embellishing, and to some extent fictionalising the truth. Beyond the most simple objective facts, it is impossible to avoid doing this. And the same applies to other conventionally 'non-fiction' narratives, such as historical writing.

It is this realisation that underlies one of the dominant tendencies in literary studies around the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first, the so-called New Historicism, which says, yes, literature needs to be seen in its historical context (which accounts for the word 'historicism'), and yet it is not simply the case that the truth of history can explain the inventions of literature (which is why this is 'new'). It is not that truth does not exist, but almost all texts, including history books, biographies, academic essays, and novels, contain greater or lesser proportions of fact and invention, and they can all help to explain or at least illuminate one another. *Macbeth* and *Pride and Prejudice*, for example, may be full of events that never happened and dialogue that was never spoken, but they are nevertheless part of a much wider field of discourse in which fiction and non-fiction texts overlap with and influence one another, and they may come as close to telling the truth about the world in which they were written, *when* they were written, as any other texts that we have.

We are actually very good at combining the desire for a kind of truth in fiction with the acceptance of all of its lies. We are able to switch into a fiction-reading mode, suspending our disbelief. We can often take novels and stories seriously even when they experiment with things that are completely hypothetical or even impossible. This is the case with magic realism, for example, in which detailed, believable sequences of events are mixed with things that we know are not part of real life; or with various categories of so-called genre fiction, such as Sci-fi, Fantasy or the transparent wish-fulfilment of popular Romance. We are aware that what we are reading follows certain conventions. For instance, once we have read a few novels (or seen a few films) with vampires in them, it is no longer a big issue that vampires don't exist. They *do* exist, as conventions; they become part of a metaphorical language for discussing real things that really do concern us, and we react to them as such. We are very good, once again, at moving through a world of text and discourse in which some things may be literally true, others not, but everything potentially carries meaning.

Narrators and characters

Most fictional literary narratives used to be written in verse (some, even a few novels, still are). But most, for at least the last two or three centuries, have been written in prose, which is to say that they are not divided by the author into separate lines. Prose, in that sense, is poetry's *other*. Nevertheless, prose can have many of the qualities that we find in poetry and consider to be 'poetical',

such as rhythm or alliteration. It also has its own systems of arrangement in patterns and blocks – in paragraphs and chapters – that can be analogous to stanzas.

Regardless of whether a narrative is in verse or prose, there are other categories of internal structure that we need to be aware of, such as plot, the types of character that are included and how they are connected with one another, and the kinds of narration through which the actions of those characters are represented. Although literary prose can seem more straightforward and less artful than poetry, that is not necessarily the case. It can be just as dependent on the artificial conventions of genre, and the stories that it tells can be just as much on the ‘technical’ or ‘artistic’ level of narration, concerning how the author seems to tackle the challenges of writing a fictional text, as on the more obvious level of character and action. For example, what we judge to be the narrator’s point of view, in *Pride and Prejudice*, and what we can infer about the author’s, are just as much part of what the whole experience of that novel can be about as the thoughts and actions of Elizabeth Bennet and Mr Darcy – even though most readers may think very little about the narrator and the author (or fail to distinguish between the two), and may start caring about Lizzie and Darcy almost as though they were real human beings.

In literary narrative, all persons – be they characters or narrators, or even, in rather different ways, the author and the reader – exist side by side, as functions of the text. Nevertheless, some characters may seem much more ‘real’ than others. According to the influential terminology of the early-twentieth-century English novelist and critic E. M. Forster, fictional characters can be divided into two main categories: the ‘round’ and the ‘flat’. Round characters, with multiple dimensions to their personalities, rich inner lives, and the capacity to develop, are the main focus of the narrator’s interest and probably of the reader’s, too. Flat characters are there to expand the fictional world surrounding the main, round, characters without drawing too much attention to themselves.

One way of describing the plot of *Pride and Prejudice* would be to say that it presents two main characters each of whom, at first, strikes the other as flat: two-dimensional and incapable of change. But each gradually discovers depths in the other, and learns to manifest depths in themselves, so that they end up creating a shared roundness within which they can flourish together. Good for Lizzie and Darcy! But think of the permanently ‘flat’ types who get squashed on the way. What about poor, dull, competent but utterly uninteresting – or so we are told – sister Mary, for example? We never see her from within, because Austen’s narrator gravitates towards, and sides with, the coolest person in the fictional room – and that is never Mary.

Is Austen’s narrator *herself* proud and prejudiced? Does she ever get over these qualities? Can we imagine that Austen did? Is this novel actually good for us? Or is it a work of prose fiction that makes it all too easy for us to think that some people have poetry in their souls while others will always be prosy or prosaic? And that uses fiction’s licence to kill, create, and everything in between, to play vicious power games with other people’s lives – even if those people happen to be unreal.

Free indirect discourse, the one and the many

It would be quite possible to construct a reading of Austen's novel (and a great many others) as elitist and even a bit heartless, arguing that a tendency to value a few glamorous individuals – above all, the 'hero' and 'heroine' – and to de-value everybody else, is built into the very fabric of the narration. This reading might be supported by an analysis of the relationship between the heroine and Austen's narrator.

Consider the following passage from a fairly early stage of the novel. Elizabeth's sister Jane is ill, Elizabeth has walked over to Netherfield to be with her, and now she is stuck in the house with Bingley, his sisters, and Darcy:

Their brother, indeed, was the only one of the party whom she could regard with any complacency. His anxiety for Jane was evident, and his attentions to herself most pleasing, and they prevented her feeling herself so much an intruder as she believed she was considered by the others. She had very little notice from any but him. Miss Bingley was engrossed by Mr. Darcy, her sister scarcely less so; and as for Mr. Hurst, by whom Elizabeth sat, he was an indolent man, who lived only to eat, drink, and play at cards, who when he found her prefer a plain dish to a ragout, had nothing to say to her.

Who writes, says, or thinks all of this? It is somebody who is evidently in a position to observe everything that is going on in the house; who is willing and able to make psychological and moral judgements – such as 'indolent'; and who knows enough about Elizabeth to say what she can 'regard with ... complacency', and what pleases her. The passage appears to be expressed, that is to say, from the point of view of a very well-informed impersonal narrator. One could use the term 'omniscient', but that might be misleading: this narrator shows no obvious sign (at least, not here) of knowing what will happen in the future. In fact, this narrator seems deeply rooted in the present of the narrative. She/he seems also especially close to Elizabeth (who we could say is 'focalised' here, and throughout the novel) – to the extent that we may wonder whether the judgement passed on Mr Hurst, for example, might not be more or less exactly what passed through Elizabeth's own mind, expressed in very much her own words. That is to say, there is a touch of ambiguity about whether this is actually the narrator speaking (the same 'person' who had said, all those pages ago, that 'It is a truth universally acknowledged ...'), or whether it is the character. This is known as free indirect discourse (or free indirect style), where, instead of just telling us the facts of the case 'objectively', or giving us a character's words to others (in dialogue), or to themselves (in articulated thought, within quotation marks), the narrator does something in between. She/he does not break the flow of the narrative or the sense of authority that comes with the nameless third-person stance, but seems nevertheless to slip into the point of view of a particular character and express their subjective feelings and ideas.

As Austen's narrative progresses, the use of free indirect discourse becomes more obvious. It begins to be clear that Elizabeth is the narrator's favourite, and that the latter is happy to associate her/his own modes of reasoning and feeling very closely with the character's. We can see this later in the first volume, when Elizabeth talks with Wickham. He has not yet been exposed as the obnoxious scoundrel that he is, so she is able to feel close to him while enjoying a few negative feelings about some other characters – such as the pretentious Lady Catherine de Bourgh. According to Wickham, Lady Catherine's

'daughter, Miss de Bourgh, will have a very large fortune, and it is believed that she and her cousin [Darcy] will unite the two estates.'

This information made Elizabeth smile, as she thought of poor Miss Bingley. Vain indeed must be all her attentions, vain and useless her affection for his sister and her praise of himself, if he were already self-destined to another.

The observation that Elizabeth smiles seems to come from a third-person narrator – one who is looking at her from the outside. The observation that she was thinking of Miss Bingley seems to come from a superhumanly informed third-person narrator (actually, an impossible being), who can say, in a semi-detached summarising way, what is going on in Elizabeth's thoughts. But the next sentence is not so detached. It contains feeling, expressed through rhetoric ('Vain indeed. vain and useless'), suggesting that these are the words of someone who is personally involved in the action. The narrator has lent some rhetorical power to the character: we can't be sure that these are the exact words that Elizabeth would have used (because there are no quotation marks), but we can be pretty sure that this is the spirit of her thinking.

Note that this blurring of the boundary between narrator and character does not rule out the irony that we have already discussed in this novel. Far from it. Austen lets us see through Elizabeth's eyes, and think her thoughts, but we still know that this scene is managed by a narrator. At least when we look back on this passage from a later point in the narrative we will see Elizabeth's feelings of *Schadenfreude* (pleasure in someone else's discomfiture or setback) towards 'poor Miss Bingley' are at least partly motivated by unconscious rivalry, because of her own growing attachment to Darcy. The heroine is placed at centre stage; her point of view is clearly the one that the narrator finds most sympathetic and wants to identify with; but, ironically, just because we get so close to her, we can see the ways in which she may be deceiving herself.

Other kinds of narration

It is easy to go on discussing *Pride and Prejudice*, because, despite the small social world in which its action takes place, it realises so much of the basic potential of the form of the novel. It can stand for novels in general, in that respect, just as *Macbeth*, in many ways, can stand for plays. But even the

Women, Peace and Security in Afghanistan

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ABSTRACT: *In recent years, much attention has been devoted by international organizations, non-governmental organizations, academics and certain governments to the security, peace and rights of women around the world so as in Afghanistan. This resulted in the production of a number of studies on this theme, by the Division for the Advancement of Women and UNIFEM. Such studies have done much to raise awareness of the way women are affected in war zone like Afghanistan and how States and organizations have responded to their plight. Recommendations as to how to ensure the most appropriate responses to the needs of women have also ensued. However, for such work to be truly effective, it needs to be adapted for those who operate in situations of war zones. The aim of this paper is to provide a working tool to ensure the provision of appropriate programmes and services to, and with, women affected war zones.*

Key Words: *Women, Peace and Security*

Introduction

In the current socio-political and economic milieu, no country can achieve sustainable development and prosperity without bringing its women in the main stream and giving them equal opportunity (Hudson & Leidi, 2015). This is in particularly true for Afghanistan, where women's emancipation and empowerment is recognized as a key factor to growth and development. Life for women in Afghanistan has usually been difficult throughout its history. Afghan women have suffered a lot from depression, violation of human rights, wrong national policies and lack of international support.

Women equality is not just a humanitarian issue, or a moral issue or a fairness issue, but it is a security issue and peace issue. It is now globally acknowledge that to put an end to poverty and ensure that all shares wealth, we have to have the full and equal participation of women and men, girls and boys, around the world (Clinton, 2010). Thus, gender equality and empowerment of women becomes a pivotal instrument in achieving national development goals. Toward this end, the future of Afghanistan as a progressive and economically developed country hinges upon economically and socially empowered women who make almost 50 percent of population. Women can prove to be an asset if they are streamlined, educated and provided opportunities in every sphere of life. In this brief paper, the historical background and perspective of Afghan women are discussed and analyzed.

The First Era of Change in Women's Status in Afghanistan (1919-1980)

The first era of change in Afghan women status had been initiated during the time of King Amanullah Khan after obtaining sovereignty in 1919. From 1919 onward, women issues are an integral part of nation-building agendas. Afghan women were first eligible citizens to cast vote in 1919 where a year later women in United Kingdom were giving voting rights and a year before the women in the United States were given the right to vote (Zuberi, 2013).

During his short-lived reign, King Amanullah Khan adopted more liberal and women friendly policies. He made education compulsory for all Afghans and established the first girls' school in 1920 in the history of Afghanistan. During that period, women just like their male counterparts appeared in public sphere even if their faces were not covered fully. He also gave women the right to discard the practice of establishing marital status before solemnizing Nikah (Zuberi, 2013).

The reformistic policies of King Amanullah continued by most of his successors until the last decade of twentieth century and the rulers who came later on have also emphasized on women empowerment and women emancipation. The constitution that was adopted in 1964, legally guaranteed most of the rights and privileges for Afghan women. Among others, women were given the rights to accept or reject marriage proposal and also to reject the culture of marrying her husband's family members in case of death of her husband (Kohdamany, 2015).

However, in early 1980s, the former Soviet Union forces invaded Afghanistan and the country slipped into chaos and turbulence. The progresses that had been made in the last so many decades were wiped out and the power struggle between various ethnic groups resulted in the segmentation of Afghan society, and thus paved the way for Taliban emergence.

The Status of Afghan Women during Taliban's Regime

Due to decades of war in the country, however, the Afghan women status has been in decline in almost every area (Clinton, 2015). After the collapse of the Soviet Union backed regime of President Najibullah in 1992, the Mujahedeen started ruling in the country. During that period, women's security dramatically deteriorated. Due to insecurity in the country, the Taliban regime emerged and took over the country. During that time women were the most oppressed and depressed segment of the society. Women lost their freedom of security and were treated inadequately.

Amid the chaos and civil war in the country, the Taliban took over the control of Kabul in 1996 and stayed in power till late 2001. These were years of brutalities, suffering and violence against women. During this era, women in Afghanistan were suffering from severe disempowerment because of social injustice; socioeconomic dependence on men, illiteracy, poverty, stoned to death etc. (Salbi, 2015). Education was prohibited for women, they were prevented from taking up any sort of job and it was made mandatory for women to put hijab on their faces. For instance, dressed in a complete head-to-toe garment, with a mesh-covered opening for their eyes before they could appear in public or step out of their homes (Kohdamany, 2015).

The Taliban enforced a large number of restrictions and complete ban on almost all the outdoor activities of women. For instance, women working outside their home were banned unless their accompanied by a male relative escort. Likewise, they were also banned from dealing with male counterparts, studying at schools, universities, using cosmetics, laughing loudly at public, wearing high heel shoes, traveling in the same bus with male, appearing in TV or Radio, riding bicycles or driving cars, wearing sexually attractive cloths etc. (Das, 2006).

In addition, Taliban ordered every household in Afghanistan to put black paint on their window glasses so that their women could not be seen outside by public, which in their opinion was a sin. It was beyond imaginations to take a lady on her deathbed to a hospital if the doctor happened to be a male. They would let the women die but would think it would be a sin, if the women were examined by the opposite gender (Das, 2006). Political participation and public speaking of women was stymied. Not a single day would be passed without any women being subjugated to worst kind of brutalities. The Taliban considered women as an inferior creature. They treated women as worthless commodities. These were all years of sufferings and brutalities for women till 2001 (Kohdamany, 2015). This era will be marked as the darkest period in the history of Afghan nation in general and for Afghan women in particular. As a result, Afghanistan has had one of the highest maternal mortality rates in the world, and Afghan women often faced gender-based violence such as domestic violence, forced marriage etc (Das, 2006).

Third Era of Change New Hopes and New Aspirations

The third era has witnessed relaxation and improvement in the social, political and economic status of Afghan girls and has in 2001 as a result of U.S.-led military invasion and downfall of the Taliban. Through the Bonn process, the new interim government of Afghanistan, headed by Mr. Hamid Karzia was set up in December 2001 (Nicoletta, 2014). Since then, the international community and the newly established government of Afghanistan have focused on Afghan women on a priority basis. Women from all walks of life can now openly appear in public without being accompanied by any male family members, which was impossible during the Taliban rule. Afghan women got the right to participate in the election and voting process and could elect leaders of their choice. Various gender restrictions on access to work, health care, and education have been lifted (Hudson & Leidi, 2015). Over three million girls enrolled in school for the first time, and women returned to the public sphere, with many entering the workforce. Women have been employed and participated in significant numbers in the public and private sectors such as universities, businesses, airlines, hospitals, cinema, police force, socio-political sector etc. (Kohdamany, 2015).

The newly established government of Afghanistan is accountable to all citizens and is committed to its constitutional and international obligations, including gender equality, are crucial to overcoming the systemic gender discrimination that thrived under the Taliban's rule. The Afghan National Action Plan (ANAP) on women covers almost all issues that women face in the post 9/11 scenarios. The main theme of the ANAP is to ensure maximum representation and participation of women along side with their male counterparts in each and every sector of the society (ANAP, 2015).

At present, the Afghan government is striving to ensure that women get a say in the decision-making process and be given the representation in the bureaucratic set up. The current government also wants to make sure that women from all the country participate actively in the provincial and national assembly election through their vote and as candidates from various constituencies (Roby, 2014). As a result, there is 28 percent of women participation in the Afghan Parliament, 3 cabinet members, 42 percent

BEAUVOIR

A N D

The Second Sex

Feminism,
Race, and the
Origins of
Existentialism



MARGARET A. SIMONS

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1

BEAUVOIR INTERVIEW (1979)

Margaret A. Simons and Jessica Benjamin

Nineteen seventy-nine, the thirtieth anniversary of the publication of *The Second Sex*, was a year in celebration of Simone de Beauvoir and her contribution to feminism. In New York, a Conference on Feminist Theory in September, sponsored by the New York Institute for the Humanities, would commemorate Beauvoir's initiation of a new era of feminist theory. *Feminist Studies* planned to publish a symposium on Beauvoir. National Public Radio produced a special program on her. Gallimard, the French publishing house, published a collection of her articles, prefaces, and interviews. The week Jessica and I arrived in Paris for our interview, a film composed of discussions between Beauvoir and her intimate friends was playing in Montparnasse. This anniversary year seemed like an appropriate time to invite Beauvoir to review with us her involvement in feminism, from the genesis of *The Second Sex* to her current activities in the international feminist movement.

We had hoped, as well, to come away from our interview with a clearer picture not just of the French women's movement, but of Beauvoir as a person. Specifically, we wanted to ask her about her relationship with the philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, which has been much distorted by the American academic and popular press. Although the relationship certainly played a central role in her life, it has too often been described as defining her, such as when *Time* refers to Beauvoir as Sartre's "Longtime Companion." Actually, of course, the reality is quite different. As she pointed out in our interview, this failure to recognize women as autonomous

Iran came when Beauvoir angrily denounced a male speaker who had been arguing that the demonstrations by Iranian women were endangering the success of the revolution and that the women should, in the interests of the revolution, suppress their own complaints. Beauvoir loudly proclaimed that she had seen many revolutions in her lifetime and that in every instance the women had been told that they must not press their demands, that they must wait for the sake of the revolution. But their time never came, and now women are no longer content to wait, they demand liberation now!

In the preface to a book about two women's experiences in the French Women's Liberation Movement, Beauvoir addresses the danger in a leftist movement that defines women's liberation as "secondary."

Certain militants would have liked to subordinate the women's struggle to the class struggle; the Feminine-Masculine-Future group declared itself to be radically *feminist*. The women's struggle appeared to them primordial and not at all secondary. That is also my position. In the most diverse countries I have heard it said—by men but also by women—that it was necessary *first* of all to concern oneself with the revolution, with the triumph of socialism; . . . *later* one could interest oneself with the problems of women. But in my experience, this *later* means *never*. Certainly it is necessary to link the two struggles. But the example of the countries called socialist proves that an economic change in no way entails the decolonization of women. (Beauvoir 1977, 9)

When Beauvoir first became involved in the feminist movement in the early seventies, her primary focus of concern and action was the movement to legalize abortion. We learned during our visit that much of her energy was then directed toward the issue of violence against women. She supported, and on occasion provided, shelter for victims of wife abuse. In this activity she aligned herself with the League for Women's Rights, which led a campaign to combat sexism in numerous areas of French society. Beauvoir admitted that much of its activity was essentially reformist, but that it was nevertheless valuable.

In my estimation, tearing reforms from the government may be a stage on the road to the revolution—on the condition, of course, that one is not satisfied with these reforms but makes them instead the starting point for new demands. While preparing the projects on anti-sexist laws, the League has dedicated itself to important actions that are very much to the point. The League initiated a campaign for the denunciation of rape and created *S.O.S. Alternatives* to come to the aid of battered women. It had recourse to legal means—seeking the intervention of Françoise Giroud—and illegal means—by the occupation of Plessis-Robinson—in order to assure a shelter for battered women. . . . Why must women throw down their hands and accept everything? A revolutionary attitude today has to be a compromise with existing conditions. To deny us the means of revolting is to deny our revolt. (Beauvoir 1977, 11)

Toward the latter part of our visit to Paris, an article written by Beauvoir appeared on the front page of *Le Monde*, a leading French newspaper. The article argued for the necessity of a law to combat sexism. Beauvoir criticized a recent French court decision acquitting a man who had beaten his wife nearly to death and then left her in agony throughout the night until she died.

What we challenge are the sexist motivations that led to this acquittal. For having broken several windows, some young men were sentenced to years on a prison farm. For having murdered his wife, Monsieur Leber will serve no sentence, under the pretext that this offense arises from the domain of “love” or from the conjugal relation. . . . Does loving, then, implicitly authorize one to kill?

The verdict . . . seems to us in the highest degree to reveal a sexist mentality. Contrary to what people claim, we feminists do not wish to avenge ourselves on men. But the fact is that we have no choice. In order to protect women, it is necessary to

possible for human beings to accept death, to come to terms with the rage against the dying of the light?

SdB: That, I really do not know. One should not ask too many questions about the whole of humankind. I don't know how people face death, how they are able to cope with it, how they can accept or not accept it. I think that it is a very individual question. Everyone has their own relations with their own death and one cannot say, in a general manner, how one can bring people to accept death.

JB: Do you still believe that this has to do with the roots of the hatred of women?

SdB: No, but I think that one of the things, as revealed in their myths, that men detest about women is, in fact, that men are born and thus are mortal. But this is only one of the things, one of the myths, one of the hatreds. There are many other reasons, I think, for men's hatred of women. But this particular one, certainly, does exist for some men. There are many men who see in woman the face of death . . . That's certain!

JB: Do you think that in some way feminist politics can relate to this issue? I mean, do you think that there is some way in which politics could cease to exclude that? Or do you think that it can be only dealt with individually, this kind of hatred?

SdB: I believe that it is above all an individual matter. I do not see feminism being able to stop men from hating women, since she is their mother, consequently their death, in a manner of speaking . . . Some men, because it is a very individual thing.

JB: So, would you think that by changing motherhood, you could change that or not?

SdB: Oh, that! I don't know . . . You understand, I myself don't know about sociological questions . . . From my experience, I don't know what the world can become or how things are going to turn out.

MS: I read with great interest your interview with John Gerassi [1976], in which you said that to change the whole value system of society, to destroy the concept of motherhood, that is revolutionary. What does that mean? Do you remember?

SdB: Ah! Yes! I think that by changing the idea of maternity, by changing the idea of maternal instinct, of the feminine vocation, society would change completely. Because it is through the idea of feminine vocation that one enslaved women to the home, one enslaved them to their husband, one enslaved them to man, to housework, etc., etc. . . . If one destroyed that concept, not maternity itself, but all the myths which are related to maternity, one would, obviously, change society completely.

MS: But you do not mean to completely destroy motherhood.

SdB: No! . . . Women want to have children and I, myself, have nothing against them. But I find that in today's world, in our Western civilization of today, maternity is a trap for women, because it enslaves them to man, to the home. It forces them back into the interior of this system that feminists want to destroy.

MS: And you reject very much a utopian vision of technology eliminating maternity. I am thinking of Shulamith Firestone and feminism that wants to eliminate motherhood, biologically, and end biological reproduction completely.

SdB: Well! . . . If one could change the conditions within which maternity is lived, one could keep maternity. I think that there are certain relations which can be very strong between a mother and her child, and, moreover, between a father and his child as well . . . Thus, if the world were made in a slightly different way and the woman were not enslaved as soon as she is a mother . . . then, why would one rule out maternity? But as maternity is today, the maternity-slave, as some feminists call it . . . indeed maternity turns today's women into slaves, and I believe that maternity is the most dangerous trap for all those women who want to be free and independent, to earn their living, think for themselves, and live for themselves. Conditions can change, perhaps . . . Let's hope so.

JB: Have you had a chance to see the work that has been done recently in America on this, like the work of Adrienne Rich on motherhood? Because I would say that now this topic is maybe the most important, the one that people talk about the most. Motherhood has really become very important, I think because so many feminists want to be able to unite being mothers and being active at the same time.

FEMINIST THOUGHT

A More Comprehensive Introduction

ROSEMARIE TONG

FOURTH
EDITION



Westview Press was founded in 1975 in Boulder, Colorado, by notable publisher and intellectual Fred Praeger. Westview Press continues to publish scholarly titles and high-quality undergraduate- and graduate-level textbooks in core social science disciplines. With books developed, written, and edited with the needs of serious nonfiction readers, professors, and students in mind, Westview Press honors its long history of publishing books that matter.

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1

Liberal Feminism

Liberalism, the school of political thought from which liberal feminism has evolved, is in the process of reconceptualizing, reconsidering, and restructuring itself.¹ Because this transformation is well under way, it is difficult to determine the precise status of liberal feminist thought. Therefore, if we wish to gauge the accuracy of Susan Wendell's provocative claim that liberal feminism has largely outgrown its original base,² we must first understand the assumptions of both classical and welfare liberalism. It may turn out that liberal feminists are "liberal" only in some ways.

Conceptual Roots of Liberal Feminist Thought and Action

In *Feminist Politics and Human Nature*,³ Alison Jaggar observed that liberal political thought generally locates our uniqueness as human persons in our capacity for rationality. The belief that reason distinguishes us from other animals is, however, relatively uninformative, so liberals have attempted to define reason in various ways, stressing either its *moral* aspects or its *prudential* aspects. When reason is defined as the ability to comprehend the rational principles of morality, then the value of individual autonomy is stressed. In contrast, when reason is defined as the ability to determine the best means to achieve some desired end, then the value of self-fulfillment is stressed.⁴

Whether liberals define reason largely in moral or prudential terms, they nevertheless concur that a just society allows individuals to exercise their autonomy and to fulfill themselves. Liberals claim that the "right" must be given priority over the "good."⁵ In other words, our entire system of individual rights

is justified because these rights constitute a framework within which we can all choose our own separate goods, provided we do not deprive others of theirs. Such a priority defends religious freedom, for example, neither on the grounds that it will increase the general welfare nor on the grounds that a godly life is inherently worthier than a godless one, but simply on the grounds that people have a right to practice or not practice their own brand of spirituality. The same holds for all those rights we generally identify as fundamental.

The proviso that the right takes priority over the good complicates the construction of a just society. For if it is true, as most liberals claim, that resources are limited and each individual, even when restrained by altruism,⁶ has an interest in securing as many available resources as possible, then it will be a challenge to create political, economic, and social institutions that maximize the individual's freedom without jeopardizing the community's welfare.

When it comes to state interventions in the private sphere (family or domestic society),⁷ liberals agree that the less we see of Big Brother in our bedrooms, bathrooms, kitchens, recreation rooms, and nurseries, the better. We all need places where we can, among family and friends, shed our public personae and be our "real" selves. When it comes to state intervention in the public sphere (civil or political society),⁸ however, a difference of opinion emerges between so-called classical, or libertarian, liberals on the one hand, and so-called welfare, or egalitarian, liberals on the other.⁹

Classical liberals think the state should confine itself to protecting civil liberties (e.g., property rights, voting rights, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom of association). They also think that, instead of interfering with the free market, the state should simply provide everyone with an equal opportunity to determine his or her own accumulations within that market. In contrast, welfare liberals believe the state should focus on economic disparities as well as civil liberties. As they see it, individuals enter the market with differences based on initial advantage, inherent talent, and sheer luck. At times, these differences are so great that some individuals cannot take their fair share of what the market has to offer unless some adjustments are made to offset their liabilities. Because of this perceived state of affairs, welfare liberals call for government interventions in the economy, such as legal services, school loans, food stamps, low-cost housing, Medicaid, Medicare, Social Security, and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), so that the market does not perpetuate or otherwise solidify huge inequalities.

Although both classical-liberal and welfare-liberal streams of thought appear in liberal feminist thought, most contemporary liberal feminists seem to favor welfare liberalism. In fact, when Susan Wendell (not herself a liberal feminist) described contemporary liberal feminist thought, she stressed it is "committed to major economic re-organization and considerable redistribution of wealth,

since one of the modern political goals most closely associated with liberal feminism is equality of opportunity, which would undoubtedly require and lead to both.”¹⁰ Very few, if any, contemporary liberal feminists favor the elimination of government-funded safety nets for society’s most vulnerable members.

Because it is nearly impossible to discuss all liberal feminist thinkers, movements, and organizations in a single book, I have decided to focus only on Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, Harriet Taylor (Mill), the women’s suffragists in the United States, Betty Friedan, and the National Organization for Women. My aim is to construct a convincing argument that, for all its shortcomings, the overall goal of liberal feminism is the worthy one of creating “a just and compassionate society in which freedom flourishes,”¹¹ or, in Martha Nussbaum’s words, a society in which each person is recognized as having “a course from birth to death that is not precisely the same as that of any other person; that each person is one and not more than one, that each feels pain in his or her own body, that the food given to A does not arrive in the stomach of B.”¹² Only in a society where women can perceive themselves as unique, special persons can women thrive equally well as men.

Eighteenth-Century Thought: Equal Education

Mary Wollstonecraft wrote at a time (1759–1799) when the economic and social position of European women was in decline. Up until the eighteenth century, productive work (work that generated an income from which a family could live) had been done in and around the family home by women as well as men. But then the forces of industrial capitalism began to draw labor out of the private home and into the public workplace. At first, this industrialization moved slowly and unevenly, making its strongest impact on married, bourgeois women. These women were the first to find themselves left at home with little productive work to do. Married to relatively wealthy professional and entrepreneurial men, these women had no incentive to work outside the home or, if they had several servants, even inside it.¹³

In reading Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*,¹⁴ we see how affluence worked against these eighteenth-century, married, bourgeois women. Wollstonecraft compared such “privileged” women to members of “the feathered race,” birds that are confined to cages and that have nothing to do but preen themselves and “stalk with mock majesty from perch to perch.”¹⁵ Middle-class ladies were, in Wollstonecraft’s estimation, “kept” women who sacrificed health, liberty, and virtue for whatever prestige, pleasure, and power their husbands could provide. Because these women were not allowed to exercise outdoors lest they tan their lily white skin, they lacked healthy bodies. Because they were not permitted to make their own decisions, they lacked liberty.

2

Radical Feminism

Libertarian and Cultural Perspectives

As we noted in Chapter 1, the 1960s and 1970s feminists who belonged to women's rights groups, such as the National Organization for Women, believed they could achieve gender equality by reforming the "system"—by working to eliminate discriminatory educational, legal, and economic policies.¹ Achieving equal rights for women was the paramount goal of these reformers, and the fundamental tenets of liberal political philosophy were a comfortable fit for these reformers. But not all 1960s and 1970s feminists wanted to find a place for women in the "system." The feminists who formed groups such as the Redstockings, the Feminists, New York Radical Women, and New York Feminists perceived themselves as revolutionaries rather than reformers. New York Radical Women (NYRW) refused to join the 1968 Jeannette Rankin Brigade peace march in Washington, DC, a large gathering of women's groups united to oppose the Vietnam War, because it was only a *reaction* to those who governed patriarchal America. NYRW felt that by appealing to Congress, the Brigade was keeping its "traditional passive role of reacting to men instead of gaining real political power."² Interestingly, this group of revolutionary feminists was the same one that protested the 1968 Miss America Pageant, calling it a "cattle auction" and tossing bras, girdles, *Playboy* magazines, mops, and other items that represented women's oppression into a trash can.³ Similarly, Redstockings (a neologism combining the term *bluestocking*, a negative term for brainy women, with *red*, for its close linkage to the revolutionary left) engaged in proactive activism. It was famous for its "speakouts" and street theater dramatizations on the issue of abortion rights.⁴

Referring to themselves as “radical feminists” these groups of revolutionary feminists introduced to women the practice of consciousness-raising. Women came together in small groups and shared with each other their personal experiences *as women*. They discovered that their individual experiences were not unique to them but widely shared by many women. According to Valerie Bryson, consciousness-raising showed how the trauma of a woman who had been raped or who had had to resort to an illegal abortion seemed to be linked to the experiences of the wife whose husband refused to do his share of housework, appeared never to have heard of the female orgasm, or sulked if she went out for the evening; the secretary whose boss insisted that she wear “feminine” clothes, expected her to “be nice” to important clients, or viewed her as the office coffee maker; and the female student whose professors expected her to do less well and refused requests to study female writers or even traded good grades for sexual favors.⁵

Empowered by the realization that women’s fates were profoundly linked, radical feminists proclaimed that “the personal is political” and that all women are “sisters.” They insisted that men’s control of women’s sexual and reproductive lives and women’s self-identity, self-respect, and self-esteem is the most fundamental of all the oppressions human beings visit on each other.

The claim that women’s oppression *as women* is more fundamental than other forms of human oppression is difficult to unpack. According to Alison Jaggar and Paula Rothenberg, it can be interpreted to mean one or more of five things:

1. That women were, historically, the first oppressed group.
2. That women’s oppression is the most widespread form of oppression, existing in virtually every known society.
3. That women’s oppression is the form of oppression hardest to eradicate and cannot be removed by other social changes, such as the abolition of class society.
4. That women’s oppression causes the most suffering to its victims, qualitatively as well as quantitatively, although the suffering may often go unrecognized because of the sexist prejudices of both the oppressors and the victims.
5. That women’s oppression . . . provides a conceptual model for understanding all other forms of oppression.⁶

But just because radical feminists agreed in principle that sexism is the first, most widespread, or deepest form of human oppression did not mean they also agreed about the nature and function of this pernicious ism or the

best way to eliminate it. On the contrary, radical feminists split into two basic camps—*radical-libertarian feminists* and *radical-cultural feminists*—and depending on their camp, these feminists voiced very different views about how to fight sexism.

Radical-libertarian feminists claimed that an exclusively feminine gender identity is likely to limit women's development as full human persons. Thus, they encouraged women to become androgynous persons, that is, persons who embody both (good) masculine and (good) feminine characteristics or, more controversially, any potpourri of masculine and feminine characteristics, good or bad, that strikes their fancy. Among the first radical-libertarian feminists to celebrate androgynous women was Joreen Freeman. She wrote, "What is disturbing about a Bitch is that she is androgynous. She incorporates within herself qualities defined as 'masculine' as well as 'feminine.' A Bitch is blatant, direct, arrogant, at times egoistic. She has no liking for the indirect, subtle, mysterious ways of the 'eternal feminine.' She disdains the vicarious life deemed natural to women because she wants to live a life of her own."⁷ In other words, a "Bitch" does not want to limit herself to being a sweet girl with little in the way of power. Instead, she wants to embrace as part of her gender identity those masculine characteristics that permit her to lead life on her own terms.

Freeman's views did not go unchallenged. Among others, Alice Echols rejected as wrongheaded Freeman's celebration of the Bitch. She said that Freeman's Bitch was far too masculine to constitute a role model for women. Still, Echols credited Freeman for expressing radical-libertarian feminists' desire to free women from the constraints of female biology. Just because a woman is biologically a female does not mean she is destined to exhibit only feminine characteristics. Women can be masculine as well as feminine.⁸ They can choose their gender roles and identities, mixing and matching them at will.

Later, after the shock value of Freeman's rhetoric had dissipated, some radical feminists began to have second thoughts about the wisdom of women's striving to be androgynous persons. As they saw it, a Bitch was not a full human person but only a woman who had embraced some of the worst features of masculinity. According to Echols, this group of radical feminists, soon labeled radical-cultural feminists, replaced the goal of androgyny with a summons to affirm women's essential "femaleness."⁹ Far from believing, as radical-libertarian feminists did, that women should exhibit both masculine and feminine traits and behaviors, radical-cultural feminists expressed the view that it is better for women to be strictly female/feminine. Women, they said, should not try to be like men. On the contrary, they should try to be more like women, emphasizing the values and virtues culturally associated with women ("interdependence, community, connection, sharing, emotion, body, trust, ab-

way for women to dispel men's wrongful power over women is for both sexes first to recognize women are no more destined to be passive than men are destined to be active, and then to develop whatever combination of feminine and masculine traits best reflects their individually unique personality.

Some Libertarian Views on Gender

Millett's Sexual Politics

Among other prominent radical-libertarian feminists, **Kate Millett** insisted that the roots of women's oppression are buried deep in patriarchy's sex/gender system. In *Sexual Politics* (1970), she claimed the male-female sex relationship is the paradigm for all *power* relationships: "Social caste supersedes all other forms of inegalitarianism: racial, political, or economic, and unless the clinging to male supremacy as a birthright is finally forgone, all systems of oppression will continue to function simply by virtue of their logical and emotional mandate in the primary human situation."¹⁵ **Because male control of the public and private worlds maintains patriarchy, male control must be eliminated if women are to be liberated.** But this is no easy task. To eliminate male control, men and women have to eliminate gender—specifically, sexual status, role, and temperament—as it has been constructed under patriarchy.

Patriarchal ideology exaggerates biological differences between men and women, making certain that men always have the dominant, or masculine, roles and women always have the subordinate, or feminine, ones. This ideology is so powerful, said Millett, that men are usually able to secure the apparent consent of the very women they oppress. Men do this through institutions, such as the academy, the church, and the family, each of which justifies and reinforces women's subordination to men, resulting in most women's internalization of a sense of inferiority to men. Should a woman refuse to accept patriarchal ideology by casting off her femininity—that is, her submissiveness/subordination—men will use coercion to accomplish what conditioning has failed to achieve. Intimidation is everywhere in patriarchy, according to Millett. **The streetwise woman realizes that if she wants to survive in patriarchy, she had better act feminine, or else she may be subjected to "a variety of cruelties and barbarities."**¹⁶

Millett stressed that despite men's continual attempts to condition and coerce all women, many women have proved uncontrollable. During the 1800s, for example, US women's resistance to men's power took several forms, including the women's movement inaugurated in 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York. As noted in Chapter 1, this spirited movement helped women gain many important legal, political, and economic liberties and equalities. Nevertheless, the women's movement of the 1800s failed to liberate women fully,

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Marxist and Socialist Feminism Classical and Contemporary

Although it is possible to distinguish between Marxist and socialist feminist thought, it is quite difficult to do so. The differences between these two schools of thought seem more a matter of emphasis than of substance. Classical Marxist feminists work within the conceptual terrain laid out by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and other nineteenth-century thinkers. They regard classism rather than sexism as the fundamental cause of women's oppression. In contrast, socialist feminists are not certain that classism is women's worst or only enemy. They write in view of Russia's twentieth-century failure to achieve socialism's ultimate goal—namely, the replacement of class oppression and antagonism with “an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.”¹ Post-1917 Communism in the Soviet Union and later in the so-called Eastern Bloc was not true socialism but simply a new form of human exploitation and oppression. Women's lives under Communism, particularly during the Stalin years (1929–1953), were not manifestly better than women's lives under capitalism. Women's move into the productive workplace had not made them men's equals either there or at home. For these reasons and related ones, socialist feminists decided to move beyond relying on class as the sole category for understanding women's subordination to men. Increasingly, they tried “to understand women's subordination in a coherent and systematic way that integrates class and sex, as well as other aspects of identity such as race/ethnicity or sexual orientation.”²

Some Marxist Concepts and Theories

To appreciate the differences between classical Marxist and contemporary socialist feminism, we need to understand the Marxist concept of human nature. As noted in Chapter 1, liberals believe that several characteristics distinguish human beings from other animals. These characteristics include a set of abilities, such as the capacity for rationality and the use of language; a set of practices, such as religion, art, and science; and a set of attitude and behavior patterns, such as competitiveness and the tendency to put oneself over others. Marxists reject the liberal conception of human nature, claiming instead that what makes us different from other animals is our ability to produce our means of subsistence. We are what we are because of what we do—specifically, what we do to meet our basic needs through productive activities such as fishing, farming, and building. Unlike bees, beavers, and ants, whose activities are governed by instinct and which cannot willfully change themselves, we create ourselves in the process of intentionally transforming and manipulating nature.³

For the liberal, the ideas, thoughts, and values of individuals account for change over time. For the Marxist, material forces—the production and reproduction of social life—are the prime movers in history. In laying out a full explanation of how change takes place over time, an explanation usually termed *historical materialism*, Marx stated, “The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political, and intellectual life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness.”⁴ In other words, Marx believed a society’s total mode of production—that is, its forces of production (the raw materials, tools, and workers that actually produce goods) plus its relations of production (the ways in which production is organized)—generates a superstructure (a layer of legal, political, and social ideas) that in turn reinforces the mode of production. Adding to Marx’s point, Richard Schmitt later emphasized that the statement “human beings create themselves” is not to be read as “men and women, as *individuals*, make themselves what they are,” but instead as “men and women, through production *collectively*, create a society that, in turn, shapes them.”⁵ So, for example, people in the United States think in certain ways about liberty, equality, and freedom *because* their mode of production is capitalist.

Like Marxists in general, Marxist and socialist feminists claim that social existence determines consciousness. For them, the observation that “women’s work is never done” is more than an aphorism; it is a description of the nature of woman’s work. Always on call, women form a conception of them-

Existentialist and Postmodern Feminism

Shortly before Simone de Beauvoir died, Margaret A. Simons and Jessica Benjamin interviewed her for the journal *Feminist Studies*. In their background commentary, Simons and Benjamin commented on the significance of de Beauvoir's major theoretical work, *The Second Sex*:

De Beauvoir's analysis of women's oppression in *The Second Sex* is open to many criticisms for its idealism—her focus on myths and images and her lack of practical strategies for liberation; for its ethnocentrism and androcentric view—her tendency to generalize from the experience of European bourgeois women, with a resulting emphasis on women's historic ineffectiveness. Still, we have no theoretical source of comparable sweep that stimulates us to analyze and relentlessly question our situation as women in so many domains—literature, religion, politics, work, education, motherhood, and sexuality. As contemporary theorists explore the issues raised in *The Second Sex*, we can see that in a sense all feminist dialogue entails a dialogue with Simone de Beauvoir. And a discussion with her can be a way of locating ourselves within our feminist past, present, and future.¹

Written in 1958, yet still sounding contemporary, *The Second Sex* has clearly achieved the status of a classic in feminist thought. Thus, no introduction to feminist thought would be nearly complete without a discussion of this work, which has elucidated the significance of woman's otherness in existentialist terms.

Over the years there have been questions about the precise relationship between de Beauvoir's *Second Sex* and Jean-Paul Sartre's *Being and Nothingness*.

The first and ultimately mistaken view is that *The Second Sex* is simply an application of *Being and Nothingness* to women's specific situation. To be sure, Sartre and de Beauvoir were on-and-off lovers for many years and, initially, Sartre was de Beauvoir's teacher. However, by the time they both became well-known authors, de Beauvoir was anything but Sartre's student. On the contrary, she was his intellectual companion and at times his teacher.² Still, there are enough existentialist links between de Beauvoir and Sartre to warrant a brief overview of Sartre's thought.

Sartre's *Being and Nothingness*: A Backdrop to *The Second Sex*

Sartre popularized a body of ideas rooted in the philosophies of G. W. F. Hegel, Edmund Husserl, and Martin Heidegger. Chief among these ideas was Hegel's description of the psyche as "self-alienated spirit." Hegel saw consciousness presiding in a divided arena. On the one side resides the observing ego; on the other side lives the immanent self, or the observed ego.³ Sartre made this distinction between the observer and the observed by dividing being into two parts: being-in-itself (*en-soi*) and being-for-itself (*pour-soi*). Being-in-itself refers to the repetitive, material existence humans share with animals, vegetables, and minerals; being-for-itself refers to the moving, conscious existence human beings share with one another.⁴

The distinction between being-in-itself and being-for-itself is useful in an analysis of the human person to the degree we associate being-in-itself with the body. The body has constant and objective being. As it can be seen, touched, heard, smelled, and tasted, the body is the perceived. In contrast, the perceiver—the entity that does the seeing, touching, hearing, smelling, and tasting—is not itself a perceptible object but, according to Sartre, still has a certain kind of being: being-for-itself. To appreciate being-for-itself fully, picture someone who is momentarily conscious of the fingers on her hand. Her "I" is identified with her fingers because they are, after all, *her* fingers, not anyone else's. However, her "I" is also distinct from her fingers because she is at the same time more than, or other than, her fingers. According to Sartre, what separates one's "I"—one's consciousness or one's mind—from one's body is, paradoxically, nothing (literally, *no-thing*, or nothingness).

To the first two kinds of being, Sartre added a third, being-for-others. Sartre sometimes described this mode of being *positively* as *Mitsein*, a communal "being-with." More frequently, however, he described it *negatively*, as involving "a personal conflict as each For-itself seeks to recover its own Being by directly or indirectly making an object out of the other."⁵ Because each being-for-itself establishes itself as a subject, as a self, precisely by defining other be-

ings as objects, as others, the action of consciousness sets up a system of fundamentally conflictual social relations. Thus, the process of self-definition is one of seeking power over other beings: "While I attempt to free myself from the hold of the Other, the Other is trying to free himself from mine; while I seek to enslave the Other, the Other seeks to enslave me. . . . Descriptions of concrete behavior must be seen within the perspective of conflict."⁶ In establishing its self *as* a self, each self describes and prescribes roles for the other. Moreover, each subject conceives of itself of transcendent and free and views the other as immanent and enslaved.

Freedom, the distinguishing characteristic of a self, is, according to Sartre, more of a burden than a blessing. It is a burden because so long as a person is conscious, there is no relief from the freedom to choose and affirm. There are no answers in life, just questions. Worse, there is no such thing as *human nature*, an essence common to all human persons, determining what a person ought to be. Rather, there is only a *human condition*, into which all persons are thrown equally and without self-definition. Existence, said Sartre, precedes essence. In other words, we exist only as amorphous, living organisms until we create separate and essential identities for ourselves through conscious action—through making choices, coming to decisions, reaffirming old purposes and projects, or affirming new ones.

Sartre saw an intimate connection between his conception of freedom—so different from either the liberal or the Marxist—and his conception of nothingness.⁷ He insisted that because nothing compels us to act in any one way, we are absolutely free. Our future is totally open; none of the blanks have been filled in for us. However, as we start filling in the blanks, we are overcome with a sense not so much of finding ourselves as of losing ourselves. When we elect one possibility for ourselves, we simultaneously annihilate others. We buy the future at the cost of our past, a cost that burdens our psyche. If we insist we do not experience any of the psychic burdens—dread, anguish, nausea—he described, Sartre will accuse us of "bad faith," a state of being akin to self-deception, false consciousness, or delusion.

Sartre analyzed several types of bad faith, the most typical being hiding oneself in a *role* that seems to leave one no room for choice. For example, anyone who has ever been to a premier French restaurant has probably met "the waiter," Sartre's exemplar of robust role-playing.⁸ Everything about the quintessential French waiter is highly stylized. He will present the wine list with the requisite flourish; he will grimace if the diner selects the wrong combination of courses; and he will behave in an overly solicitous manner should the diner's soup arrive lukewarm. The waiter acts in these ways not only because his job depends on it but also because his role-playing helps him avoid the fundamental uncertainties and ambiguities of human existence. As noted,

all conscious beings, or beings-for-themselves, are without essence or definition. They must define themselves through the mutually related processes of decision-making and action-taking. In contrast, all nonconscious beings, or beings-in-themselves, are *massif* (“solid”). In other words, they are what they are. Conscious beings supposedly yearn for the safe, uncomplicated state of nonconscious beings. The questions that afflict conscious beings, the possibilities that haunts conscious beings, summoning them to decide who they want to be. Thus, the aim of bad faith is to escape this awful condition of continuous choosing. The waiter tries to become his role so he no longer has choices to make about his being.

Another mode of bad faith occurs when we pretend we are thinglike, that we are just a body or object in the world that we can observe. Sartre used the example of a young woman’s dating an old man who desires sex with her. To preserve the particular excitement of the occasion—such as, “I have been noticed by this man . . . how interesting I must be”—the woman wards off her dawning realization she has a decision to make about whether to sleep with him. Each time her companion makes a leading statement—for example, “I find you so attractive”—she attempts to “disarm” the phrase of its sexual implications. She is controlling the situation quite well, until the man takes her hand. The moment of decision has come. To leave the hand there is to “engage herself” in the flirtation; to withdraw the hand is to ruin the evening. But then bad faith comes to the woman’s rescue. She leaves her hand in the man’s hands, but “she does not notice that she is leaving it.”⁹ She achieves this state of nonconsciousness, of oblivion, of thinghood by engaging her companion in lofty intellectual and spiritual conversation, thereby achieving the separation of her soul from her body. “The hand,” said Sartre, “rests inert between the warm hands of her companion—neither consenting nor resisting—a thing.”¹⁰ By divorcing herself from her hand, the woman masks from herself that she is a free subject, not a determined object.

The problem with trying to live in bad faith is twofold. First, no matter how hard the conscious subject tries to live in bad faith, in the final analysis complete bad faith is an ontological impossibility. *Pour-soi*, the conscious subject, cannot be *en-soi*, the nonconscious object. Only death, the foreclosure of all possibilities, permits the conscious subject to escape freedom once and for all. Second, no matter how the conscious subject tries to excuse or justify it, bad faith is an ethical horror. If freedom has any meaning, it is in taking responsibility for one’s actions, in realizing there is always room for some sort of choice, no matter how constricted one’s circumstances.

Sartre had no patience with Freudians who would destroy the ethical project by permitting people to hide from their responsibility in the so-called unconscious. For Sartre, not only our decisions and actions, but also our

feelings, are conscious. We use our emotions to work magic tricks. When our lives get too difficult to handle, we consciously work ourselves up into a rage or down into a depression. We then use these emotional extremes as excuses for our unreadiness and unwillingness to cope with life. Similarly, said Sartre, if manic-depressives or obsessive-compulsives cannot explain their afflictions, it is because they are repressing these explanations. Where Freud spoke of unconscious wishes unconsciously repressed, Sartre spoke of falsehoods, of people refusing to admit what they know are ultimately the reasons or explanations for their actions.¹¹

Of all Sartre's categories, being-for-others is probably the most suited for a feminist analysis. According to Sartre, human relations are variations on two basic themes of conflict between rival consciousnesses, between self and others. First, there is love, which is essentially masochistic. Second, there are indifference, desire, and hate, which are essentially sadistic.¹²

Fools that we are, most of us start out with very grand ideas about love, about harmonizing the self and the other, said Sartre. The quest for love, we believe, is our attempt to be one with the other. This attempt is similar to the Christian mystic's effort to become one with God without forsaking his or her unique personal identity. Mystical union, we believe, is a very mysterious state. The mystic is at one and the same time himself or herself *and* God. It is this mysterious state we wish to create for ourselves. At the physical level, such union without absorption would mean my lover, for example, would live my body as he simultaneously lives his own. My lover would know my body in such a way he would erase all separation between us without depriving either of us of our quality of otherness. Similarly, at the psychological level, such union without absorption would mean my lover would know my mind and still not rob me of my identity or lose his own.

According to Sartre, such union without absorption is an impossible dream. We live in a very nonmystical world. There is no possibility of harmony, or union, between the self and the other; the self's need for total freedom is too absolute to be shared. Our attempts at love—at union without absorption—will always deteriorate to mutual possession or to mutual objectification. Exhausted by the struggle to maintain our subjectivity and freedom but still desiring a relationship (albeit one that is literally self-destructive) with the other, we may be led to masochism, the prospect of losing our subjectivity altogether in that of the other, who is now invited to treat us as a mere object.

Masochism is, for Sartre, not the perversion of love but its essential consequence. Through pain and humiliation, we hope to erase our subjectivity, to actually become the object that the other, the torturer, perceives as us. Our suffering may seem to testify we have no choice in the matter; however, as Sartre explained, this is a delusion. To be masochists, we must *choose* to apprehend

ourselves as objects. Thus, as a flight from subjectivity, masochism is a dead end. The more we try to reduce ourselves to mere objects, the more we became aware of ourselves as subjectivities who are attempting this reduction.¹³

Defeated in our attempt to exist either as lovers or as failed lovers (masochists), we may be driven to indifference-desire or sadism-hate, the attempt to defy the freedom of the other. Our defiance begins quietly with indifference, a form of what Sartre called “blindness,” or the nonrecognition of the subjectivity of others. Blind, we make no attempt to apprehend the other as anything but an object: “I scarcely notice [others]; I act as if I were alone in the world.”¹⁴ This solipsism is ego building, for it allows us to overlook that we are determined by others, shaped by the look of those others among whom we strut. When we are indifferent to others, we pretend they do not exist, that they cannot define us or are indifferent to others, that they do not exist, that they cannot define us or pigeonhole us. Nevertheless, what occurs even without our acknowledgment still, in fact, occurs: There *are* others in whose eyes we are objects. What we refuse to recognize, then, may at any moment intrude upon us. The other may at any moment direct at us an altogether human look, and we may receive it. “Brief and terrifying flashes of illumination,” said Sartre, may rip through the shroud of our indifference, forcing us to recognize the subjectivity and freedom of the other.¹⁵

Receiving the look of the other ruins our attempt at total indifference, at times so much so that we come to desire the other sexually. To desire the other sexually is to want the other as mere flesh, as total object. There is, said Sartre, something sadistic about this desire. But no sooner do we possess the other as body than we discover it was not the other as body but the other as self we desired: “To be sure, I can grasp the Other, grab hold of him, knock him down. I can, providing I have the power, compel him to perform this or that act, to say certain words. But everything happens as if I wished to get hold of a man who runs away and leaves only his coat in my hands. It is the coat, it is the outer shell which I possess. I shall never get hold of more than a body, a psychic object in the midst of the world.”¹⁶ Just when we think we are about to triumph over the other—just when the other’s consciousness as well as flesh seems ready to yield to us—the other may look us in the eye and make of us an object. By reestablishing itself as a subject, insisted Sartre, the other frustrates our attempt at sadism.

Unable to eliminate the threat or independence of the other even through sadism, our only recourse is hate—the wish for the death of the other. We want to wipe out forever the self who has, by looking at us as the other, threatened our freedom. If we feel we have been ridiculous or evil or cowardly in the other’s consciousness, we may wish to wipe out the embarrass-

ment by destroying that consciousness. Sartre pointed out that hatred of a particular other is, in reality, hatred of all others. If we wish not to be a self-for-others, logically we should have to annihilate all others. But hate is also futile, for even if all others ceased to exist, the memory of their looks would live on forever in our consciousness, inseparable from whatever ideas we might try to form about ourselves. So even our last resource does not suffice. "Hate does not enable us to get out of the circle. It simply represents the final attempt, the attempt of despair. After the failure of this attempt nothing remains for the for-itself except to re-enter the circle and allow itself to be infinitely tossed."¹⁷

Simone de Beauvoir's Existentialism for Women

In adopting the ontological and ethical language of existentialism, de Beauvoir observed that men named "man" the self; and "woman," the other. If the other is a threat to the self, then woman is a threat to man. Therefore, if man wishes to remain free, he must subordinate woman to him. To be sure, gender oppression is not the only form of oppression. Far from it. Blacks know what it is to be oppressed by whites, and the poor know what it is to be oppressed by the rich. Nonetheless, insisted Dorothy Kaufmann McCall, women's oppression by men is unique for two reasons. "First, unlike the oppression of race and class, the oppression of woman is not a contingent historical fact, an event in time which has sometimes been contested or reversed. Woman has always been subordinate to man. Second, women have internalized the alien point of view that man is the essential, woman the inessential."¹⁸

Destiny and History of Women

A good way to test de Beauvoir's characterization of woman's oppression as unique is to ponder her analysis of how woman became the other. In the first three chapters of *The Second Sex*, which she entitled "The Data of Biology," "The Psychoanalytic Point of View," and "The Point of View of Historical Materialism," de Beauvoir discussed how woman became not only different and separate from man but also inferior to him. She claimed that although biologists, Freudian psychoanalysts, and Marxist economists helped illuminate the reasons for woman's "otherness," existentialist philosophers provided the best explanation for it.

De Beauvoir noted that biology provides society with facts, which society then interprets to suit its own ends. For example, biology describes the respective reproductive roles of males and females:

The sperm, through which the life of the male is transcended in another, at the same instant becomes a stranger to him and separates from his body, so that the male recovers his individuality intact at the moment when he transcends it. The egg, on the contrary begins to separate from the female body when, fully matured, it emerges from the follicle and falls into the oviduct; but if fertilized by a gamete from outside, it becomes attached again through implantation in the uterus. First violated, the female is then alienated—she becomes, in part, another than herself.¹⁹

Although these reproductive “facts” might explain why it is oftentimes harder for a woman to become and remain a self, especially if she has a child, in de Beauvoir’s estimation they in no way prove the societal myth that women’s capacity for selfhood is somehow intrinsically less than men’s.

De Beauvoir repeatedly observed that although biological and physiological facts about woman—such as her primary role in reproduction relative to man’s secondary role, her physical weakness relative to man’s physical strength, and her inactive role in heterosexual intercourse relative to man’s active role—are true enough, how much value we attach to these facts is up to us as social beings. She wrote:

The enslavement of the female to the species and the limitations of her various powers are extremely important facts; the body of woman is one of the essential elements in her situations in the world. But that body is not enough to define her as woman; there is no true living reality except as manifested by the conscious individual through activities and in the bosom of a society. Biology is not enough to give an answer to the question that is before us: why is woman the Other?²⁰

In other words, because woman is being-for-herself as well as being-in-itself, we must look for causes and reasons beyond those suggested by female biology and physiology to fully explain why society has selected *woman* to play the role of the other.

When de Beauvoir looked beyond biology to psychology, especially psychoanalysis, for a better explanation of woman’s otherness, she was disappointed. According to de Beauvoir, traditional Freudians all tell essentially the same story about woman: She is a creature who must struggle between her “viriloid” and her “feminine” tendencies, the first expressed through clitoral eroticism, the second through vaginal eroticism. To win this battle—to become “normal”—woman must overcome her “viriloid” tendencies and transfer her love from a woman to a man. Although de Beauvoir conceded Freud’s genius—which, for her, consisted in his having forwarded the bold

idea that sexuality is the ultimate explanation for the human condition—she nevertheless rejected this notion as simplistic:

There is no need of taking sexuality as an irreducible datum, for there is in the existent a more original “quest of being,” of which sexuality is only one of the aspects. The psychoanalysts hold that the primary truth regarding man [*sic*] is his relation with his own body and with the bodies of his fellows in the group; but man [*sic*] has a primordial interest in the substance of the natural world which surrounds him and which he tries to discover in work, in play, and in all the experiences of the “dynamic imagination.” Man [*sic*] aspires to be at one concretely with the whole world apprehended in all possible ways. To work the earth, to dig a hole, are activities as original as the embrace, as coition, and they deceive themselves who see here no more than sexual symbols.²¹

In other words, civilization cannot be explained merely as the product of repressed or sublimated sexual impulses. Civilization is more complicated than this, and so are the relations between men and women.

In particular, de Beauvoir viewed Freud's explanation for woman's otherness as incomplete. She faulted Freudians for teaching that women's low social status relative to men is due simply to women's lack of the penis. Anticipating by decades a central tenet of the US woman's movement, de Beauvoir refused to concede it is women's anatomy that consigns women to second-class personhood and citizenship. Women “envy” those who possess a penis, said de Beauvoir, not because they want a penis *per se* but because they desire the material and psychological privileges society accords to penis possessors. The social status of men is not to be traced to certain features of the male anatomy; rather, the “prestige of the penis” is to be explained “by the sovereignty of the father.” Women are the other not because they lack penises but because they lack power.²²

Finally, de Beauvoir considered the Marxist explanation for why woman is the other and found it as unsatisfying as Freud's. Engels contended that from the beginning of time women performed *en-soi*-like tasks, such as cooking, cleaning, and child-rearing; whereas men performed *pour-soi*-like tasks, such as hunting and fighting, most of which involve the use of tools to subdue the world. As a result of this particular division of labor, men seized the means of production; they became the “bourgeois” and women became the “proletariat.” Capitalism favors this state of affairs as it does not have to pay women for the work they do in the home. The “system” gets women's housework for free. Thus, men will remain the “bourgeois” and women the “proletariat” until capitalism is overthrown and the means of production are

can be oppressive and exploitative, particularly when it results in women's working a double day: one shift in the office or factory and one shift at home. Nonetheless, de Beauvoir insisted no matter how taxing or tiring a woman's job is, it still opens up possibilities for her that she would otherwise lack. By working outside the home alongside men, woman "regains her transcendence"; she "concretely affirms her status as subject, as someone who is actively charting the course of her destiny."⁴¹

Second, women can become intellectuals, members of the vanguard of change for women. Intellectual activity is, after all, the activity of one who thinks, looks, and defines, not the nonactivity of one who is thought about, looked at, and defined. De Beauvoir encouraged women to study writers such as Emily Brontë, Virginia Woolf, and Katherine Mansfield, who took themselves seriously enough as writers to probe death, life, and suffering.⁴²

Third, women can work toward a socialist transformation of society. Like Sartre, de Beauvoir held out hope for an end to the subject-object, self-other conflict among human beings in general and between men and women in particular. In *Being and Nothingness*, Sartre added a footnote to his conclusion that all attempts at love or union are bound to lapse into either masochism or sadism. Sartre explained his "considerations do not exclude the possibility of an ethics of deliverance and salvation. But this can be achieved only after a radical conversion which we cannot discuss here."⁴³ The radical conversion he had in mind is a Marxist revolution. The struggle between one human being and another, which in *Being and Nothingness* arose from a psychological necessity derived from the nature of consciousness itself, became in Sartre's *Critique of Dialectical Reason*, a struggle between workers and capitalists caused not by psychological but by economic necessity. Sartre implied that if all people had adequate food, clothing, and shelter, they might be able to overcome the psychological barriers separating them. Love might be possible after all.

Like Sartre, de Beauvoir believed one of the keys to women's liberation is economic, a point she emphasized in her discussion of the independent woman. De Beauvoir reminded women that their circumstances will, of course, limit their efforts to define themselves. Just as a sculptor's creativity is limited by the marble block at hand, a woman's freedom is limited by the size of her bank account, for example. If a woman wants to be all that she can possibly be, she must help create the kind of society that will provide her with the material support to transcend her present limits.

Finally, to transcend their limits, women can refuse to internalize their otherness—that is, to identify themselves through the eyes of the dominant group in society. To accept the role of the other, said de Beauvoir, is to accept being an object. It is, as Josephine Donovan wrote, "to deny the subject-self that is autonomous and creative" and risk the kind of "madness and schizophrenia"

Second Sex can turn to its last page without concluding that to be “second,” or “other,” is not the best way for a person to be.

Postmodern feminists take de Beauvoir’s understanding of otherness and turn it on its head. Woman is still the other, but rather than interpreting this condition as something to be transcended, postmodern feminists proclaim its advantages. The condition of otherness enables women to stand back and criticize the norms, values, and practices that the dominant culture (patriarchy) seeks to impose on everyone, including those who live on the periphery—in this case, women. Thus, otherness, for all of its associations with oppression and inferiority, is much more than an oppressed condition. It is also a way of being, thinking, and speaking allowing for openness, plurality, diversity, and differences.

Like postmodernists in general, postmodern feminists reject phallogocentric thought; that is, thought ordered around an absolute word (*logos*) that is “male” in style (hence the reference to the phallus). In addition, postmodern feminists reject any mode of thought, including feminist thought that aims to provide a single explanation for why women are oppressed or the steps *all* women must take to achieve liberation. To be sure, postmodern feminists’ refusal to develop an overarching explanation and solution for women’s oppression poses major problems for feminist theory. Yet this refusal also adds needed fuel to the feminist fires of plurality, multiplicity, and difference. Postmodern feminists invite women to become the kind of “feminists” they want to be. There is, in their estimation, no single formula for being a true feminist, but there are, nonetheless, ways that women can come together to effect social change. Thus, it is important to examine the roots of postmodern feminism to better see how postmodern feminists have shaped these roots into a tree, branches, and leaves of their own.

Postmodernism/Postmodern Feminism: Keynotes

In a moment of exasperation, Judith Butler (discussed in more detail on page 201) said she was tired of thinkers who include in the category “postmodern” any type of philosophical thought that is not modern (*modern* usually means the kind of philosophical thought that characterized the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment or Age of Reason):

A number of positions are ascribed to postmodernism, as if it were the kind of thing that could be the bearer of a set of positions. . . . These characterizations are variously imputed to postmodernism or poststructuralism, which are conflated with each other and sometimes conflated with deconstruction, and sometimes understood as an indiscriminate assem-

Discourse about sexuality is a primary site of power in contemporary society, according to Foucault. What society says about legitimate and taboo types of sexuality shapes the sexual behavior of individual persons.⁸³ We are, said Foucault, literally “policed” by society’s discourse about sexuality.⁸⁴ Policed, I confess my sexual fantasies and hang-ups to my psychiatrist; I seek forgiveness for my sexual sins by exposing them to my priest; I report my whereabouts to my parole officer, if I bear the label of “sexual predator”; I reveal my sexual fantasies to my lover. In turn, these authorities judge me in one way or another. I take their judgments to heart, internalize them, and then regulate myself in terms of them. Madan Sarup commented that in Foucault’s view, “complex differential power relationships extend to every aspect of our social, cultural, and political lives, involving all manner of (often contradictory) ‘subject-positions,’ and securing our assent not so much by the threat of punitive measures as by persuading us to internalize the norms and values that prevail within the social order.”⁸⁵

Foucault frequently claimed that as sexual subjects, we are the object of a set of intersecting power relations and discourses that inscribe themselves on our bodies and cause us to recognize ourselves in certain ways. Often, we are unaware of the social forces that have constituted our sexual subjectivity. For this reason, we operate on the unquestioning assumption that our subjectivity is our own. Thus, it is the role of critical thinkers to help us challenge the ways in which power relations and discourses have constituted our subjectivity, particularly our sexual subjectivity so that we can somehow reconstitute it.⁸⁶ Foucault claimed that he did not conduct his analyses “to say: this is how things are, look how trapped you are.”⁸⁷ Rather, he conducted them to permit others to help us transform our realities.

To better appreciate how power relations and discourses shape our subjectivities, sexualities, and bodies, we may look at a specific example. A variety of feminist thinkers, including many postmodern feminist thinkers, have expressed disapproval of cosmetic surgery for the purpose of women’s beautification. In particular, Kathryn Pauly Morgan, Naomi Wolf, and Debra Gimlin have argued that cosmetic surgery is a negative and harmful aspect of Western culture and is something that generally runs counter to the feminist stance on the female body. For Morgan, cosmetic surgery is “primarily self-imposed surveillance of the body under patriarchal power . . . a form of colonization of women’s bodies.”⁸⁸ She claimed that cosmetic surgery is required for women in ways that it is not required for men:

As cosmetic surgery becomes increasingly normalized through the concept of female “make over” that is translated into columns and articles in the print media or made into nationwide television shows directed at female

viewers, as the “success stories” are invited on the talk shows along with their “makers,” and as surgically transformed women enter the Miss America pageants, women who refuse to submit to the knives and to the needles, to the anesthetics and the bandages, will come to be seen as deviant in one way or another. Women who refuse to use these technologies are already becoming stigmatized as “unliberated,” not caring about their appearance (a sign of disturbed gender identity and low self-esteem according to various health-care professionals), as “refusing to be all that they could be” or as “granola-heads.”⁸⁹

If this is not discourse at work, then what is?

Like Morgan, Wolf claimed that cosmetic surgery is an example of “institutionalized forms of power working in concert to force women into extreme beauty practices.”⁹⁰ Wolf postulated that women’s desire to be beautiful (and the forms that this desire takes) is “the result of nothing more exalted than the need in today’s power structure, economy, and culture to mount a counter-offensive against women.” Women’s beauty, said Wolf, serves as the foundation of women’s identity and leaves them “vulnerable to outside approval.” Regarding cosmetic surgery in particular, Wolf claimed that a market for it has been created for surgeons to make money, but, more generally, for the powers-that-be to keep women politically, economically, and socially stagnated. Because women are forced to focus on their perceived flaws, their supposed ugliness, they have little time to focus on far more important issues.⁹¹

Adding yet more force to Morgan’s and Wolf’s essentially Foucaultian analysis of cosmetic surgery, Debra Gimlin observed that “cosmetic surgery is not about controlling one’s own body but is instead an activity so extreme, so invasive that it can only be interpreted as subjugation.”⁹² On a more general note, discussing women’s overall beauty regime in the United States, Sandra Lee Bartky made these observations:

Women are no longer required to be chaste or modest, to restrict their sphere of activity to the home, or even to realize their properly feminine destiny in maternity. Normative femininity [that is, the rules for being a good woman] is coming more and more to be centered on women’s body—not its duties and obligations or even its capacity to bear children, but its sexuality, more precisely, its presumed heterosexuality and its appearance. . . . The woman who checks her makeup half a dozen times a day to see if her foundation has caked or her mascara has run, who worries that the wind or the rain may spoil her hairdo, who looks frequently to see if her stockings have bagged at the ankle, or who, feeling fat, monitors everything she eats, has become, just as surely as the inmate of

4th
Edition

Introduction to

Qualitative Research Methods

A Guidebook and Resource

Steven J. Taylor
Robert Bogdan
Marjorie L. DeVault

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Paralleling the growing interest in qualitative research in sociology has been an increased acceptance of these methods in other disciplines and applied fields. Such diverse disciplines as geography (DeLyser, Herbert, Aitken, Crang, & McDowell, 2010; Hay, 2010), political science (McNabb, 2004), and psychology (Camic, Rhodes, & Yardley, 2003; Fischer, 2005; *Qualitative Research in Psychology*) have seen the publication of edited books, texts, and journals on qualitative research methods over the past decade and a half. The American Psychological Association started publishing the journal *Qualitative Psychology* in 2014. Qualitative methods have been used for program evaluation and policy research (Bogdan & Taylor, 1990; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; M. Q. Patton 1987, 2008, 2010, 2014; Rist 1994). Journals and texts on qualitative research can be found in such diverse applied areas of inquiry as health care and nursing (Latimer, 2003; Munhall, 2012; Streubert & Carpenter, 2010; *Qualitative Health Research*), mental health, counseling, and psychotherapy (Harper & Thompson, 2011; McLeod, 2011), education (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006; *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*; Lichtman, 2010; *Qualitative Research in Education*), music education (Conway, 2014), public health (Ulin, Robinson, & Tolley, 2005), business (Meyers, 2013), theology (Swinton & Mowat, 2006), disability studies (Ferguson et al., 1992), human development (Daly, 2007; Jessor, Colby, & Shweder, 1996), social work (Sherman & Reid, 1994; *Qualitative Social Work*), and special education (Stainback & Stainback, 1988).

One does not have to be a sociologist or to think sociologically to practice qualitative research. Although we identify with a sociological tradition, qualitative approaches can be used in a broad range of disciplines and fields.

Just as significant as the increasing interest in qualitative research methods has been the proliferation of theoretical perspectives rooted in the phenomenological tradition underlying this form of inquiry. We consider the relationship between theory and methodology more fully later in this chapter.

QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

The phrase *qualitative methodology* refers in the broadest sense to research that produces descriptive data—people’s own written or spoken words and observable behavior. As Ray Rist (1977) pointed out, qualitative methodology, like quantitative methodology, is more than a set of data-gathering techniques. It is a way of approaching the empirical world. In this section we present our notion of qualitative research.

1. *Qualitative researchers are concerned with the meaning people attach to things in their lives.* Central to the phenomenological perspective and hence qualitative research is understanding people from their own frames of reference and



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KAJIAN FEMINISME EKSTENSIALIS SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR**

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**FAKULTAS KEGURUAN DAN ILMU PENDIDIKAN
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2019**



SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR

SECONDE SEX

Fakta dan Mitos

SECOND SEX: Fakta dan Mitos
Simone de Beauvoir

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tentang dirinya sendiri tanpa perempuan. Sementara perempuan tidak dapat memikirkan dirinya tanpa laki-laki.” Ia tak lebih dari apa yang dikatakan laki-laki; oleh karenanya, ia disebut “seks”, yang secara esensial berarti datang kepada laki-laki sebagai makhluk seksual. Baginya, ia adalah seks—seks absolut. Ia didefinisikan dan dibedakan dengan referensi laki-laki dan bukan laki-laki dengan referensi perempuan; ia merupakan makhluk yang tercipta secara kebetulan, makhluk tidak esensial yang berlawanan dengan makhluk esensial. Laki-laki adalah sang Subjek, sang Absolut—perempuan adalah Sosok yang Lain.³

Kategori *Sosok yang Lain* sama primordialnya dengan kesadaran itu sendiri. Dalam masyarakat paling primitif dan dalam mitologi paling kuno, orang mendapatkan ekspresi dualitas—Diri Sendiri dan Sosok yang Lain. Dualitas ini tidak ada secara murni dalam pembagian jenis kelamin; ia tidak lepas dari fakta-fakta empiris.

3 E. Lévinas mengungkapkan gagasan ini secara eksplisit dalam esainya berjudul *Temps et l'Autre*. “Tidak adakah suatu masalah di mana sesuatu yang lain, perubahan (*altérité*) tak diragukan menandai sifat dasar makhluk, sebagai esensinya, sebuah contoh keberlainan yang secara murni dan sederhana dalam pertentangan dua spesies genus yang sama? Saya rasa feminim menggambarkan kebalikannya dalam pengertian yang absolut. Kebalikannya tidak terpengaruh oleh relasi antara dirinya dan kolerasinya sehingga dengan demikian tetap menjadi Sosok yang Lain yang absolut. Seks bukan suatu pembedaan spesifik ... tidak lebih dari sekadar kontradiksi ... tidak juga pembedaan ini terletak pada dualitas dua istilah yang saling melengkapi mengimplikasikan suatu keseluruhan pra-eksistensi ... keberlainan mencapai perkembangan puncak dalam feminim, sebuah istilah yang serupa dengan kesadaran meski berbeda arti.”

Saya beranggapan Lévinas tidak melupakan bahwa perempuan juga waspada akan kesadarannya sendiri, atau ego. Namun, sungguh mengejutkan bahwa ia mengambil sudut pandang laki-laki, dan mengabaikan unsur timbal balik subjek dan objek. Saat ia menulis bahwa perempuan adalah misteri, ia mengimplikasikan perempuan adalah misteri bagi laki-laki. Dengan demikian deskripsi laki-laki, yang dimaksudkan bersifat objektif sebenarnya, merupakan sebuah pernyataan tentang privilese maskulin.

jamin kepemilikan pribadi dalam soliditas keluarga. Perempuan dipaksa kembali ke rumah dengan lebih keras bersamaan dengan emansipasi yang menjadi ancaman nyata. Bahkan di kalangan kelas pekerja, laki-laki berusaha keras mengendalikan kebebasan perempuan, karena mereka mulai melihat kaum perempuan ternyata bisa menjadi pesaing yang berbahaya—terlebih karena mereka sudah terbiasa bekerja dengan upah yang lebih rendah.⁸

Dalam membuktikan inferioritas perempuan, penganut antifeminis biasanya tidak hanya mengajukan argumen yang berdasarkan agama, filsafat dan teologi, seperti sebelumnya, tetapi juga ilmu pengetahuan—biologi, psikologi eksperimental, dan sebagainya. Sebagian besar mereka bersedia memberikan “kesetaraan dalam perbedaan” kepada jenis kelamin *yang lain*. Formula yang menguntungkan adalah yang paling signifikan: mirip seperti formula Jim Crow yang ditujukan kepada bangsa Negro di Amerika Utara, “setara namun terpisah”. Sebagaimana diketahui, yang disebut pemisahan kesetaraan ini cuma mengakibatkan terjadinya diskriminasi paling ekstrem. Kemiripan tersebut hanya menekankan kemustahilan adanya perubahan, entah itu karena ras, kasta, kelas, dan jenis kelamin yang diturunkan ke posisi inferioritas. Hal yang sama berlaku pada berbagai metode pembenaran.

“Feminin abadi” bersesuaian dengan “jiwa yang hitam” dan “karakter Yahudi”. Memang, masalah yang dihadapi bangsa Yahudi secara keseluruhan sebenarnya sangat berbeda dengan “Feminin abadi” atau “jiwa yang hitam”—menurut mereka yang anti-Semit, orang Yahudi tidaklah terlalu inferior karena ia merupakan musuh bagi siapa saja yang tidak dijanjikan tanah di bumi, bagi siapa saja yang memercayai pemusnahan adalah nasib yang sudah ditakdirkan. Namun, terdapat kemiripan mendalam antara situasi yang dihadapi perempuan dan orang Negro. Keduanya pada masa sekarang tengah dimerdekakan dari semacam paternalisme, dan bekas kelas penguasa yang masih berharap untuk “tetap menempatkan mereka di tempatnya”—tempat yang dipilhkan bagi mereka. Dalam kedua kasus

8 Lihat Bagian II.

dan sama bagi sang pewaris: ia menjamin bertahannya keberadaan leluhurnya di bumi dan di alam baka. Karenanya, laki-laki tidak akan mau berbagi dewa dan anak dengan perempuan. Ia tidak akan berhasil menegaskan klaim ini sepenuhnya dan selamanya. Akan tetapi, pada saat bentuk patriarkal berkuasa, laki-laki mengambil paksa dari perempuan segala hak perempuan untuk memiliki dan memperoleh warisan harta.

Sejauh ini, hal itu tampak masuk akal. Ketika diakui bahwa anak seorang perempuan tak lagi menjadi miliknya, maka anak tersebut tidak lagi memiliki ikatan dengan kelompok tempat sang ibu berasal. Melalui perkawinan, perempuan tidak lagi dipinjamkan dari satu klan ke klan lainnya: ia betul-betul tercerabut dari kelompok tempat ia lahir, lalu dikuasai oleh kelompok suaminya. Sang suami membeli perempuan layaknya membeli hewan ternak atau budak; ia memaksakan kepada para dewa domestiknya terhadapnya; dan anak-anak yang lahir kemudian menjadi milik keluarga sang suami. Seumpama perempuan menjadi pewaris, hingga tingkatan yang eksekusif ia akan meneruskan kekayaan keluarga ayahnya kepada suaminya; dengan hati-hati perempuan tidak dilibatkan dalam proses suksesi. Namun sebaliknya, karena tidak memiliki apa-apa, perempuan tidak merasakan martabat menjadi seseorang. Ia sendiri menjadi bagian dari patrimoni laki-laki: pertama sang ayah, kemudian suaminya. Di bawah garis patriarkal yang keras, sang ayah, sejak kelahiran anak-anaknya, dapat memutuskan kematian baik anak laki-laki atau anak perempuannya; namun dalam kasus sebelumnya, masyarakat biasanya membatasi kekuasaan itu. Setiap anak laki-laki yang lahir normal dibiarkan hidup, sedangkan kebiasaan mengacuhkan kelahiran anak perempuan meluas. Di kalangan bangsa Arab, pembunuhan terhadap bayi perempuan berkembang luas: anak-anak perempuan begitu lahir dibuang ke dalam kubangan-kubangan. Adalah suatu kedermawanan apabila seorang ayah menerima kelahiran anak perempuannya; perempuan dapat diterima masuk ke dalam masyarakat semacam ini hanya melalui kemurahan hati yang diberikan kepadanya, lain halnya dengan anak laki-laki. Dalam banyak hal, kekejian terhadap anak yang lahir tampak jauh lebih buruk

asap pedas yang membubung mengitarinya; dua orang lainnya, agak lebih muda namun wajahnya hampir sama hancurnya, tengah meninabobokan anak-anaknya di gendongan—yang satunya lagi sedang meneteki; sementara yang paling muda sambil duduk di hadapan perkakas tenun dan mengenakan sutra yang indah, emas, dan perak, tengah mengikat benang-benang tali wol saat itu. Setelah saya meninggalkan gua yang suram ini—kerajaan kehidupan, kelahiran, dan kematian—di celah sempit menuju ke luar di mana menerobos sinar matahari, saya berpapasan dengan suami mereka yang berpakaian putih, rapi, tampak tersenyum, dan gembira. Ia baru kembali dari pasar, di mana ia berbincang-bincang tentang berbagai masalah dunia dengan kaum laki-laki lainnya; ia menghabiskan waktu berjam-jam dalam ketenangannya, ini tepat di tengah-tengah dunia luas yang ia miliki dan tidak terpisahkan. **Bagi para perempuan tua yang telah layu, juga bagi istri muda yang cepat bertambah tua, tidak ada dunia selain gua penuh asap, di mana mereka keluar hanya pada malam hari, diam-diam dan berkerudung.**

Bangsa Yahudi pada masa berlakunya kitab suci agama Kristen, banyak memiliki kesamaan tradisi dengan bangsa Arab. Para pendeta melakukan poligami, dan mereka dapat menyingkirkan istri-istri mereka nyaris sekehendak hati; istri muda yang akan diserahkan kepada suaminya harus perawan; jika ketahuan berzina, si istri akan dirajam dengan batu. Ia terus saja dikurung oleh kewajiban-kewajiban domestik, sebagaimana digambarkan dalam Injil mengenai perempuan saleh: "Ia mencari bulu domba dan jerami ia sudah bangun walau masih malam lilinnya menerangi malam ia tidak makan roti hasil bermalas-malasan." Meski saleh dan rajin, secara seremonial ia belum bersih dan dikelilingi oleh hal-hal tabu; kesaksiannya tidak diterima di pengadilan. Kitab Kebijakan membicarakannya dengan nada yang sangat menghina: "Dan saya mendapatkan lebih pahit daripada kematian perempuan, yang hatinya terperangkap dan terjerat, dan tangannya terbalut satu laki-laki di antara seribu telah saya temukan; namun, saya tidak menemukan satu perempuan pun di antara semuanya itu." Tradisi, jika memang bukan hukum, mensyaratkan bahwa setelah kematian suaminya, sang janda harus menikahi saudara laki-laki almarhum.

Salah satu masalah yang muncul dalam masyarakat yang berdasarkan hak waris dari garis laki-laki ialah apa yang akan terjadi pada harta benda seandainya tidak ada pewaris laki-laki. Orang Yunani mengadakan tradisi *epiclerate*: pewaris perempuan harus menikah dengan kerabat tertua dari keluarga ayahnya (*genos*); dengan begitu harta yang ditinggalkan kepadanya oleh sang ayah akan diteruskan kepada anak-anak dari kelompok yang sama, harta itu akan tetap menjadi milik keluarga (*genos*). *Epiclere* bukan berarti pewaris perempuan—namun, semata-mata hanya alat untuk mewujudkan munculnya pewaris laki-laki. Tradisi ini betul-betul menemukannya atas dasar kemurahan hati laki-laki, karena secara otomatis ia harus menyerahkannya kepada anak laki-laki pertama yang dilahirkan dari keluarganya, yang sering kali terjadi ternyata adalah orang tuanya.

Karena penindasan perempuan mempunyai dalih demi melanggengkan keberadaan keluarga dan demi menjaga keutuhan patri-moni, perempuan terlepas dari ketergantungan total hingga pada tingkatan di mana ia juga terlepas dari keluarga. Jika suatu masyarakat selain melarang kepemilikan pribadi, juga menolak adanya keluarga, peran perempuan di dalamnya pun berkembang menjadi lebih baik. Di Sparta, rezim komunal berkuasa, dan hanya kota di Yunani perempuan diperlakukan hampir sama dengan laki-laki. Gadis-gadis kecil dibesarkan seperti anak laki-laki; seorang istri tidak dikurung di tempat tinggal suaminya: dan sang suami hanya diperbolehkan mengunjungi istrinya secara sembunyi-sembunyi pada malam hari. Kepemilikan atas sang istri sangat terbatas, sehingga atas dasar eugenetik, seorang laki-laki lain dapat menuntut kebersamaan dengannya. Gagasan pokok perzinahan pun lenyap bersamaan dengan lenyapnya patri-moni. Semua anak menjadi milik bersama kota tersebut, dan kaum perempuan tidak lagi memendam perasaan iri diperbudak oleh satu tuan; atau sebaliknya, bisa saja dikatakan bahwa warga, yang tidak memiliki kekayaan pribadi atau keturunan spesifik, tidak lagi menguasai perempuan. Perempuan menjadi budak maternitas sebagaimana laki-laki menjadi budak perang; namun, di atas pemenuhan kewajiban umum sebagai warga ini, tak ada tekanan yang dilakukan terhadap kebebasan mereka.

“diaken” (pembantu gerejawan yang mengerjakan kewajiban-kewajiban gereja—*pent.*) hanya diperbolehkan menyandang tugas-tugas seperti merawat orang sakit dan membantu orang miskin. Dan seandainya perkawinan dijadikan sebagai institusi yang mengharuskan adanya kesetiaan satu sama lain, jelas bahwa sang istri harus betul-betul berada, di bawah suaminya; melalui St. Paulus, tradisi Yahudi yang sangat antifeminis, ditegaskan.

St. Paulus menikmati penghapusan diri dan kekeluasaan perempuan; ia mendasarkan subordinasi perempuan terhadap laki-laki baik melalui Kitab Perjanjian Lama maupun Perjanjian Baru. “Laki-laki bukan bagian dari perempuan; melainkan perempuan bagian dari laki-laki. Demikian juga halnya laki-laki bukan milik perempuan, tapi perempuan adalah milik laki-laki.” Dan di bagian lain: “Suami adalah pemimpin bagi istri, sebagaimana Kristus adalah pemimpin gereja. Oleh karenanya, sebagaimana gereja tunduk pada Yesus, istri harus tunduk pada suami dalam segala hal.” Dalam sebuah agama yang melaknat daging, perempuan menjadi godaan setan yang paling menakutkan. Tertullianus menulis: “Perempuan, kau adalah pintu masuk setan. Kau membuat orang tersesat yang setan sendiri pun tak berani menyerangnya secara langsung. Adalah kesalahanmu sehingga Anak Tuhan harus mati; kau seharusnya selalu dalam keadaan berduka dan mengenakan sesuatu yang buruk.” Sementara St. Ambrosius menyatakan: “Adam melakukan dosa karena Hawa, bukannya Hawa berdosa karena Adam. Memang benar bahwa perempuan diterima sebagai majikan dan memujanya akan membuatnya mengajak melakukan dosa.” Dan St. Yohanes Chrysostom menyatakan: “Di antara segala makhluk buas, tak ada yang begitu berbahaya seperti perempuan.” Ketika hukum kanonik diberlakukan pada abad keempat, perkawinan dipandang sebagai konsesi terhadap kelemahan manusia, sesuatu yang tidak dapat diperbandingkan dengan kesempurnaan Kristen. “Mari kita ambil kapak dan memotong sampai ke akar-akarnya pohon perkawinan yang tidak ada manfaatnya ini,” tulis St. Yeremia. Dan masa Gregorius VI, ketika keharusan selibat diterapkan pada profesi kependetaan, karakter berbahaya dari perempuan lebih keras lagi ditegaskan: semua Bapak Gereja menya-

rakan kehinaan sifat iblisnya. St. Thomas memang benar dengan tradisi ini ketika ia mengungkapkan bahwa perempuan hanyalah makhluk "yang berkala" dan tidak komplet, sejenis laki-laki yang tidak sempurna. "Laki-laki berada di atas perempuan, sebagaimana Kristus berada di atas manusia," tulisnya. "Adalah sesuatu yang tak dapat diubah, perempuan ditakdirkan untuk hidup di bawah pengaruh laki-laki, dan tidak memiliki otoritas dari tuannya." Terlebih lagi, hukum kanotik tidak mengakui rezim matrimonial lainnya ketimbang skema maskawin, yang secara resmi membuat perempuan menjadi inkompeten dan tidak berdaya. Tak hanya penjajahan maskulin yang tetap melekat pada perempuan, namun ia juga dilarang membuat deposisi di pengadilan, dan kesaksiannya tidak dianggap mempunyai bobot. Para penguasa hanyut hingga tingkatan tertentu oleh pengaruh Bapak-bapak Gereja ini. Undang-Undang Yustinus menghargai perempuan sebagai istri dan ibu, tetapi tetap mengungkungnya agar patuh terhadap fungsi-fungsi ini; bukan kepada jenis kelaminnya namun kepada situasinya di dalam keluarga di mana terletak inkompeten legalnya. Perceraian dilarang dan perkawinan harus diumumkan di depan publik. Kekuasaan seorang ibu atas anak-anaknya sama dengan kekuasaan seorang ayah, dan ia pun memiliki hak yang sama dalam masalah hak waris; jika suaminya meninggal, ia menjadi wali resmi bagi anak-anaknya. Undang-undang Senat Velleian dimodifikasi sehingga pada masa mendatang seorang perempuan dapat membuat perjanjian bagi keuntungan pihak ketiga; namun, ia tidak dapat mengadakan perjanjian bagi suaminya; maskawinnya menjadi tidak dapat dicabut—hal itu merupakan patri-moni dari anak-anak dan ia tidak diizinkan untuk mengaturnya.

Aturan-aturan ini kemudian mulai bersentuhan dengan tradisi Jerman di berbagai wilayah yang diduduki kaum barbar. Pada masa damai, orang Jerman tidak mempunyai pemimpin suku, keluarga menjadi masyarakat independen di mana perempuan betul-betul berada di bawah dominasi laki-laki, walau ia dihormati dan memiliki beberapa hak. Perkawinan biasanya monogami, dan penyelewengan dihukum keras. Di masa perang, istri mengikuti suaminya ke medan laga, berbagi nasib dalam kehidupan dan kematian, seperti dicerita-

kan oleh Tacitus. Inferioritas perempuan terkait dengan kelemahan fisik dan bukannya moral, dan karena ia dapat berlaku sebagai pendeta perempuan serta orang suci, ia dididik lebih baik ketimbang laki-laki.

Tradisi-tradisi ini berlangsung hingga Abad Pertengahan, perempuan berada dalam keadaan amat bergantung pada ayah dan suaminya. Orang-orang Frank tidak menjaga kemurnian Jerman: poligami mulai dipraktikkan; seorang perempuan dapat dinikahi tanpa persetujuan terlebih dahulu. Ia disingkirkan atas kehendak suaminya dan diperlakukan tak ubahnya seperti pelayan. Hukum memberinya perlindungan kuat dari cedera dan penghinaan, tetapi hanya sebatas barang milik laki-laki atau ibu dari anak-anaknya. Ketika peran negara mulai menguat, perubahan yang sama terjadi di Roma: perwalian menjadi tugas publik, melindungi perempuan, namun juga melanjutkan perbudakan atas dirinya.

Sewaktu feodalisme muncul dengan adanya ledakan di awal Abad Pertengahan, posisi perempuan tampaknya makin tidak menentu. Feodalisme menimbulkan kerancuan otoritas antara kedaulatan dan kepemilikan, antara hak-hak umum dan pribadi serta kekuasaan. Hal ini menjelaskan mengapa perempuan secara bergantian dimuliakan dan direndahkan di bawah rezim ini. Pada mulanya ia tidak memiliki hak-hak pribadi karena ia tidak mempunyai kekuasaan politik, dan hal ini disebabkan karena orde sosial hingga abad kesebelas ditegakkan semata-mata pada kekuatan, dan tanah warisan merupakan properti yang dikendalikan oleh kekuatan militer, suatu kekuatan yang tidak dimiliki perempuan. Selanjutnya, perempuan dapat menjadi ahli waris bila tidak ada ahli waris laki-laki; tetapi, suaminya menjadi pengawas dan melakukan kontrol atas tanah warisan dan pendapatannya; perempuan ini adalah bagian dari tanah warisan, sehingga sama sekali tidak merdeka.

Domain ini tak lagi merupakan urusan keluarga, sebagaimana pada masa gen-gen Romawi: ia menjadi milik kekuasaan raja dan juga perempuan. Ia memilihkan suami perempuan, dan anak-anak si perempuan akan menjadi miliknya, bukan milik sang suami. Mereka ditakdirkan menjadi pengikut-pengikutnya yang akan melin-

menjadi tuan bagi istrinya tanpa kekayaan. Sebaliknya, kepentingan yang sama menyatukan mereka dan mengangkat istri pada kedudukan yang sederajat. Ketika perbudakan dihapuskan, kemiskinan masih tetap ada; suami dan istri hidup berdasarkan pada kesetaraan dalam komunitas rural yang kecil dan di antara para pekerja; dalam pekerjaan bebas perempuan mendapatkan otonomi yang nyata karena ia betul-betul memainkan peran ekonomi dan sosial. Dalam banyak kisah komedi dan fabel mengenai Abad Pertengahan terefleksikan suatu masyarakat pekerja, pedagang-pedagang kecil, dan kaum petani di mana seorang suami tidak mempunyai kelebihan atas sang istri kecuali dalam hal kekuatan; tetapi, ia melawannya dengan tipu muslihat, sehingga pasangan tersebut hidup dalam kesetaraan. Sementara itu, seorang perempuan kaya membayar kemalasannya dengan kekayaannya.

Perempuan masih memperoleh sedikit hak-hak istimewa dalam Abad Pertengahan, namun dalam abad keenam belas hal itu disusun menurut sistem hukum yang berlangsung sepanjang masa Rezim Lama; budaya feodal telah lenyap dan tak ada yang melindungi perempuan dari keinginan laki-laki untuk mengurungnya di dalam rumah. Hukum tersebut menolak akses perempuan menuju posisi "maskulin", mencabutnya dari seluruh kapasitas pekerjaan sipil, membelenggunya, sementara bagi yang belum menikah, ia berada di bawah pengawasan sang ayah, yang akan mengirimnya ke biara seandainya ia tidak juga menikah, dan jika ternyata ia menikah, ia dan barang-barangnya serta anak-anaknya betul-betul ditempatkan di bawah kekuasaan suaminya. Suaminya bertanggung jawab atas segala dosa dan perilakunya. Ia hanya sedikit mempunyai hubungan langsung dengan otoritas publik atau orang-orang asing bagi keluarganya. Kelihatannya ia bekerja dan berkedudukan sebagai seorang ibu tak lebih sebagai seorang pembantu ketimbang sebagai rekan sejawat: objek-objek, nilai-nilai, anak-anak yang ia lahirkan bukanlah harta miliknya, melainkan milik keluarga. Lebih tepatnya, milik seorang laki-laki yang menjadi kepala keluarga. Di negara-negara lain, nasib perempuan tidak lebih baik: ia tidak memiliki hak politik, dan adat istiadat yang berlaku sangatlah keras. Semua hukum

luar lembaga perkawinan; fungsi-fungsi ini dengan demikian dilekatkan pada kasta-kasta rendah, yang dikucilkan dalam *ghetto-ghetto* atau wilayah-wilayah terlarang. Para pelacur layaknya orang Yahudi diharuskan memakai tanda-tanda mencolok pada pakaiannya; mereka tidak berdaya menghadapi aparat keamanan; bagi sebagian besar dari mereka, hidup sangatlah sulit. Akan tetapi, banyak pelacur yang bebas; sebagian di antaranya hidup berkecukupan. Sebagaimana pada zaman *hetairas* Yunani, derajat penghormatan perempuan yang tinggi menawarkan banyak kesempatan kepada individualisme feminin daripada kehidupan "perempuan jujur".

Di Prancis, perempuan yang belum menikah menduduki posisi khusus; kebebasannya secara kontras mengejutkan dibandingkan istri yang menjadi budak; ia adalah pribadi yang luar biasa. Namun, adat istiadat yang berlaku kemudian mencabutnya dari segala apa yang diberikan oleh hukum; ia memiliki hak sipil seluruhnya—namun, hak ini abstrak dan hampa; ia tidak merasakan otonomi ekonomi ataupun martabat sosial; biasanya seorang perawan tua menghabiskan hidupnya di bawah bayang-bayang keluarga ayahnya atau bergabung dengan perawan-perawan tua lain seperti dirinya di dalam biasa, di mana ia nyaris tidak tahu apa-apa tentang bentuk kebebasan selain hanya ketidakpatuhan dan dosa—tidak berbeda dengan kemunduran kaum perempuan Romawi yang mendapatkan kebebasan hanya melalui hal-hal yang bersifat jelek. Negasi masih merupakan nasib perempuan, karena emansipasi mereka masih tetap negatif.

Dengan kondisi semacam ini jelas bahwa seorang perempuan sangat jarang bisa bertindak atau sekadar membuat kehadirannya dirasakan. Pada kelas-kelas pekerja, penindasan ekonomi meniadakan ketidaksetaraan gender, namun hal itu menghilangkan seluruh kesempatan yang dimiliki seseorang. Di antara bangsawan dan kaum borjuis, jenis kelamin perempuan dianggap menakutkan: perempuan hanya mempunyai eksistensi parasit; ia berpendidikan rendah; hanya dalam situasi khusus ia dapat membayangkan dan kemudian menjalankan rencana yang konkret. Ratu dan pengawas memiliki kesenangan yang langka ini: kekuasaan mereka mengangkat mereka

di atas jenis kelaminnya. Di Prancis, hukum Salic melarang perempuan untuk maju ke tampuk kekuasaan; tetapi, di samping suaminya atau setelah kematiannya, perempuan terkadang memainkan peran yang besar, contohnya, St. Clotilda, St. Radegonde, dan Blanche dari Castile. Hidup dalam biara membuat perempuan tidak bergantung pada laki-laki: beberapa kepala biara perempuan tertentu mempunyai kekuasaan besar; Héloïse meraih ketenarannya sebagai seorang kepala biara perempuan karena cintanya. Dari hubungan mistis yang mengikat mereka dengan Tuhan, jiwa-jiwa feminin menghempaskan segala inspirasi dan kekuatan jiwa seorang laki-laki; dan penghormatan yang diperoleh mereka dari masyarakat membuat mereka mampu menjalankan tugas-tugas yang sulit. Dalam petualangan Joan of Arc terdapat sesuatu yang ajaib, walau petualangan itu hanya berlangsung singkat. Namun, kisah mengenai St. Catherine dari Siena cukup signifikan. Di tengah-tengah eksistensi yang amat normal, ia membuat reputasi besar di Siena dengan kebajikannya yang aktif dan visi yang membuktikan kehidupan batinnya yang hebat; dengan demikian, ia memperoleh kekuasaan yang dibutuhkan untuk sukses, sesuatu yang sedikit dimiliki perempuan. Daya tarik dilakukan demi pengaruhnya dengan mendampingi mereka yang dihukum mati, membawa kembali para pengembara, dan meleraikan perselisihan antarkeluarga dan antarkota. Ia mendapat dukungan dari masyarakat yang mengetahui berbagai hal tersebut dalam dirinya. Dan oleh karenanya, ia dapat memenuhi misinya akan perdamaian, memberikan khotbah dari kota ke kota yang tunduk pada Paus, memelihara hubungan ekstensif dengan para uskup dan penguasa, dan akhirnya dipilih oleh Florence sebagai duta besar perempuan untuk menemui Paus di Avignon. Para ratu dengan hak yang teramat besar, para Santa dengan nilai-nilai kebaikan mereka yang memesonakan, dijamin mendapatkan dukungan masyarakat yang memungkinkan mereka bertindak atas dasar ke setaraan dengan laki-laki. Sebaliknya, dari kaum perempuan lain, hanya kebisuan yang dibutuhkan.

Secara keseluruhan, kaum laki-laki di Abad Pertengahan mempunyai pandangan yang kurang menguntungkan terhadap perempuan.

lanjutnya mereka menjadi independen dalam karier maupun dalam kehidupan pribadi mereka. Sang pelacur mencapai kesempurnaan inkarnasinya dalam Ninon de Lenclos, yang membawa independensi dan kebebasannya sampai tingkatan paling tinggi yang diperbolehkan bagi seorang perempuan.

128 Dalam abad kedelapan belas, kebebasan perempuan semakin meningkat. Adat yang berlaku masih tetap kaku: seorang perempuan muda hanya memperoleh pendidikan dasar; dan ia dikawinkan atau dikirim ke biara tanpa perlu pemberitahuan terlebih dahulu. Kelas menengah yang kian makmur menerapkan moralitas keras terhadap para istri. Akan tetapi, kaum perempuan di dunia menghadapi kehidupan yang amat mengabaikan nilai-nilai moral. Dan kelas menengah ke atas terkontaminasi oleh contoh-contoh semacam ini; biara ataupun rumah tak mampu membelenggu perempuan. Sekali lagi, bagi kalangan mayoritas kebebasan ini tetap abstrak dan negatif: hanya lebih sedikit bila dibandingkan dengan pencarian kesenangan. Namun, yang pandai dan ambisius menciptakan banyak peluang. Tempat perawatan kecantikan menjadi kemegahan baru; perempuan melindungi dan memberi inspirasi penulis serta menyenangkan publiknya; mereka mempelajari filsafat dan ilmu pengetahuan serta membangun tempat penelitian fisika dan kimia. Dalam bidang politik, nama-nama seperti Mme de Pompadour dan Mme Du Barry mengindikasikan kekuasaan perempuan; mereka betul-betul mengontrol negara. Aktris dan perempuan yang gagah berani menikmati ketenaran besar. Dengan demikian, sepanjang Rezim Lama, ruang lingkup budaya merupakan salah satu yang paling terbuka bagi perempuan yang berkeinginan melakukan sesuatu. Meski begitu tak ada yang mampu mencapai puncak kemasyhuran seperti Dante atau Shakespeare, sebuah kenyataan yang dijelaskan dari keadaan umum yang sedang-sedang saja dari situasi mereka. Kebudayaan tidak pernah menjadi atribut bagi yang lain kecuali elite feminin, juga tidak bagi masyarakat umum; padahal dari masyarakat umumlah para genius maskulin sering kali muncul. Bahkan mereka yang memiliki privilese dihadapkan oleh berbagai rintangan, sementara tak ada yang menghalangi pelarian seorang St. Theresa atau

puan yang disebut *précieuses* ini mengalienasikan pandangan publik; *Précieuses ridicules* dan *Femmes savantes* disambut dengan hangat, meski Moliere bukanlah musuh perempuan: ia dengan tajam menyerang lembaga perkawinan, menuntut kebebasan perasaan sentimental bagi perempuan muda serta penghormatan dan independensi bagi istri. Bossuet mengkhawatirkan perempuan, dan Boileau menulis banyak satire, membangkitkan pembela-pembela militan dari jenis kelamin ini. Poulain de la Barre, pemimpin feminis pada masa itu, pada tahun 1673 menerbitkan *De l'égalité des deux sexes*. Laki-laki, pikirnya memanfaatkan kekuatan superior mereka untuk melebih-lebihkan kaumnya, dan perempuan tampak menyetujui hal ini dengan sikap mereka yang selalu tergantung. Mereka tidak pernah mendapatkan kesempatan yang sama—baik dalam hal kebebasan ataupun pendidikan. Barre berargumen, oleh karenanya mereka tidak bisa dinilai dengan prestasi mereka di masa lalu dan tak ada sesuatu pun yang mengindikasikan bahwa mereka lebih rendah dibandingkan laki-laki. Ia menuntut terlaksananya pendidikan yang sungguh-sungguh bagi kaum perempuan.

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Abad kedelapan belas juga terbelah oleh persoalan ini. Beberapa penulis berusaha membuktikan bahwa perempuan tidak memiliki jiwa yang kekal. Rousseau mendedikasikan perempuan untuk suami dan maternitasnya, dengan demikian ia berbicara untuk kelas menengah. "Keseluruhan pendidikan perempuan harus relatif bagi laki-laki," ujarnya; "perempuan diciptakan untuk mengalah pada laki-laki dan menjadi objek bagi ketidakadilannya." Betapa pun demikian, sosok demokratis dan individualis yang ideal dari abad kedelapan belas menguntungkan perempuan; bagi sebagian besar filsuf, mereka tampak sebagai umat manusia yang sederajat dengan mereka yang berasal dari jenis kelamin yang lebih kuat. Voltaire menegcam ketidakadilan nasib perempuan. Diderot merasa bahwa inferioritas perempuan sengaja *diciptakan* oleh masyarakat. Montesquieu secara paradoksal meyakini "adalah bertentangan dengan akal sehat dan alam apabila perempuan berada dalam pengawasan rumah ... bahwa mereka sama sekali tidak memerintah sebuah kerajaan". Helvétius menunjukkan bahwa absurditas pendidikan perempuan

menangan yang belum signifikan. Perempuan kelas menengah begitu erat terikat dalam keluarga dan tidak begitu merasakan adanya solidaritas nyata sebagai suatu jenis kelamin; mereka bukan merupakan kasta terpisah yang mampu memaksakan tuntutan-tuntutan mereka secara ekonomi mereka mewakili keberadaan yang parasitik. Sementara kaum perempuan, tanpa memandang jenis kelamin mereka, dapat mengambil bagian dalam berbagai peristiwa yang sebenarnya dicegah untuk dilakukan atas dasar pertimbangan kelas mereka. Hal ini sebenarnya tertuju pada kelas yang aktif dicela karena berdirinya berdampingan layaknya perempuan. Ketika kekuasaan ekonomi jatuh ke tangan para pekerja, menjadi mungkin bagi pekerja perempuan untuk meraih berbagai hak dan privilese yang tidak pernah diperoleh oleh perempuan parasitik, bangsawan, atau kelas menengah.

Selama pembubaran Revolusi, perempuan merasakan suatu kebebasan yang anarkis. Akan tetapi, ketika masyarakat melakukan reorganisasi, ia kembali diperbudak. Dari sudut pemikiran kaum feminis, Prancis selangkah di depan negara-negara lain; namun sayangnya, bagi perempuan Prancis modern, statusnya ditentukan selama masa kediktatoran militer; Undang-Undang Napoleon, yang memperbaiki nasib perempuan selama seabad, betul-betul memperlambat emansipasinya. Seperti halnya semua laki-laki dari dunia militer, Napoleon cenderung lebih suka melihat perempuan hanya sebagai ibu; namun, sebagai pewaris, revolusi borjuis, ia bukanlah orang yang mengacaukan struktur masyarakat dan memberi sang ibu keunggulan atas seorang istri. Ia melarang investigasi paternitas; ia menciptakan kondisi yang keras bagi ibu di luar nikah dan anak-anak yang lahir dengan normal. Meski demikian, bagi perempuan yang menikah pun, ia tidak memperoleh perlindungan akan martabatnya sebagai seorang ibu; paradoks feodal terulang kembali. Gadis dan istri disingkirkan dari atribut kewarganegaraan, yang menghalangi mereka untuk melaksanakan hukum dan berperan sebagai wali. Tetapi, perempuan lajang dan perawan tua menikmati kekuasaan sipil secara penuh, sementara perkawinan mengawetkan ketergantungan lama. Seorang istri diharuskan bersikap patuh pada suami-

nya; sang suami bisa saja membuat istrinya dihukum pengucilan jika kerahuan berselingkuh dan kemudian menuntur cerai; jika ia membunuhnya, dan tertangkap basah, ia dapat memperoleh keringanan di mata hukum; sementara sang suami ini hanya dapat dikenai hukuman seandainya ia membawa gundiknya ke rumah, dan hanya dengan kasus inilah istrinya dapat mengajukan cerai. Laki-laki memutuskan di mana mesti tinggal dan memiliki jauh lebih banyak wewenang atas anak-anak daripada istrinya; dan, selain sang istri mengurus kegiatan komersial, wewenang sang suami ia butuhkan untuk memenuhi berbagai kewajiban. Diri dan kekayaannya berada di bawah kontrol kedudukan perkawinan yang ketat.

133. Sepanjang abad kesembilan belas, hukum hanyalah mempertegas kekakuan undang-undang ini. Perceraian dihapuskan pada 1826, dan diperbolehkan kembali pada 1884, karena meniadakan perceraian ternyata merupakan pekerjaan yang sulit diwujudkan. Kelas menengah tidak pernah lebih berkuasa, tetapi tidak mudah dalam kewenangannya, karena sadar akan adanya ancaman yang diimplikasikan dalam revolusi industri. Perempuan dinyatakan tercipta bagi keluarga, bukan untuk politik; untuk kehidupan rumah tangga dan bukan untuk fungsi publik. Auguste Comte menegaskan bahwa terdapat perbedaan-perbedaan radikal, fisik, dan moral, antara laki-laki dan perempuan yang sungguh-sungguh membuat mereka terpisah, khususnya pada ras manusia. Feminitas merupakan sejenis "masa pertumbuhan yang diperpanjang" yang menernpatkan perempuan terlepas dari "keidealan ras ini" dan melemahkan pikirannya. Comte meramalkan penghapusan total pekerja perempuan di luar rumah. Dalam moralitas dan cinta, perempuan mungkin saja dianggap superior; tetapi, laki-lakilah yang bertindak, sementara ia tetap terkurung di rumah tanpa hak-hak ekonomi ataupun politik.

Balzac mengekspresikan gagasan-gagasan yang sama dengan istilah-istilah yang lebih sinis. Dalam *Physiologie du mariage* ia menulis: "Takdir perempuan dan satunya-satunya kelebihanannya adalah membuat laki-laki patah hati ... ia adalah benda bergerak dan boleh dibilang, hanya tambahan bagi laki-laki." Di sini ia berbicara me-

meraih kemampuan ekonomi yang signifikan yang telah lama hilang sejak zaman prasejarah, sebab ia melepaskan diri dari kungkungan asap kompor dan mulai menerima peran baru di pabrik dalam sektor produksi. Mesinlah yang sebenarnya memungkinkan perubahan besar ini, karena perbedaan kekuatan fisik antara pekerja laki-laki dan perempuan dalam skala besar menjadi tidak ada lagi. Semenjak pesatnya laju perkembangan industri yang membutuhkan banyak tenaga kerja lebih dari yang dapat dipenuhi kaum laki-laki, kerja sama dengan kaum perempuan menjadi penting. Itu adalah revolusi besar-besaran abad kesembilan belas, yang mengubah nasib perempuan dan membuka era baru baginya. Marx dan Engels mengukur jarak keseluruhannya, dan mereka menjanjikan perempuan suatu kebebasan yang diimplikasikan dalam bentuk proletariat. Kenyataannya, "perempuan dan pekerja sama-sama mengalaminya: mereka sama-sama ditindas," ujar Bebel. Dan keduanya akan bebas dari penindasan, berkat hasil kerja mereka yang akan membawa pengaruh penting sepanjang berlangsungnya evolusi teknologi. Engels menunjukkan bahwa nasib perempuan erat terkait dengan sejarah kepemilikan pribadi; sebuah malapetaka untuk menempatkan patriarkat di tempat rezim matrilineal dan memperbudak perempuan pada patrimoni. Akan tetapi, revolusi industri merupakan imbalan dari hak-hak yang hilang tersebut dan akan membawa kepada emansipasi perempuan. Kesimpulan ini sudah pernah dikutip sebelumnya.

Pada awal abad kesembilan belas perempuan dieksploitasi secara lebih memalukan dibandingkan buruh laki-laki. Pekerjaan di rumah meneguhkan apa yang disebut Engels dengan "sistem berkeringat"; meski terus bekerja keras, pekerja perempuan tidak pernah cukup mendapat penghasilan yang dapat memenuhi berbagai kebutuhannya. Dalam *L'Ouvrière*, Jules Simon dan bahkan Leroy-Beaulieu yang konservatif dalam *Le Travail des femmes au XIX*, diterbitkan tahun 1873, mengutuk perlakuan kejam yang menjijikkan; Leroy-Beaulieu mengatakan lebih dari 200 ribu buruh perempuan di Prancis memperoleh pendapatannya kurang dari lima puluh sen sehari. Maka dapat dimengerti apabila mereka berusaha keluar dari

pabrik-pabrik; selain itu, tidak lama sebelumnya tak ada sesuatu pun yang dapat dilakukan di luar pabrik selain pekerjaan menjahit, mencuci pakaian, dan pekerjaan rumah—semua pekerjaan budak, penghasilannya amat sedikit. Bahkan pekerjaan membuat renda, renda pakaian, topi perempuan, dan sejenisnya dimonopoli oleh pabrik. Sebagai kompensasi, ada peluang yang sangat besar untuk bekerja di industri-industri katun, kain wol, dan sutra; perempuan biasanya dipekerjakan untuk memintal, menenun, atau menggiling. Para pemilik pabrik sering lebih suka mempekerjakan mereka dibandingkan laki-laki. “Mereka bekerja lebih baik dengan bayaran lebih kecil.” Pandangan sinis ini memperjelas drama buruh feminin. Sebab dengan bekerja seorang perempuan mendapatkan harga dirinya sebagai manusia; namun, itu pun diperoleh dengan usaha yang teramat keras dan waktu yang panjang.

Pekerjaan memintal dan menenun dilakukan dalam kondisi yang tidak sehat. “Di Lyon,” tulis Blanqui, “di tempat pembuatan tali sepatu, sebagian perempuan dipaksa bekerja dengan berpegang erat-erat pada tali pengikat sementara mereka mempergunakan baik tangan maupun kakinya.” Pada tahun 1831, pada musim panas, buruh pembuat kain sutra dipekerjakan dari pukul tiga pagi hingga petang, dan di musim dingin, dari pukul lima sampai pukul sebelas malam, tujuh belas jam per hari, “tempat-tempat mereka bekerja, sering kali tidak sehat dan tidak terkena sinar matahari,” seperti dikatakan Norbert Truquin. “Separuh dari gadis muda ini menjadi konsumtif sebelum mereka menyelesaikan pekerjaan magangnya. Bila mengeluh, mereka malah dituduh bertingkah.”¹

Terlebih, buruh laki-laki biasanya memanfaatkan keberadaan buruh perempuan muda ini. “Untuk meraih kehendaknya, buruh laki-laki mempergunakan cara-cara yang sangat mengejutkan: kekurangan dan kelaparan,” ujar pengarang tanpa nama dari *Vérité sur les événements de Lyon*. Terkadang perempuan bekerja di sawah selain di pabrik. Mereka sungguh-sungguh dieksploitasi. Dalam sebuah

¹ N. Truquin: *Mémoires et aventures d'un prolétaire*. Dikutip dari E. Doleans: *Histoire du mouvement ouvrier*, Vol. 1.

perempuan dari 3.076.585 keseluruhan buruh yang berserikat. Kebiasaan mengundurkan diri dan pasrah, kurangnya solidaritas dan kesadaran bersama, membuat mereka tidak berdaya di hadapan banyaknya peluang baru yang terbuka bagi mereka.

Akibat pefilaku ini, buruh perempuan diatur dengan sangat lambat. Hanya di tahun 1874 hukum turun tangan; meski begitu, di tengah-tengah kampanye yang dilakukan oleh Kerajaan, hanya ada dua ketentuan yang mengatur pekerja perempuan: melarang kerja malam bagi gadis yang belum dewasa dan mengharuskan mereka diizinkan beristirahat pada hari Minggu dan hari-hari libur lainnya, jam kerja mereka juga dibatasi hingga dua belas jam per hari; bagi perempuan yang sudah berusia dua puluh satu ke atas, tak ada batasan apa pun selain melarang mereka bekerja di bawah tanah dan di tambang-tambang galian. Piagam pertama bagi buruh perempuan bertanggal 2 November 1892. Piagam ini melarang kerja malam dan membatasi hari kerja; namun, ini masih membuka peluang bagi terjadinya berbagai macam penyelewengan. Pada tahun 1900, hari kerja dibatasi hingga sepuluh jam per hari; tahun 1905, libur akhir pekan diwajibkan; tahun 1907, buruh perempuan dijamin kebebasan memanfaatkan penghasilannya; tahun 1909, perempuan yang melahirkan dijamin tetap mendapatkan upah; sedang pada tahun 1911, berbagai ketentuan yang dikeluarkan tahun 1892 semakin dipertegas; tahun 1913, masa-masa istirahat sebelum dan sesudah melahirkan diatur secara menderail, kondisi-kondisi bekerja yang berbahaya dan berlebihan dilarang. Sedikit demi sedikit undang-undang sosial ditetapkan dan buruh perempuan pun memperoleh tempat perlindungan yang higienis di tempat kerjanya: kursi-kursi disediakan bagi penjual perempuan, sesi yang panjang pada pameran di luar tidak diperkenankan, dan sebagainya. The International Labor Office menghasilkan berbagai konvensi internasional mengenai lingkungan kerja yang sehat bagi buruh perempuan, cuti bagi perempuan hamil, dan sebagainya.

Konsekuensi kedua dari terlalu pasrahnya perempuan pekerja, tampak dalam jumlah upah yang mau tidak mau harus mereka terima. Fenomena rendahnya upah bagi perempuan sudah banyak

dijelaskan, dan hal ini berkaitan dengan banyak sebab. Tidak cukup mengatakan bahwa kebutuhan perempuan lebih sedikit daripada laki-laki: itu hanyalah pembenaran oleh pikiran yang timbul kemudian. Alasan yang sebenarnya adalah, perempuan, seperti kita ketahui, kurang mampu membela diri di hadapan orang-orang yang mengeksploitasinya; mereka harus menghadapi persaingan dari banyaknya pembatasan, yang mana barang-barang produksi dilempar ke pasar tanpa mengorbankan biaya bagi pekerja; dan mereka harus bersaing satu sama lain. Yang harus dicatat sebagai tambahan, perempuan mencari kebebasannya dalam masyarakat melalui bekerja, sehingga keluarganya dapat terus eksis: terikat kodrat yang dibebankan oleh ayah atau suaminya, ia akan sering merasa sangat puas apabila membawa uang ekstra ke bendahara keluarganya; ia bekerja di luar keluarga, justru demi keluarganya; dan karena seorang perempuan pekerja tidak perlu memenuhi segala kebutuhannya, ia harus menerima walau penghasilannya jauh di bawah penghasilan laki-laki. Karena sejumlah besar perempuan sudah merasa puas dengan upahnya yang terdepresiasi, secara umum gaji perempuan tentu saja akan ditentukan pada level yang paling menguntungkan bagi orang yang mempekerjakan mereka.

Pekerja perempuan di Prancis, menurut sebuah studi yang dilakukan pada tahun 1889-1893, menerima upah hanya separuh dari yang diterima laki-laki. Berdasarkan penyelidikan pada tahun 1908, pendapatan per jam tertinggi para pekerja di rumah tidak lebih dari dua puluh sen per jamnya dan lebih rendah sekitar lima sen; oleh karenanya, mustahil bagi seorang perempuan untuk hidup tanpa belas kasihan atau seorang pelindung. Di Amerika pada tahun 1918, seorang perempuan hanya mendapatkan separuh dari yang didapat laki-laki. Pada waktu yang hampir bersamaan, di pertambangan Jerman seorang perempuan kira-kira memperoleh dua puluh lima persen lebih rendah dari seorang laki-laki untuk penggalian batu bara dalam jumlah yang sama. Antara tahun 1911 dan 1943, upah perempuan di Prancis dinaikkan sedikit lebih cepat daripada upah laki-laki, meski begitu upah perempuan secara definitif tetap saja lebih rendah.

Jika para pengusaha menyambut hangat buruh perempuan karena upah rendah yang mereka terima, kenyataan yang sama ini mendapat tentangan dari buruh laki-laki. Antara tujuan proletariat dan perempuan tidak ada solidaritas yang erat sebagaimana diklaim oleh Bebel dan Engels. Persoalan ini, entah bagaimana, menunjukkan kesamaan sebagaimana terjadi pada buruh negro di Amerika Serikat. Minoritas yang paling tertekan dalam suatu masyarakat biasanya dipergunakan oleh penindasnya sebagai senjata untuk melawan keseluruhan kelas di mana mereka berasal, sehingga minoritas ini bagi kelas mereka tampak seperti musuh, dan pemahaman yang lebih dalam atas situasi ini diperlukan demi kepentingan-kepentingan orang kulit hitam dan kulit putih, buruh perempuan dan buruh laki-laki, sehingga dapat mencapai kesatuan di antara mereka, daripada berusaha saling menindas satu sama lain. Merupakan sesuatu yang dapat dimengerti apabila pada awalnya pekerja laki-laki menganggapnya sebagai ancaman besar dalam persaingan upah ini dan karenanya mereka memperlihatkan sikap bermusuhan terhadapnya. Hanya ketika kaum perempuan telah terintegrasi dalam kehidupan serikat perdagangan, mereka mampu memperjuangkan kepentingan-kepentingan mereka sendiri dan menghentikan bahaya yang mengancam kelas pekerja secara keseluruhan.

Dari semua kesulitan ini, kemajuan terus terjadi di kalangan buruh perempuan. Pada tahun 1900, masih ada 900.000 pekerja rumahan di Prancis yang membuat pakaian, barang-barang dari kulit, rangkaian bunga untuk pemakaman, tas, manik-manik dan segala sesuatu yang baru; akan tetapi, sesudah itu jumlahnya terus berkurang drastis. Tahun 1906, 42 persen perempuan usia kerja (antara delapan belas sampai enam puluh tahun) dipekerjakan di bidang pertanian, industri, bisnis, perbankan, asuransi, kerja kantor, dan profesi-profesi yang memerlukan keahlian khusus. Menurut sebuah sensus yang dilakukan sebelum terjadinya perang yang terakhir, kita mendapati bahwa seluruh perempuan dari usia delapan belas sampai enam puluh, sekitar 42 persennya adalah buruh di Prancis, 37 persen di Finlandia; 34,2 di Jerman; 27,7 di India; 26,9 di Inggris; 19,2 di Belanda, dan 17,7 persen di Amerika

Serikat. Akan tetapi, di Prancis dan India angka-angka tersebut tinggi karena diperlukannya pekerja di pedesaan. Di luar kerja pertanian, di tahun 1940 di Prancis terdapat sekitar 500.000 perempuan yang menjadi pimpinan bisnis, 1.000.000 karyawan perempuan yang bekerja sendiri atau yang pengangguran. Di antara para pekerja terdapat 650.000 orang bekerja di sektor domestik (rumah tangga); 1.200.000 orang bekerja di berbagai industri (440.000 orang di tekstil, 315.000 orang di tempat pembuatan kain, 380.000 dalam bidang komersial, profesi-profesi yang membutuhkan keahlian khusus, dan pelayanan umum, Prancis, Inggris, dan Amerika Serikat berada dalam kedudukan sama.

Salah satu masalah mendasar perempuan, sebagaimana kita ketahui, adalah penyesuaian antara peran reproduksi dan peran kerja produktifnya. Kenyataan fundamental yang sejak awal sejarah menempatkan perempuan pada pekerjaan domestik dan menghalanginya menurut ambil peran dalam pembentukan dunia, adalah pemenuhannya pada fungsi generatif. Pada hewan betina, ada ritme psikologis dan musiman yang tidak membuang-buang kekuatannya; pada perempuan, sebaliknya, tidak ada batasan jumlah kehamilan yang mungkin dialaminya sejak masa pubertas hingga menopause. Beberapa peradaban tertentu melarang adanya pernikahan dini, dan konon dalam suku-suku Indian tertentu perempuan diberi masa istirahat setidaknya dua tahun setelah melahirkan. Akan tetapi, pada umumnya selama berabad-abad kesuburan perempuan tidak diatur. Alat kontrasepsi sudah ada sejak zaman purbakala,²

2 "Referensi paling awal tentang metode kontrol kelahiran terdapat pada lontar Mesir sekitar tahun 2000 SM, yang merekomendasikan pemakaian suatu campuran ganjil dari kotoran buaya, madu, soda, dan benda bergetah di dalam vagina," menurut P. Ariès: *Histoire des poulations françaises* [Dalam karya Norman Himes, *Medical History of Contraception* (1936), tahun penulisan lontar ini, yang ditemukan di Kahun pada tahun 1889, diperkirakan sekitar 1850 SM Himes menyajikan gambar-gambar dari dokumen historis ini dan mendiskusikan sifat

Prancis, jumlah pengguguran kandungan dari 800.000 hingga 1.000.000 kasus yang terjadi setiap tahunnya—sama banyaknya dengan jumlah kelahiran—dua pertiga pelakunya adalah perempuan yang sudah menikah, banyak di antaranya sudah mempunyai satu atau dua anak.

Dengan demikian, terlepas dari segala prasangka, penentangan, dan bertahannya moralitas yang sudah ketinggalan zaman, kita telah menyaksikan perjalanan dan kesuburan yang bebas sampai kesuburan yang dikontrol oleh negara atau oleh individu-individu. Kemajuan dalam bidang ilmu kebidanan betul-betul telah mereduksi bahaya yang mungkin terjadi pada saat persalinan; dan rasa sakit ketika melahirkan tak lagi merisaukan. Pada saat ini—Maret 1949—produk perundang-undangan yang mewajibkan penggunaan metode-metode anestetik tertentu, telah disahkan di Inggris; secara umum metode-metode ini sudah dilakukan di Amerika Serikat dan juga mulai menyebar di Prancis. Inseminasi buatan melengkapi kemajuan evolusioner yang memungkinkan umat manusia mengatur fungsi-fungsi reproduksinya. Berbagai perubahan ini sungguh penting bagi perempuan pada khususnya; ia dapat mengurangi jumlah kehamilan dan membuatnya secara rasional menjadi bagian yang integral dari kehidupannya, bukannya sesuatu yang memperbudaknya. Selama abad kesembilan belas, perempuan pada gilirannya membebaskan dirinya dari alam, ia mencapai kemampuan menguasai tubuhnya sendiri. Kini, dilindungi secara luas dari perbudakan reproduksi, ia berada dalam posisi memikul peran ekonomi yang ditawarkan padanya dan yang akan memberinya jaminan independensi yang komplet.

Evolusi kondisi perempuan akan dijelaskan oleh aksi bersama dari kedua faktor ini: berbagi dalam kerja produktif dan terbebas dari perbudakan reproduksi. Seperti telah diramalkan Engels, status sosial dan politik perempuan perlu ditransformasikan.

Gerakan feminis yang di Prancis diuraikan dengan singkat oleh Condorcet, di Inggris oleh Mary Wollstonecraft dalam karyanya *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, dan dibahas kembali pada awal abad ke-19 oleh para pengikut Saint-Simon, ternyata gagal mewu-

judkan hasil-hasilnya yang nyata, karena ia kekurangan dasar-dasar yang konkret. Tetapi sekarang, dengan adanya perempuan dalam dunia industri dan di luar rumah, berbagai tuntutan mulai berbobot. Mereka membuat dirinya didengarkan sampai ke titik pusat kaum borjuis. Sebagai konsekuensi dari perkembangan pesat peradaban industri, kepemilikan atas tanah tidak lagi mempunyai pengaruh dalam kaitannya dengan kepemilikan pribadi, dan prinsip kesatuan kelompok keluarga kehilangan kekuatannya. Penjualan aktiva modal memungkinkan pemegangnya untuk memiliki tanpa pertimbangan timbal balik kepemilikan, dan menentukan sesuai keinginannya. Melalui patrimoni, perempuan betul-betul terikat dengan suaminya; dengan patrimoni suatu hal di masa lalu, mereka ditempatkan saling berdampingan. Anak-anak mereka pun tak mampu menyatukan mereka dengan suatu kepastian yang dapat diperbandingkan dengan kepentingan kepemilikan. Oleh karenanya, setiap individu akan meraih kebebasan atas kelompoknya.

Proses ini menggejala khususnya di Amerika, di mana kapitalisme modern berlaku: perceraian tumbuh subur dan pasangan suami istri tampak tak lebih dari rekanan sementara. Di Prancis, di mana penduduk pedesaan merupakan faktor penting dan Undang-undang Napoleon menempatkan perempuan menikah di bawah pengawasan, proses evolusinya berjalan lamban. Pada tahun 1884 perceraian kembali diperbolehkan, dan seorang istri bisa saja menuntut cerai jika suaminya berzina. Dalam hal pidana, bagaimanapun juga, perbedaan jenis kelamin tetap berpengaruh: perzinaan dianggap sebagai kejahatan hanya jika dilakukan oleh si istri. Kekuasaan perwali-an, yang dijamin dengan berbagai persyaratan pada tahun 1907, baru betul-betul berlaku pada tahun 1917. Tahun 1912 disahkan ketentuan paternitas natural. Dan ternyata harus menunggu hingga tahun 1938 dan 1942 untuk menyaksikan dimodifikasikannya status perempuan yang sudah menikah: kewajiban untuk selalu menurut lantasi dicabut, meski seorang ayah tetap menjadi kepala keluarga. Ia menentukan tempat tinggal keluarganya, kendati sang istri bisa saja menolak pilihannya apabila ia memang memiliki alasan-alasan yang bagus. Kekuatan legalnya meningkat; namun, dalam pernya-

taan yang membingungkan: "Perempuan yang sudah menikah mempunyai kekuasaan legal penuh. Kekuasaan ini dibatasi hanya oleh perjanjian perkawinan dan hukum," kalimat terakhir dari pasal ini bertentangan dengan yang pertama. Kesetaraan antara suami dan istri merupakan fakta yang ternyata belum dijalankan.

Mengenai hak-hak politik, kita dapat mengatakan bahwa hak-hak tersebut tidaklah dengan mudah diraih di Prancis, Inggris, dan Amerika Serikat. Pada tahun 1867, John Stuart Mill melakukan pidato resmi pertama yang menyatakan kepentingan suara perempuan. Dalam banyak tulisannya, ia dengan keras menuntut persamaan bagi perempuan dan laki-laki dalam keluarga dan dalam masyarakat pada skala luas. "Saya yakin bahwa pengaturan sosial menurut hukum yang menempatkan jenis kelamin yang satu di bawah yang lainnya adalah sesuatu yang buruk dan menyebabkan salah satu halangan utama yang menghambat kemajuan umat manusia; saya yakin mereka seharusnya memberikan tempat bagi suatu kesetaraan yang sempurna." Mengikuti seruannya, kaum perempuan Inggris secara politik diorganisasikan di bawah kepemimpinan Mrs. Fawcett; sementara perempuan Prancis bersatu di belakang Maria Deraismes, yang antara tahun 1868 dan 1871 mempertanyakan nasib perempuan dalam serangkaian konferensi publik; ia terus-terusan melakukan kontroversi dengan Alexander Dumas, orang yang menganjurkan: "Bunuh dia" kepada suami yang dikhianati oleh istrinya yang tidak setia. Leon Richier, seorang pendiri feminisme yang sesungguhnya, di tahun 1869 memproduksi "The Rights of Woman" (Hak-hak Perempuan), dan pada tahun 1878 mengorganisasi kongres internasional berkenaan dengan masalah tersebut. Pertanyaan mengenai hak pilih belum muncul, dan kaum perempuan membatasi diri dengan mengklaim hak-hak sipil. Selama tiga puluh tahun, di Prancis dan juga di Inggris, gerakan ini tidak terlalu terang-terangan. Banyak kelompok dibentuk, namun hanya sedikit yang dikerjakan, sebab, sebagaimana kita perhatikan, kaum perempuan kurang memiliki rasa solidaritas sebagai kesatuan seks.

Kongres Sosialis pada tahun 1879 memproklamkan kesetaraan seks, namun feminisme adalah kepentingan kedua mengingat

emansipasi perempuan dipandang bergantung pada kebebasan buruh secara umum. Sebaliknya, kaum perempuan borjuis menuntut hak-hak baru dalam bingkai institusi-institusi sosial yang sudah ada dan jauh dari revolusioner. Mereka diuntungkan oleh reformasi moral yang memusuhi alkoholisme, literatur pornografi, dan prostitusi. Sebuah Kongres Feminis diadakan pada tahun 1892, yang sama dalam hal nama gerakannya, tetapi sedikit berbuat. Sedikit kemajuan dicapai, tetapi pada tahun 1901 permasalahan hak pilih perempuan dikemukakan untuk pertama kalinya di hadapan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat oleh Viviani. Gerakan tersebut mempunyai nilai penting, dan pada tahun 1909 didirikan Persatuan Prancis bagi Hak Pilih Perempuan, dengan berbagai pertemuan dan demonstrasi yang diorganisasi oleh Mme Braunschwig. Sebuah undang-undang tentang hak pilih perempuan disetujui DPR pada tahun 1919, akan tetapi gagal di Senat pada tahun 1922. Situasinya rumit: selain feminisme revolusioner dan feminisme "independen"-nya Mme Brunschwig, ditambah pula dengan feminisme Kristen, ketika pada tahun 1919 Paus Benedict mengumumkan pemihakannya terhadap hak pilih perempuan. Katolik merasa bahwa kaum perempuan di Prancis mewakili elemen konservatif dan religius; namun, mereka yang radikal mengkhawatirkan hal ini. Di akhir tahun 1932, perdebatan yang berkepanjangan terjadi di DPR dan di Senat. Dan semua argumen antifeminis setengah abad sebelumnya, dihadirkan kembali: pemikiran berani bahwa perempuan adalah alas, dan seharusnya tetap demikian; anggapan bahwa "perempuan sejati" akan tetap di rumah dan tidak kehilangan pesonanya dalam memilih, karena ia mengatur laki-laki tanpa perlu kartu suara. Dan yang lebih serius lagi, peringatan bahwa politik akan mengacaukan keluarga; bahwa betapa pun juga perempuan adalah berbeda—mereka tidak terlibat dalam pelayanan militer. Dan ditanyakan pula: haruskah pelacur mempunyai hak pilih? Laki-laki lebih terpelajar; perempuan akan memilih yang akan dikatakan suaminya; jika mereka berharap untuk bebas, biarkan mereka bebas dulu dari para pembuat pakaiannya; lagi pula lebih banyak perempuan daripada laki-laki di Prancis! Betapa menyedihkannya argumen ini, diperlukan waktu untuk

rempuan harus berbagi dengan laki-laki dalam hal merintis pekerjaan berat; perempuan berjuang di samping laki-laki; jumlah perempuan dulunya lebih sedikit daripada laki-laki, dan hal ini membuat mereka bernilai tinggi. Akan tetapi, perlahan-lahan kondisi mereka mendekati apa yang terjadi pada kaum perempuan di Dunia Lama; mereka sangat dihormati dan dominan dalam keluarga, namun seluruh kontrol sosial tetap di tangan laki-laki. Menjelang tahun 1830, beberapa perempuan tertentu mulai mengajukan tuntutan akan hak-hak politik; dan mereka mengadakan kampanye demi kepentingan orang Negro. Lucretia Mott, seorang Quaker (jemaat perkumpulan Kristen yang antiperang dan antisumpah), mendirikan asosiasi feminis Amerika, dan di sebuah konvensi pada tahun 1840 dikeluarkan manifesto tentang inspirasi Quaker yang mengatur irama seluruh feminisme Amerika. "Laki-laki dan perempuan diciptakan sederajat, oleh Sang Pencipta diberi hak-hak yang tidak dapat dicabut Pemerintahan dibentuk hanya untuk menjaga hak-hak ini Laki-laki memperlakukan perempuan yang sudah menikah ibarat mayat Ia merampas hak prerogatif Jehovah yang dapat membuat umat manusia menjadi aksi di ruang lingkup mereka." Tiga tahun kemudian Harriet Beecher Stowe menulis *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, yang membangkitkan opini publik untuk bersimpati kepada orang Negro. Emerson dan Lincoln mendukung gerakan feminis. Setelah Perang Saudara, kaum feminis dengan sia-sia menuntut amendemen yang memberikan hak suara bagi orang Negro, untuk juga diberikan kepada perempuan; dengan menarik keuntungan dari suatu ambiguitas, Susan B. Anthony dan empat belas rekannya memberikan suara di Rochester; ia didenda seratus dolar. Pada tahun 1869, ia mendirikan *National Association for Woman Suffrage* (Asosiasi Nasional bagi Hak Pilih Perempuan), dan di tahun yang sama Wyoming mengizinkan perempuan memberikan suaranya. Tahun 1893, negara bagian Colorado mengikutinya, tiga tahun kemudian berturut-turut Idaho dan Utah melakukan hal yang sama.

Sesudahnya, kemajuan yang ada berjalan amat lambat; tetapi, secara ekonomi mereka lebih baik daripada saudaranya di Eropa. Pada tahun 1900, di Amerika Serikat terdapat 5.000.000 perempuan

adalah yang paling ketat; undang-undang tahun 1936 dan 1941 melarang aborsi dan nyaris memberangus perceraian; perzinaan dicela oleh tradisi. Begitu ketat tersubordinasikan pada negara seperti halnya semua pekerja, terikat kuat pada rumah, namun memiliki akses ke dalam kehidupan politik dan harga diri yang diberikan oleh kerja produktif, perempuan Rusia berada dalam kondisi tunggal yang akan dikompensasi dengan studi mendalam. Sayangnya, terdapat keadaan-keadaan yang menghalangi saya untuk melakukannya.

Komisi PBB untuk status perempuan dalam sidangnya baru-baru ini mengharapkan agar kesamaan hak kedua jenis kelamin ini diakui di seluruh negara. Komisi ini juga menyetujui beberapa gerakan yang mengarah pada usaha melegalkan undang-undang ini menjadi suatu realitas yang nyata. Kelihatannya, kemudian, permainan ini telah dimenangkan. Masa depan hanya dapat membawa pada asimilasi yang semakin besar dari perempuan menuju masyarakat maskulin kita.

Apabila kita menengok sekilas secara umum atas sejarah ini, kita melihat beberapa kesimpulan yang menonjol. Dan yang paling pertama adalah ini: keseluruhan sejarah feminin dibuat oleh laki-laki. Sebagaimana di Amerika di mana selalu dinyatakan, tak ada masalah dengan Negro; melainkan masalah orang kulit putih,⁸ begitu pula "antisemitisme bukanlah problem Yahudi; ini adalah problem kita";⁹ maka persoalan perempuan pun selalu merupakan persoalan laki-laki. Kita telah mengetahui mengapa sejak awal laki-laki memiliki prestise moral yang beriringan dengan kekuatan fisik; mereka menciptakan nilai-nilai, adat istiadat, agama; perempuan tidak pernah mempersoalkan masalah ini dengan mereka. Beberapa individu yang dikucilkan—seperti Sappho, Christine de Pisan,

liki gaya berjalan feminin gadis-gadis diminta berperilaku seantasnya dan berjalan layaknya gadis, dan untuk alasan ini mereka barangkali akan mengenakan rok yang sangat ketat yang akan mendorong suatu pembawaan diri yang anggun."

8 Bdk. Mrydal: *The American Dilemma*.

9 Bdk. J.P. Sartre: *Reflexions sur la question juive*.

Mary Wollstonecraft, Olympe de Gouges—memprotes kekerasan nasib mereka, dan sesekali demonstrasi massal dilakukan; akan tetapi, baik kaum ibu Romawi yang bersatu menentang Hukum Oppian ataupun Para penuntut hak suara bagi perempuan Anglo-Saxon, tidak pernah berhasil melakukan tekanan-tekanannya kecuali jika kaum laki-laki ini benar-benar memutuskan untuk menerimanya. Laki-laki selalu menggenggam nasib perempuan di tangannya; dan mereka menentukan apa yang seharusnya terjadi, bukan menurut kepentingan si perempuan, namun lebih pada proyek-proyek mereka, ketakutan-ketakutan mereka, dan kebutuhan-kebutuhan mereka. Ketika mereka memuja-muja Bunda Dewa, itu hanya karena mereka jerih pada alam; ketika alat perunggu memungkinkan mereka menghadapi alam dengan gagah berani, mereka membentuk patriarkat; kemudian hal itu menjadi konflik antara keluarga dan negara yang memberi definisi status perempuan; sikap Kaum Kristen terhadap Tuhan, dunia, dan dagingnya sendiri menggambarkan situasi yang ia sampaikan kepada perempuan; yang disebut dalam Abad Pertengahan sebagai “perselisihan tentang perempuan” adalah perselisihan antara pendeta dengan orang awam tentang perkawinan dan hidup selibat; rezim sosial didirikan berdasarkan kepemilikan pribadi yang memerlukan perwalian dari perempuan yang sudah menikah, namun evolusi teknologi yang dilakukan laki-laki jugalah yang memerdekakan perempuan pada saat ini. Transformasi dalam etika maskulin menyebabkan pengurangan jumlah keluarga melalui kontrol kelahiran dan secara parsial membebaskan perempuan dari perbudakan maternitas. Feminisme sendiri tidak pernah menjadi gerakan yang otonom; paham ini sebagian merupakan instrumen di tangan para politisi, sebagian merupakan fenomena epik yang merefleksikan drama sosial yang lebih dalam. Perempuan tak pernah dikonstitusikan sebagai kasta terpisah, atau sebagai jenis kelamin yang berusaha memainkan peran sejarah. Doktrin-doktrin yang mengambil objek keberadaan perempuan dan memandangnya sebagai daging, nyawa, sesuatu yang ada, Sosok yang Lain, adalah ideologi-ideologi maskulin yang sama sekali tidak mengekspresikan aspirasi feminin. Kebanyakan perem-

puan berpasrah diri begitu saja pada nasib tanpa berusaha mengambil tindakan; mereka yang pernah berusaha mengubahnya bermaksud untuk tidak terkekang dalam pembatasan-pembatasan keganjilan mereka dan membuatnya berhasil, namun tak lebih dari itu. Ketika mereka berperan serta dalam urusan-urusan dunia, hal itu dilakukan dengan persetujuan laki-laki, dalam perspektif maskulin.

Peran serta ini biasanya tidak terlalu berpengaruh dan bersifat sporadis. Kelas-kelas di mana perempuan menikmati beberapa kebebasan ekonomi dan turut ambil bagian dalam produksi adalah kelaskelas tertindas. Dan sebagai buruh perempuan, mereka bahkan lebih diperbudak ketimbang buruh laki-laki. Di dalam kelas-kelas penguasa, perempuan merupakan parasit dan dengan demikian tunduk pada hukum-hukum maskulin. Pada kedua kasus ini, praktis mustahil bagi perempuan untuk mengambil tindakan. Hukum dan adat istiadat tidak selalu bersesuaian, dan di antara mereka keseimbangan ditegakkan dalam suatu sikap yang membuat perempuan tidak pernah secara konkret bebas. Pada masa Republik Romawi kuno, kondisi ekonomi memberi perempuan kekuasaan yang nyata, meski ia tidak memiliki independensi yang legal. Kondisi ini kerap kali serupa bagi perempuan pada masa peradaban pertanian dan di antara kelas menengah ke bawah: nyonya rumah-pembantu di rumah, namun secara sosial hanya minoritas. Sebaliknya, dalam epos-epos disintegrasi sosial, perempuan dibebaskan; tetapi, dalam upaya melepaskan diri dari perbudakan laki-laki, ia kehilangan tanah warisannya; ia hanya mendapatkan kebebasan yang negatif, yang diwujudkan dalam izin dan kehilangan. Hal itu dihadapi perempuan selama kemunduran Romawi, Renaisans, abad kedelapan belas, Direktori (1795-1799). Terkadang ia dibuat tetap sibuk, namun ternyata mendapati dirinya diperbudak; atau ia dimerdekakan namun tidak tahu lagi apa yang harus dilakukan dengan dirinya. Satu fakta luar biasa di antara fakta-fakta lainnya adalah bahwa perempuan yang sudah menikah mendapat tempat di masyarakat meski tidak memperoleh hak-hak di dalamnya; sedangkan perempuan yang belum menikah, perempuan baik-baik atau pelacur, memiliki semua kapasitas legal dari laki-laki, sayangnya hingga abad ini mereka sedikit banyak tidak dilibatkan dalam kehidupan sosial.

Dan penentangan terhadap hak-hak legal dan tradisi sosial ini menghasilkan, di antaranya, paradoks ganjil: kebebasan cinta tidak dilarang oleh hukum, padahal perzinaan adalah melanggar hukum; tetapi, sangat sering seorang gadis muda yang “berlaku salah” dianggap aib, sementara kelakuan tidak senonoh seorang istri dimaklumi; dan sebagai konsekuensinya banyak perempuan muda dari abad ketujuh belas hingga zaman kita ini menikah hanya untuk mendapatkan kasihkekasih dengan bebas. Dengan memakai sistem licik ini, amat banyak perempuan dicengkeram erat-erat dalam ikatan kepemimpinan: perkecualian keadaan ini diperlukan apabila sebuah personalitas feminin berhasil menegaskan dirinya di antara kedua rentetan pengekangan ini, teoretis maupun konkret. Perempuan-perempuan yang melakukan berbagai pekerjaan dapat dibandingkan dengan laki-laki yang dimuliakan oleh kekuasaan institusi sosial di atas segala perbedaan seksual. Ratu Isabella, Ratu Elizabeth, Catherine yang Agung, bukan maskulin ataupun feminin—mereka adalah orang-orang yang berdaulat. Adalah luar biasa bahwa femininitas mereka, ketika secara sosial dihapuskan, tidak lagi berarti inferioritas: proporsi ratu yang mempunyai kekuasaan sangat besar berada di atas kekuasaan raja-raja besar. Agama bekerja pada transformasi yang sama: Catherine dari Siena, St. Theresa, yang betul-betul di luar segala pertimbangan fisiologi, adalah jiwa-jiwa suci; hidup yang mereka jalani, sekuler dan mistik, tindakan-tindakan mereka, dan karya-karya mereka tampil di ketinggian yang sangat sedikit diraih laki-laki.

Sungguh dapat dibayangkan bahwa seandainya perempuan gagal membuat jejak yang mendalam atas dunia, itu karena mereka terikat kuat dalam situasi mereka. Mereka nyaris tidak dapat menangani masalah selain dalam sikap yang negatif dan tidak langsung. Judith, Charlotte Corday, Vera Zasulich adalah para pembunuh; *Frondeuses* adalah para konspirator; selama Revolusi dan selama Commune, kaum perempuan berjuang bersama-sama laki-laki melawan orde yang sudah mapan. Karena menentang kebebasan tanpa adanya hak-hak, tanpa adanya kekuasaan, perempuan diper-

bolehkan meningkatkan penolakan dan pemberontakan, meski untuk sementara dilarang berpartisipasi secara positif dalam upaya-upaya konstruktif; biasanya ia berhasil turut serta dalam berbagai kegiatan laki-laki secara tidak langsung. Aspasia, Mme de Maintenon, Princess des Ursins, adalah para penasihat yang perkataannya sungguh-sungguh didengarkan—orang mau tak mau memang harus mendengarkan mereka. Laki-laki senang melebih-lebihkan luasnya berbagai pengaruh ini ketika mereka berharap meyakinkan perempuan bahwa perempuan telah memilih peran yang lebih baik; namun ternyata, suara-suara feminin diam saja ketika tiba waktunya untuk tindakan konkret. Mereka mampu menimbulkan perang, tetapi tidak untuk mengusulkan taktik-taktik pertempuran; mereka membawa politik tidak lebih dari tingkatan intrik belaka; kontrol yang sebenarnya atas dunia tidak pernah betul-betul berada di tangan perempuan; pengaruh mereka tidak berdampak pada teknik ataupun ekonomi, mereka tidak membuat dan memberikan pernyataan-pernyataan, mereka tidak menentukan dunia baru. Melalui mereka beberapa peristiwa tertentu terjadi, tetapi perempuan lebih sebagai dalih daripada pelaku. Bunuh dirinya Lucretia hanya dinilai sebagai simbol. Kesyahidan masih terbuka bagi yang ditindas; selama terjadinya berbagai penyiksaan Kristen, pada kekalahan sosial atau nasional berikutnya, perempuan memainkan peran sebagai saksi; tetapi, seorang martir tidak pernah mengubah wajah dunia. Bahkan ketika perempuan mengawali banyak hal dan demonstrasi, gerakan-gerakan ini dianggap penting hanya ketika keputusan maskulin secara efektif diberlakukan terhadapnya. Perempuan Amerika yang berkelempok di sekeliling Harriet Beecher Stowe memunculkan opini publik yang secara keras menentang perbudakan; tetapi, alasan sesungguhnya bagi Perang Pemisahan bukan merupakan sebuah orde sentimental. "Hari perempuan" tanggal 8 Maret 1917, barangkali memang mempercepat terjadinya Revolusi Rusia—namun, itu hanyalah sebuah tanda.

Kebanyakan pahlawan perempuan adalah orang-orang aneh: para petualang dan orang-orang terkemuka ini, tindakan-tindakannya tidak terlalu diperhatikan ketimbang keistimewaan akan

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sesuatu yang berada di luar pengetahuan mereka. Mistisisme sopan santun, keingintahuan manusiawi, selera akan keindahan yang tumbuh subur pada masa Renaisans Italia, keagungan abad ketujuh belas, idealisme progresif dari abad ke 18—semuanya terjadi di bawah bentuk-bentuk berbeda dari suatu pengagungan femininitas. Perempuan, oleh karenanya, merupakan bintang dalam persajakan, subjek dari karya seni; waktu senggangnya memungkinkannya berkonsentrasi pada ketenangan jiwa: inspirasi, kritik, dan publik penulis, ia menjadi saingan laki-laki; perempuanlah yang sering membuat berlakunya mode sensibilitas, suatu etika yang menenteramkan hati maskulin, dan dengan demikian ia menentukan takdirnya sendiri—pendidikan perempuan sebagian besar disebabkan karena penaklukan feminin. Meski begitu, betapa pun pentingnya peran kolektif yang mungkin dihasilkan dari intelektual perempuan ini, kontribusi-kontribusi individual secara umum dianggap kurang bernilai. Hal ini karena ia tidak diikutsertakan dalam aksi di mana perempuan sebenarnya memiliki tempat istimewa dalam berbagai ruang lingkup pemikiran dan seni; namun, seni dan pemikiran mempunyai sumber kehidupan dalam aksi. Dikondisikan pada margin dunia bukanlah merupakan kedudukan yang menguntungkan bagi orang yang bertujuan pada penciptaan kembali: di sini untuk memunculkan diri di luar yang telah diberikan, pertama-tama ia harus berakar kuat di dalamnya. Pencapaian personal nyaris mustahil pada kategori-kategori manusia yang dipertahankan secara kolektif dalam suatu situasi inferior. “Ke mana akan kau suruh orang pergi, dengan rok yang dikenakannya?” Marie Bashkirtsev ingin tahu. Dan Stendhal berkata: “Semua orang jenius yang dilahirkan sebagai perempuan, tenggelam demi kebaikan publik.” Untuk mengatakan yang sebenarnya, orang tidak dilahirkan sebagai genius: orang menjadi genius; dan situasi feminin hingga sekarang membuat hal ini praktis menjadi tidak mungkin.

Para pendukung antifeminis dari studi sejarah mendapati dua argumen yang saling bertentangan: (1) perempuan tidak pernah menciptakan segala apa pun yang besar; dan (2) situasi perempuan tidak pernah menghalangi tumbuhnya personalitas-personalitas fe-

dunia: kesetaraan hakiki antara kedua jenis kelamin ini bahkan sampai sekarang tidak pernah ada.

Pertama, beban perkawinan jauh lebih berat ditanggung perempuan daripada laki-laki. Kita mencatat bahwa perbudakan terhadap maternitas memang telah dikurangi oleh penggunaan—diakui atau tidak—kontrol kelahiran; akan tetapi, praktiknya tidak menyebar ke semua tempat atau selalu dipergunakan. Aborsi secara resmi dilarang, banyak perempuan mempertaruhkan nyawa mereka dalam upaya pengguguran kandungan yang tidak terawasi atau mendapatkan diri mereka berulang kali hamil. Perhatian terhadap anak-anak seperti perawatan di rumah secara eksklusif masih dilakukan perempuan. Khususnya di Prancis, tradisi antifeminis begitu kuat bertahan sehingga seorang laki-laki akan merasa merendahkan dirinya bila membantu tugas-tugas yang sampai sekarang dibebankan pada perempuan. Hasilnya, adalah lebih sulit bagi perempuan daripada bagi laki-laki untuk menyesuaikan perannya sebagai seorang pekerja dengan kehidupan keluarganya. Kapan pun masyarakat meminta upaya ini, kehidupannya jauh lebih sukar daripada suaminya.

Ingatlah contoh nasib petani perempuan. Di Prancis, mereka adalah kelompok mayoritas yang terlibat dalam kerja produktif; dan mereka biasanya sudah menikah. Tradisinya pun berbeda-beda di tempat lain: perempuan petani Norman memimpin pada saat makan, sementara perempuan Corsica tidak duduk di belakang meja bersama-sama dengan laki-laki; tapi di mana pun juga, ia memerankan bagian yang paling penting dalam ekonomi rumah tangga. Ia berbagi tanggung jawab, kepentingan, dan kepemilikan dengan laki-laki; ia dihargai dan sering dalam kontrol yang efektif—situasinya mengingatkan pada perempuan di masa komunitas pertanian kuno. Ia kerap memiliki prestise moral yang lebih tinggi daripada suaminya. Tetapi kenyataannya, ia menanggung kehidupan yang lebih berat. Ia sendirian merawat kebun, kandang kambing dan babi, dan sebagainya. Ia juga turut serta dalam pekerjaan berat setelah mengandangkan ternak, bertanam, membajak tanah, menyiangi tanaman, serta mengumpulkan jerami; ia menyekop, memungut, memetik anggur, dan terkadang membantu mengangkut dan menurunkan

jerami dari kereta gerobak, kayu, dan sebagainya. Ia memasak, membersihkan rumah, mencuci, menisik pakaian, dan sejenisnya. Ia mengerjakan tugas-tugas berat perempuan dan merawat anak-anak. Ia bangun di pagi buta, memberi makan unggas dan ternak-ternak kecil lainnya, menyiapkan sarapan bagi para laki-laki, berangkat kerja ke ladang, hutan, atau kebun; ia menimba air, menyiapkan makanan kembali, mencuci piring, bekerja di ladang hingga waktunya makan malam, dan sesudahnya melewati petang hari dengan menambal pakaian, bersih-bersih, dan mengupas kulit jagung. Adakah pekerjaan lain yang tidak dikerjakannya. Tidak ada waktu untuk memikirkan diri sendiri, sehingga bila hamil, ia bisa saja segera keguguran; ia layu dan letih secara prematur, digerogoti penyakit. Kompensasi yang didapatkan laki-laki dalam kehidupan sosial tak diberikan kepadanya: laki-laki pergi ke kota pada hari Minggu dan hari-hari pasar, bertemu dengan laki-laki lain, minum dan main kartu di warung-warung, berburu dan memancing. Sementara sang istri tetap di rumah bertani dan tidak mempunyai waktu senggang. Hanya petani perempuan kaya, yang memiliki beberapa pembantu atau dapat menghindari kerja di sawah, yang memiliki kehidupan yang seimbang: mereka secara sosial dihormati dan di rumah mempunyai otoritas besar tanpa perlu dilemahkan oleh pekerjaan. Akan tetapi, sebagian besar pekerjaan di pedesaan mereduksi perempuan pada kondisi yang menyerupai hewan pembawa beban.

Seorang perempuan pengusaha dan majikan wanita yang menjalankan sebuah perusahaan kecil, selalu berada di antara mereka yang memperoleh hak-hak istimewa; mereka adalah satu-satunya perempuan yang keberadaannya diakui sejak Abad Pertengahan oleh undang-undang, memiliki hak-hak sipil dan kekuasaan. Perempuan yang menjual makanan, susu, pemilik penginapan, penjual tembakau, mendapatkan kedudukan yang sederajat dengan laki-laki; sebagai perawan tua atau janda, mereka dapat mendirikan sebuah perusahaan legal; sebagai perempuan yang sudah menikah, mereka memiliki independensi yang sama dengan suami-suami mereka. Untungnya pekerjaan mereka dapat dibawa pulang, dan biasanya itu tidak terlalu menarik.

perempuan dianjurkan. Dan perempuan yang sudah menikah diberi wewenang untuk melihat apakah suaminya mendukungnya; tambahan pula, ia diberi martabat sosial yang jauh lebih superior daripada yang diberikan pada perawan tua. Adat istiadat jauh dari berbagai kemungkinan yang sama dengan yang diperoleh laki-laki; bujukan; maternitas khususnya secara praktik melarangnya, perempuan yang belum menikah tetap menjadi objek skandal. Bagaimana mitos Cinderella¹⁵ tidak dapat menjaga semua validitasnya? Segalanya masih mendorong perempuan muda itu untuk mengharapkan adanya nasib baik dan kebahagiaan dari seorang Pangeran Mepetsona daripada berusaha sendiri mengatasi kesulitannya dan penguasaan yang tidak pasti. Istimewanya ia bisa saja berharap untuk bangkit, berkat si laki-laki, ke dalam suatu kasta yang lebih superior, suatu keajaiban yang tidak dapat diraih dengan bekerja seumur hidup sekalipun. Akan tetapi, harapan semacam itu adalah sesuatu yang buruk karena ia memisahkan kekuatan dan minatnya;¹⁶ pemisahan ini barangkali merupakan kelemahan terbesarnya. Orang tua membesarkan anak perempuannya masih dengan harapan agar menikah daripada melanjutkan pengembangan pribadinya; ia melihat begitu banyak kebaikan dalam perkawinan sehingga ia sendiri berharap dapat melakukannya; hasilnya, ia sering secara khusus kurang terdidik, kurang kuat dibandingkan saudara laki-lakinya. Ia kurang terlibat secara mendalam pada profesinya. Dengan cara ini, ia menjerumuskan dirinya untuk tetap berada pada level yang lebih rendah, menjadi inferior; dan lingkaran setan pun terbentuk: inferioritas profe-

tupan tempat-tempat bordil dan mengintensifkan penentangan terhadap mucikari: "Mempertahankan tempat-tempat ini bertentangan dengan prinsip-prinsip dasar martabat manusia dan peran yang diberikan kepada perempuan dalam masyarakat modern." Tetapi, prostitusi berjalan terus. Hal ini membuktikan bahwa situasi tidak bisa direkayasa dengan ukuran-ukuran negatif dan hipokrit.

15 Bdk. Philip Wylie: *Generation of Vipers* (Farrar, Straus & Co., 1942)

16 Kita akan kembali pada topik ini secara panjang lebar di Buku II.

sional ini memperkuat hasratnya untuk segera mendapatkan seorang suami.

Setiap kebaikan selalu mempunyai sisi buruk; tetapi, apabila sisi buruk itu terlalu berat, kebaikan itu tampak tidak lagi menjadi sesuatu selain sebuah perbudakan. Bagi mayoritas buruh, kerja merupakan sesuatu yang membosankan, namun dalam kasus perempuan hal ini tidak terkompensasikan oleh sebuah penguasaan yang pasti akan martabat sosialnya; kebebasannya untuk bersikap, atau independensi ekonominya; cukup wajar bagi banyak buruh dan pegawai perempuan untuk melihat hak bekerja hanya sebagai suatu kewajiban yang akan mengantarkan mereka pada perkawinan. Karena kenyataan bahwa ia harus berhati-hati akan dirinya sendiri, bagaimanapun juga, dan karena ia juga dapat membebaskan dirinya dari perkawinan melalui pekerjaan, perempuan tak lagi menerima penjajahan atas dirinya dengan kepasrahan. Yang diharapkannya bahwa penyesuaian antara kehidupan keluarga dengan pekerjaan seharusnya tidak merepotkannya. Bahkan kemudian, selama godaan kesenangan hidup masih ada—dalam ketidaksetaraan ekonomi yang menguntungkan individu-individu tertentu dan hak yang diakui bagi perempuan untuk menjual dirinya pada salah satu dari laki-laki terhormat ini—ia harus membuat suatu upaya moral yang lebih besar daripada yang harus dilakukan laki-laki dalam memilih jalan kebebasan. Masih belum cukup disadari bahwa godaan tersebut juga merupakan sebuah rintangan, bahkan salah satu yang paling berbahaya. Di sini ia juga disertai dengan ejekan, karena pada kenyataannya hanya akan terdapat satu pemenang di antara ribuan dalam undian perkawinan. Epos yang ada sekarang mengundang, bahkan mendorong perempuan untuk bekerja; tetapi, epos ini menyorotkan di depan mata mereka surgasurga kemalasan dan kesenangan: ia mengagung-agungkan sang pemenang jauh di atas mereka yang masih terikat di bumi.

Tempat istimewa digenggam laki-laki dalam kehidupan ekonomi; manfaat sosial mereka, prestise perkawinan, nilai dukungan maskulin, semuanya membuat perempuan dengan bersemangat berharap menyenangkan laki-laki. Perempuan sebagian besar, masih dalam

lipun perempuan tampil hanya sebagai lawan yang impersonal, ia merupakan halangan dan tetap menjadi orang asing. Perempuan menyerahkan dirinya secara pasif kepada kemauan laki-laki dan membiarkan terjadinya asimilasi, sehingga dengan demikian laki-laki menjadi pemilik perempuan dengan cara memanfaatkannya, yaitu dengan merusaknya. Dalam dua situasi tersebut, laki-laki tetap saja sendiri, sendiri pada saat ia menyentuh batu, pada saat ia makan buah-buahan. Tak akan ada kehadiran lainnya kecuali jika yang lain tersebut juga hadir di dalam dan bagi dirinya: artinya, perbedaan yang sesungguhnya—Sosok yang Lain—merupakan kesadaran yang terpisah dari rasa kepemilikan dan yang secara substansial identik dengan rasa kepemilikan.

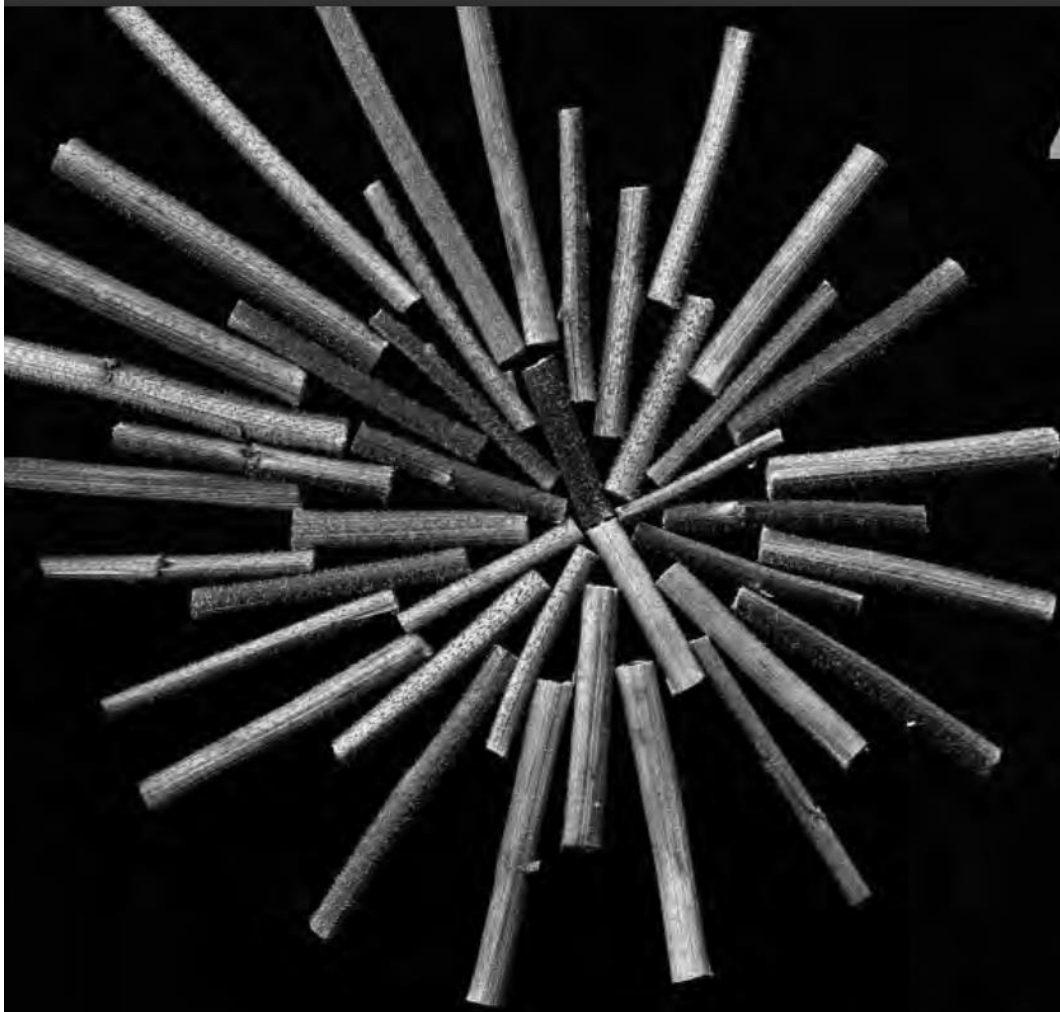
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Yang membuat setiap laki-laki mampu membebaskan diri sekaligus memungkinkannya memenuhi keutuhan sebagai laki-laki dan melengkapi dirinya menuju kesempurnaan melalui suatu tujuan dan usaha, adalah adanya keberadaan laki-laki lain. Namun, kebebasan bukan milik saya, sementara keyakinan saya juga selalu bertentangan dengannya bahwa terdapat tragedi dan kesadaran manusia yang tidak menguntungkan di mana masing-masing kesadaran secara terpisah menempatkan diri sebagai subjek tunggal, sebagai pengatur. Masing-masing mencoba mengukuhkan diri dengan cara mengalahkan yang lain dan memperbudaknya. Tetapi, pihak yang diperbudak, walau tetap melakukan pekerjaannya dalam ketakutan, bagaimanapun tetap bisa merasakan dirinyalah yang sebenarnya menentukan, dan dengan pembalikan dialektis, tuannya menjadi pihak yang tidak berarti. Konflik ini bisa muncul di permukaan ketika masing-masing individu secara sukarela mengakui keberadaan orang lain dan masing-masing menganggap dirinya dan orang lain secara terus-menerus sebagai subjek dan objek terhadap satu sama lain. Persahabatan dan kemurahan hati, yang menjadi bentuk nyata pengakuan keberadaan orang lain sebagai sesama makhluk bebas bukan merupakan sesuatu yang dengan mudah dapat dihayati sebagai suatu kebenaran, sesuatu yang harus dicapai; meski kedua hal tersebut merupakan prestasi tertinggi laki-laki, dan melalui pencapaian prestasi ini, laki-laki menemukan sifat sejatinya. Namun de-

lagi menjadi objek pemberian. Bisa dipahami bahwa perempuan harus dianggap sebagai pihak yang ditinggikan di negara-negara kaya yang masyarakatnya tidak tahu pasti apa arti kehidupan, seperti di Amerika. Di lain pihak, ideologi sosialis, yang menonjolkan penyamarataan semua manusia, menolak baik sekarang maupun di masa depan adanya pengelompokan manusia sebagai objek dan idola; dalam masyarakat demokratik yang diproklamasikan Marx, tidak ada tempat bagi Sosok yang Lain. Namun demikian, ada sekelompok kecil laki-laki yang menyesuaikan diri sebagai figur militan dan disiplin seperti yang sudah mereka pilih, dan pada derajat di mana mereka tetap menjadi individu dan tetap memiliki nilai-nilai khusus di mata mereka. Saya pernah membaca surat-surat dari seorang serdadu Jerman untuk seorang pelacur Prancis, di mana sebagai ganti Nazisme ajaran tradisi mengenai kesucian keperawanan secara naif dikonfirmasi. Para penulis komunis seperti Aragon dari Prancis dan Vittorini dari Itali menempatkan perempuan, baik dalam peran sebagai seorang kekasih atau ibu, pada posisi paling tinggi dalam karya mereka. Barangkali mitos perempuan ini suatu hari akan pupus. Semakin banyak perempuan menonjolkan diri sebagai manusia, kualitas diri mereka yang hebat sebagai "Sosok yang Lain" ini semakin pudar dari dalam dirinya, meski saat ini tetap eksis dalam hati setiap laki-laki.

Setiap mitos selalu mencerminkan subjek yang menggambarkan harapan dan ketakutannya melampaui langit-langit transenden-si. Perempuan tidak menempatkan dirinya sebagai Subjek sehingga sampai saat ini mereka belum menegakkan satu mitos kebesaran atau kekuatan; di mana rencana dan aturan mereka direfleksikan; mereka tidak memiliki kepercayaan atau agamanya sendiri; mereka masih bermimpi atas dasar impian laki-laki. Dewa-dewa yang mereka sembah adalah dewa-dewa ciptaan laki-laki. Laki-laki telah membentuk figur-figur kebesaran dan kekuatan mereka sendiri seperti Hercules, Prometheus, dan Parsifal. Dan perempuan hanya memainkan peran-peran sekunder dalam cerita kepahlawanan ini. Tidak disangsikan lagi memang ada figur-figur laki-laki konvensional dalam hubungannya dengan perempuan seperti figur ayah, peng-

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directed toward ethical issues prior to conducting the study; beginning a study; during data collection and data analysis; and in reporting, sharing, and storing the data.

Prior to Beginning the Study

● *Consider codes of ethics.* Consult early in the development of your proposal the **code of ethics** for your professional association. In the literature, ethical issues arise in discussions about codes of professional conduct for researchers and in commentaries about ethical dilemmas and their potential solutions (Punch, 2005). Many national professional associations have published standards or codes of ethics on their websites. For example, see the following websites:

- The American Psychological Association Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct, Including 2010 Amendments (www.apa.org/ethics/code/index.aspx)
- The American Sociological Association Code of Ethics, adopted in 1997 (www.asanet.org/images/asa/docs/pdf/CodeofEthics.pdf)
- The American Anthropological Association's Code of Ethics, February 2009 (www.aaanet.org/issues/policy-advocacy/Code-of-Ethics.cfm)
- The American Educational Research Association Ethical Standards of the American Educational Research Association, 2011 (www.aera.net/AboutAERA/AERARulesPolicies/CodeofEthics/tabid/10200/Default.asp)
- The American Nurses Association Code of Ethics for Nurses—Provisions, approved in June 2001 (www.nursingworld.org/codeofethics)

● *Apply to the institutional review board.* Researchers need to have their research plans reviewed by an **institutional review board (IRB)** on their college and university campuses. IRB committees exist on campuses because of federal regulations that provide protection against human rights violations. The IRB committee requires the researcher to assess the potential for risk to participants in a study, such as physical, psychological, social, economic, or legal harm (Sieber, 1998). Also, the researcher needs to consider the special needs of vulnerable populations, such as minors (under the age of 19), mentally incompetent participants, victims, persons with neurological impairments, pregnant women or fetuses, prisoners, and individuals with AIDS. As a researcher, you will need to file an application with the IRB that contains procedures and information about participants so that the committee can review the extent to which you place participants at risk in your study. In addition to this application, you need

to have participants sign **informed consent forms** agreeing to the provisions of your study before they provide data. This form contains a standard set of elements that acknowledges protection of human rights. They include the following (Sarantakos, 2005):

- Identification of the researcher
- Identification of the sponsoring institution
- Identification of the purpose of the study
- Identification of the benefits for participating
- Identification of the level and type of participant involvement
- Notation of risks to the participant
- Guarantee of confidentiality to the participant
- Assurance that the participant can withdraw at any time
- Provision of names of persons to contact if questions arise

● *Obtain necessary permissions.* Prior to the study, researchers need to obtain approval of individuals in authority (e.g., gatekeepers) to gain access to sites and to study participants. This often involves writing a letter that specifies the extent of time, the potential impact, and the outcomes of the research. Use of Internet responses gained through electronic interviews or surveys needs permission from participants. This can be obtained through first obtaining permission and then sending out the interview or survey.

● *Select a site without vested interests.* Selecting a site to study in which you have an interest in outcomes is not a good idea. It does not allow for the objectivity required for quantitative research or for the full expression of multiple perspectives that is needed by qualitative research. Select sites that will now raise these questions of power and influence in your study.

● *Negotiate authorship for publication.* If you plan to publish your study (often the case for a dissertation project), an important issue to negotiate before beginning the study is the question of authorship for individuals who contribute to the study. Order of authorship is important to state at the beginning so that individuals who contribute to a research study receive their due contribution. Israel and Hay (2006) discussed the unethical practice of so-called "gift authorship" to individuals who do not contribute to a manuscript and ghost authorship, in which junior staff who made significant contributions have been omitted from the list of authors. The inclusion of authors and the order of authorship may change during a study, but a preliminary understanding early in the project helps address this issue when publication is imminent.

Beginning the Study

- *Identify a beneficial research problem.* During the identification of the research problem, it is important to identify a problem that will benefit individuals being studied, one that will be meaningful for others besides the researcher (Punch, 2005). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2011) asked, "How do ethical issues enter into your selection of a research problem?" (p. 86). To guard against this, proposal developers can conduct pilot projects, needs assessments, or hold informal conversations to establish trust and respect with the participants so that inquirers can detect any potential marginalization of participants as the study begins.

- *Disclose purpose of the study.* In developing the purpose statement or the central intent and questions for a study, proposal developers need to convey the purpose of the study that will be described to the participants (Sarantakos, 2005). Deception occurs when participants understand one purpose but the researcher has a different purpose in mind. It is also important for researchers to specify the sponsorship of their study. For example, in designing cover letters for survey research, sponsorship is an important element in establishing trust and credibility for a mailed survey instrument.

- *Do not pressure participants into signing consent forms.* When collecting consent for a study, the researcher should not force participants to sign the informed consent form. Participation in a study should be seen as voluntary, and the researcher should explain in the instructions for the consent form that participants can decide not to participate in the study.

- *Respect norms and charters of indigenous cultures.* The researcher needs to anticipate any cultural, religious, gender, or other differences in the participants and sites that need to be respected. Recent discussions about the norms and charters of indigenous populations, such as American Indian tribes, need to be observed (LaFrance & Crazy Bull, 2009). As American Indian tribes take over the delivery of services to members, they have reclaimed their right to determine what research will be done and how it will be reported in a sensitive way to tribal culture and charters.

Collecting the Data

- *Respect the site, and disrupt as little as possible.* Researchers need to respect research sites so that they are left undisturbed after a research study. This requires that inquirers, especially in qualitative studies involving prolonged observation or interviewing at a site, be cognizant of their impact and minimize their disruption of the physical setting. For example, they might time visits so that they intrude little on the flow of activities of

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subordinate ^{1 of 3} adjective

sub-or-di-nate (sə-ˈbɔr-də-nāt) -börd-net

Synonyms of subordinate >

- 1 : placed in or occupying a lower class, rank, or position : **INFERIOR**
| a subordinate officer
- 2 : submissive to or controlled by authority
- 3 a : of, relating to, or constituting a **clause** that functions as a noun, adjective, or adverb

b : **SUBORDINATING**

subordinately adverb

subordinateness noun

subordinate ^{2 of 3} noun

sub-or-di-nate (sə-ˈbɔr-də-nāt) -börd-net

: one who stands in order or rank below another : one that is subordinate

subordinate ^{3 of 3} verb

sub-or-di-nate (sə-ˈbɔr-də-nāt)

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subordinate

Word family (noun) subordination subordinate (adjective) subordinate

From Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English

sub-or-di-nate¹ /sə ˈbɔːdnət \$ -bɔːr-/ ●●● **AWL** adjective 🗣️ 🗣️

1 in a less important position than someone else

🗣️ a subordinate officer

subordinate to

🗣️ Women were subordinate to men.

2 less important than something else **SYN** secondary**subordinate to**

🗣️ These aims were subordinate to the main aims of the mission.

Examples from the Corpus

subordinate

- For a start, it is a subordinate class, and being a socialist means surrendering a culture of subordination for self-determination.
- Thus the capitalist mode articulates with the peasant mode, with the latter playing a subordinate role and the former benefiting.
- Admiral Ugaki promptly instructed subordinate staff officers to make a detailed study of the practicability of his plan.
- Women had a subordinate status in our society.
- When he is subordinate to both of them then a partnership with either animal may be established as an aid to intervention.
- In the 1940s the official press had stated that economic goals would be subordinate to political objectives.

subordinate to

- The CIA Director is subordinate to the Secretary of Defense.

subordinate² ●●● **AWL** noun [countable] 🗣️ 🗣️

someone who has a lower position and less authority than someone else in an organization

Examples from the Corpus

subordinate

Quizzes



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