THE HEGEMONY OF PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY AS SHOWN IN AHMAD TOHARI’S
RONGGENG DUKUH PARUK

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement of the Degree of
Sarjana Pendidikan

Yosia Kristiana
112008102

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT

FACULTY OF LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

SATYA WACANA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

SALATIGA

2013
THE HEGEMONY OF PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY AS SHOWN IN AHMAD TOHARI’S
RONGGENG DUKUH PARUK

THESIS
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement of the Degree of
Sarjana Pendidikan

Yosia Kristiana
112008102

ENGLISH DEPARTMENT
FACULTY OF LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
SATYA WACANA CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY
SALATIGA
2013
PERNYATAAN TIDAK PLAGIAT DAN PERSETUJUAN AKSES

Sebagai sivitas akademik Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, saya yang bertanda tangan di bawah ini:

Nama: Yosia Kristiana
NIM: 112008102
Fakultas: Bahasa dan Sastra
Program Studi: Pendidikan Bahasa Inggris
Judul tugas akhir: The Hegemony of Patriarchal Society as Shown in Ahmad Tawari's Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk

Dengan ini menyerahkan karya tersebut di atas untuk disimpan dalam Koleksi Digital Perpustakaan Universitas dengan ketentuan akses tugas akhir elektronik sebagai berikut (beri tanda pada kotak yang sesuai):

☐ a. Saya mengijinkan karya tersebut diunggah ke dalam aplikasi Koleksi Digital Perpustakaan Universitas, dan/atau portal GARUDA.
☐ b. Saya tidak mengijinkan karya tersebut diunggah ke dalam aplikasi Koleksi Digital Perpustakaan Universitas, dan/atau portal GARUDA. *

* Jika b harus dilamar dengan surat dari Dekan/ Kaprodi atau pembimbing TA dengan diketahui oleh pimpinan fakultas yang menjelaskan alasan pilihan.

Dengan ini saya juga menyatakan bahwa:

1. Hasil karya yang saya serahkan ini adalah asli dan belum pernah diajukan untuk mendapatkan gelar kesarjanaan baik di Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana maupun di institusi pendidikan lainnya.
2. Hasil karya saya ini bukan saduran/terjemahan melainkan merupakan gagasan, rumusan, dan hasil pelaksanaan penelitian/implementasi saya sendiri, tanpa bantuan pihak lain, kecuali arahan pembimbing akademik dan narasumber penelitian.
3. Hasil karya saya ini merupakan hasil revisi terakhir setelah diuji yang telah diterima dan disetujui oleh pembimbing.
4. Dalam karya saya ini terdapat karya atau pendapat yang telah ditulis atau dipublikasikan orang lain, kecuali yang digunakan sebagai acuan dalam naskah dengan menyerahkan nama pengarang dan dicantumkan dalam daftar pustaka.
5. Saya menyerahkan hak non-eksklusif kepada Perpustakaan Universitas - Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana untuk menyimpan, mengatur akses serta melakukan pengelolaan terhadap karya saya ini dengan mengacu pada ketentuan akses tugas akhir elektronik di atas dan norma hukum yang berlaku.

Pernyataan ini saya buat dengan sesungguhnya. Apabila di kemudian hari terbukti ada penyimpangan dan ketidakbenaran dalam pernyataan ini maka saya bersedia menerima sanksi akademik berupa pencabutan gelar yang telah diperoleh karena karya saya ini, serta sanksi lain yang sesuai dengan ketentuan yang berlaku di Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana.

11 Februari 2013
Tanggalkenyerahan

Pembimbing I

Mengertahui,

Pembimbing II

Lany Kristono, M.Hum.

Suzana Maria L.A.F., M.Hum.
THE HEGEMONY OF PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY AS SHOWN IN AHMAD TOHARI'S
RONGGENG DUKUH PARUK

THESIS
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement of the Degree of
Sarjana Pendidikan

Yosia Kristiana
112008102

Approved by:


Supervisor Examiner
This thesis contains no such material as has been submitted for examination in any course or accepted for the fulfillment of any degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and my belief, this contains no material previously published or written by other person except where due reference is made in the text.

copyright@ 2013. Yosia Kristiana and Lany Kristono M.Hum.

All rights reserved. No part of this thesis may be reproduced by any means without the permission of at least one of the copyright owners or the English Department, Faculty of Language and Literature, Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga.

Yosia Kristiana:
As a member of the (SWCU) Satya Wacana Christian University academic community, I verify that:

Name : Yosia Kristiana  
Student ID Number : 112008102  
Study Program : English Department  
Faculty : Faculty of Language and Literature  
Kind of Work : Undergraduate Thesis  

In developing my knowledge, I agree to provide SWCU with a non-exclusive royalty free right for my intellectual property and the contents therein entitled:

The Hegemony of Patriarchal Society as Shown in Ahmad Tohari’s *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* along with pertinent equipment.

With this non-exclusive royalty free right, SWCU maintains the right to copy, to reproduce, print, publish, post, display, incorporate, store in or scan into retrieval system or database, transmit, broadcast, barter or sell my intellectual property, in whole or in part without my express written permission, as long as my name is still included as the writer.

This declaration is made according to the best of my knowledge.

Made in : Salatiga  
Date : ________________  
Verified by signee,  

Yosia Kristiana  

Approved by  

Thesis Supervisor  

Thesis Examiner  

Lany Kristono, M.Hum.  
Suzana Maria L.A.F., M.Hum.
The Hegemony of Patriarchal Society as Shown in Ahmad Tohari’s *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*

Yosia Kristiana

Abstract

As the title states, the hegemony of patriarchal society is portrayed in Ahmad Tohari “*Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*”. Written in 1982, *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* depicts events taking place in Banyumas, Central Java. In collectivism societies such as in Banyumas, every person is expected to follow the values and rules of that area but the protagonist character in *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* (Srintil) did not obey it. As a ronggeng dancer, she was expected to preserve the rules, values, and traditions of her society, but she did not. This leads to the question of how the protagonist of *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* fought against the patriarchal society and if she was really able to liberate herself from the patriarchal society’s domination. Patriarchy concept is relevant to be applied in this discussion. It is because the story takes place in the patriarchal society. The analysis revealed that Srintil’s struggle against the patriarchal society was not completely successful because she was trapped again in the patriarchal values. It is because she finally desired to be a good wife of Bajus, who treated her respectfully and helped her financially.

**Key words**: patriarchal society, ronggeng, traditions, values

Introduction

A society is usually characterized by culture, which is a catchword for the societal patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting. Culture is reflected not only in activities which are not only supposed to refine the mind, but also the ordinary and menial things in life, such as greeting, eating, showing or not showing feelings, etc. (Hofstede, 1994). Hofstede also considers culture as “a collective phenomenon because it is as least partly shared with people who live or lived within the same social environment which is where it was learned” (5). In other words, different geographical locations imply or refer to different cultures. For instance, people who live in remote area have different customs/habits from people who live in big city. In addition, culture itself is not passive; it actively directs the behavior of its members through norms and
values (Hall and Neitz, 1993). If one breaks the norms/values, the society will give her/him a social sanction by isolating, ostracizing, gossiping, and even throwing out that person of the village (Amirul, 2012).

Therefore, norms and values in a certain society are important to be obeyed. Studying how values are very influenced by culture, Hofstede distinguishes cultures according to four main dimension of culture: Power Distance, Individualism/Collectivism, Uncertainty Avoidance, and Masculinity (13).

Power distance is used to show how people of a culture relate to authority and deal with inequality. In large power distance culture, everyone has his/her rightful place in a social hierarchy. In other words, Indonesia with high power distance score considers that status and hierarchy are very important. Inequalities are accepted, such as unequal status, rank, and authority are considered natural (24). Then, uncertainty avoidance can be defined as the extent to which people feel threatened by uncertainty and ambiguity and try to avoid these situations. In cultures of strong uncertainty avoidance, there is a need for rules and formality to structure life (116).

Collectivism is people belonging to in-groups that look after them in exchange for loyalty. In collectivistic cultures, people are ‘we’-conscious. Their identity is based on the social system, to which they belong, and avoiding loss of face is important. Collectivistic cultures are high-context communication cultures, with an indirect style of communication (50).

According to Hofstede, in masculine society, performance and achievement are important; and achievement must be demonstrated, so status brands are important to show one’s success. An important aspect of this dimension is role differentiation; it is large in masculine
societies and small in feminine societies. Thus, masculine culture enables men to dominate in some aspects of social interaction (81).

Considering Hofstede’s four dimensions of culture, traditionally, Indonesian societies can be considered. Similarly, taking Banyumas, Central Java as its setting, *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* depicts a high-indexed power distance, collectivist and masculine society. In such a society, women are considered to hold a lower position than men. Having a *ronggeng* as the protagonist character, the novel describes how the *ronggeng* responds to the societal tradition. According to on-line Indonesian Concise Dictionary, a *ronggeng* is a traditional woman dancer who wears a shawl on her neck as main the property to dance (1). In Banyumas, Central Java, a *ronggeng* is one of dancers to entertain the society in a certain event. Becoming a *ronggeng* means being as a public figure whose life is owned by the society. The *ronggeng*’s life is much determined by the public. Being one of the centers of attention, the *ronggeng* has a bigger responsibility to behave conformed to the norms and values of her society that society.

However, Ahmad Tohari’s *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* describes a *ronggeng* who acted differently toward the tradition of her society. For instance, she broke the tradition by giving her virginity to the man that she loved instead of the man who was the highest bidder. Therefore, it is interesting to discuss how the protagonist of *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* fought against the patriarchal society and if she was really able to liberate herself from the patriarchal society’s domination.

The findings of this study are expected to make the readers to be more aware of the tradition, especially about *ronggeng* as a public figure that still exists in Banyumas, Central Java. They will know what *ronggeng* is like in the society. Besides that, they will be more aware about
the hegemony of patriarchy and about the existence of patriarchal culture in Indonesia. Thus, the reader especially the students of Language and Literature will know about Patriarchy and use it for his/her theory on a study.

My search for previous studies on Ahmad Tohari’s *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk* brought me to the works titled “Representasi Diskriminasi Perempuan dalam Novel Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk”, “Comparison between The Value of Geisha and Ronggeng as Represented by Golden’s Memoirs of Geisha and Tohari’s Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk”, “Kedudukan Dan Peran Wanita Dalam Trilogi Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk Karya Ahmad Tohari”, and “Male Feminis Dan Kontra Male Feminis Dalam Novel Trilogi Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk Karya Ahmad Tohari”. Hence, my study about “The hegemony of Patriarchal Society as depicted in Ahmad Tohari’s *Ronggeng Dukuh Paruk*” has not been done yet.

**Patriarchy as an Ideology**

Ideology is a system which possessing its logic and proper rigour of representation (images, myths, ideas, or concepts according to the case) endowed with an existence and an historical role at the heart of a given society (Philip Goldstein, 1990). According to Ray, patriarchy is an ideology. He states that patriarchy is a social and ideological construct which considers men as superior to women (1).

Patriarchy comes from the word *arche* or ‘rue’, which assumes difference in rank, and the word *patter* or ‘father’, which presupposes male supremacy (Coeey, 1991). As the word patriarchy denotes, the fathers rule system. In short, patriarchy literally means the rule of fathers. Patriarchy refers to the social organization of a culture into system that is hierarchical and male-dominated in terms of value and power.
Hartman defines patriarchy as “a set of social relations between men which have a material base and which, though hierarchical, establish or create independence and solidarity among men that enables them to dominate women” (14; Janet 345; Samuel 1). Janet adds that the hierarchy of patriarchy controls women’s access to resources and their sexuality and in turn allows men to control women’s power, for the purpose of serving men in many personal and sexual ways (346). In other words, patriarchal culture sees women as an object that are systematically dominated, exploited, and oppressed (13).

In addition, Samuel also states that patriarchy is the range of alternative ways (national, social, racial, sexual) in which male gender relations are expressed. The hegemonic patriarchal society is the form of masculinity which is culturally and politically dominant at a particular time and place (1). Hegemony itself is a subtle and complex process whereby particular beliefs, values and ideologies are reinforced by those with political and cultural power so that they become perceived as both natural and inevitable (2). The hegemonic patriarchal culture shows that women are regarded to be inferior to men. Women are often regarded as the object of the culture, rather than the subject. Men have the subject position and women are the object. Thus, women’s voice are not be heard, they are to be ignored, and have no control over themselves (Kourany, 1992).

Additionally, Hartman also proclaims that patriarchy is not simply hierarchical organization, but hierarchy in which particular people fill particular places. It is in studying patriarchy that we learn why it is women who are dominated and how. While we believe that most known societies have been patriarchal, we do not view patriarchy as a universal (unchanging phenomenon). Rather patriarchy is the set of interrelations among men that allow men to dominate women. According to Hartman, there are three elements of patriarchy. They are
heterosexual marriage, female childrearing and housework, and women’s economic dependence on men (18).

Heterosexual marriage is one of the relatively recent and efficient forms of patriarchy that seem to allow men to control two areas of women’s life. First, it excludes women from access to some essential productive resources such as jobs that pay living wages. Second, it restricts women’s sexuality. Controlling women’s sexuality has the purpose to serve men in sexual ways. In short, heterosexual marriage is the “tool” for men to control women (19).

In addition, heterosexual marriage is strongly against a marriage between the same-sex couples. Although in heterosexual marriage women’s life is controlled, it is better than homosexual marriage. As Cambers states:

In heterosexual marriage, as traditionally understood and permitted, privilege heterosexuality and discriminate against homosexuality. According to this line of critique, marriage benefits those who enter into it. Thus, people who favor gender equality and oppose discrimination on the grounds of both sex and sexuality must oppose marriage as long as it is not open to same-sex couples. Heterosexual marriage would still be problematic, in other words, even if it became internally egalitarian... Practically, marriage might privilege heterosexuality if the law were structured so as to give married couples particular rights that are denied to unmarried couples. Such laws would discriminate against both homosexual couples and heterosexual unmarried individuals (whether single or in a relationship) (47).

Female childbearing and housework is a crucial task in perpetuating patriarchy as a system. In patriarchal society, children are generally reared by women at home, while men seldom appear in the domestic picture. Children are raised in this way generally learn their places in the gender hierarchy very well. Women are socially defined and recognized as inferior to men. Men exercise their control in receiving personal service work from women, such as in not having to do housework. Women have to be able to perform many unpleasant tasks (such as cleaning toilets), it occurs outside as well as inside the family setting. In other words, women are forced to stay at home and have to be responsible for home life (20).
The last element is women’s economic dependence on men (enforced by arrangements in the labor market). The material base upon which patriarchy rests lies most fundamentally in men’s control over women’s labor power. In a patriarchal family, a man as a father has the authority to control over and has authority to dominate the family’s economy. Since, patriarchy briefly means the rule of father; the family’s economy is controlled by men (a father). Hartmann states in patriarchal society, men have stronger authority in family’s economy than women. Besides that, men argued for protective labor laws for women. It means that men limited the participation of women in many “male” jobs. They look for high wage job for themselves and to raise male wages generally (21).

Fundamentally, two elements of patriarchy; i.e. female childrearing and housework and women’s economic dependence on men, can happen in a heterosexual sexual marriage. In other words, those three elements of patriarchy are related to each other. Hartmann states in heterosexual marriage, job segregation is by sex and usually women have the lower paid jobs. In addition, she states in patriarchal society, the material base of male domination in two ways, they are:

1. Men have the better jobs in the labor market and earn higher wages than women. The lower pay women receive in the labor market both perpetuates men’s material advantage over women and encourages women to choose wifery as a career.
2. Women do housework, childcare, and perform other services at home which benefit men directly. Women’s home responsibilities in turn reinforce their inferior labor market position (56).

In short, in heterosexual marriage in patriarchal society, the majority of men usually want their wives just stay at home to personally serve them. As wives, women have to do housework and childrearing and serve their husband sexuality instead of becoming a career woman or having another job.
Srintil as a ronggeng in a patriarchal society and collectivist culture

Srintil is a young girl who lives in a small village (Dukuh Paruk). Actually, she is a cheerful girl although she has no parents. Living with her grandparents does not make her feel alone. Her complicated life begins as she turns eleven, when she has to be a ronggeng (traditional dancer in her society). Becoming a ronggeng dancer she does not only have to dance, but also serve men who want her and pay for her sexual service. In fact, she can’t escape from being a ronggeng dancer because the society believes that she has been chosen by the spirit of their ancestors, who grant her talent to dance. Therefore, it is her obligation to be a ronggeng dancer for her village (Tohari 36-40).

To officially be a ronggeng dancer, Srintil has to go through three steps of the sacred traditions. The first step of the initiation requires her to dance in front of the people of Dukuh Paruk. The second is the sacred bathing, which should take place in their ancestors’ tomb and the last is the tradition of “bukak kelambu” (open curtain of bed), in which a ronggeng dancer has to give her virginity to the man who pays the highest.

Those three rituals are led by a shaman ronggeng dancer and his wife, i.e. Kyai (title used with certain objects of veneration) and Nyai (respectful term of address to older woman) Kartareja. The dancing ritual is led by Kyai and Nyai Kartareja who prepare everything for this sacred tradition, including providing the complete costume and make up of a ronggeng dancer. While Srintil is dancing, the audiences especially men, can touch her (Tohari 36-39). This
privilege given to men who fits what Kournay states that women in patriarchal society are often regarded as an object of the culture rather than the subject (36). It means that Srintil as a ronggeng dancer is an object of men’s lust in ronggeng traditions.

The second step of the initiation is the sacred bathing, which should take place in the ancestors’ tomb i.e. *Ki* (respectful term of address to the person who has strong power and authority in certain place) Secamenggala’s tomb. This ceremony is very important to people of Dukuh Paruk, so that none of the villagers would go to work as usual on that day. They watch this ceremony from the beginning till the end. The bathing is open to public. In fact, bathing is personal and private activity. Yet in this tradition, it is not personal as it is done by Nyai Kartareja who will bathe Srintil with water and flowers (Tohari 46). It is not private since the whole village witnesss it. This means that even a ronggeng dancer’s body is the public’s. As Janet states, in patriarchal culture women are seen as an object that are systematically exploited and oppressed (13).

This sacred bathing is done before the ritual of “*bukak kelambu*” (open curtain of bed) because it is to prepare a ronggeng dancer to serve the first man in her life. In this tradition, the virginity of a ronggeng dancer is treated like a goods in an auction. Every man can join the “auction”, but the man who pays the highest is the man who will be served sexually by her. As Hartmann states that patriarchy is a set of social relations between men which have a material base and power that enables them to dominate women (14). It is applied in this sacred tradition where the man who has the biggest amount of money has the power to be. In other words, the first man who will be served sexually by a ronggeng dancer is the man who has power.
In “bukak kelambu” tradition, the price of Srintil’s virginity is one gold coin/two silver rupiah, which is expensive enough for the societies in Dukuh Paruk. There are only two young men who are able to “buy” Srintil’s virginity, i.e. Sulam and Dower. Those two men have money to buy her virginity, it means that they have power to oppress her. In other words, those men are superior to Srintil as a ronggeng dancer and she is just submissive to the men who has power. Her submission is also shown in the previous step, sacred bathing, where she was bathed by Nyai Kartareja with water and flower. After, doing this tradition, she gets fragrance to begin bukak kelambu’s tradition where she gives her virginity to the man who pays the highest. It supports patriarchy concept because there are men’s domination and women’s subordination.

Bukak kelambu itself means suffering for Srintil. She cries because she is still eleven years old, but she has to serve two men (Dower and Sulam) in one night. Actually, her stomach is very sick, but she is not able to refuse that tradition (Tohari 122-123). Refusing that tradition means disturbing the culture of Dukuh Paruk and the steps of ronggeng initiation. In short, refusing it means breaking the harmony of Dukuh Paruk. As Amirul states that if one breaks the norms/values, the society will give her/him a sanction by isolating, ostracizing, gossiping, and even throwing out that person of the village (3). Besides that, a ronggeng dancer is not accustomed to convey what she feels toward that tradition that she has to go through.

Srintil can be officially called a ronggeng dancer of Dukuh Paruk means she has responsibilities. For example, she is owned by the public physically and sexually. In other words, she does not have personal life because society of Dukuh Paruk has chosen her to be a ronggeng dancer. The society, especially men, only needs Srintil’s physically and sexually without
considering her psychologically. Srintil doesn’t have any authority over her own body and self. None cares about her psychological realm. As Ahmad Tohari writes,

“Jadi Dukuh Paruk tidak mengerti bagaimana aku sekarang,” keluhnya.

Srintil merenungkan pengalamannya dengan dunia laki-laki…. Dia memiliki perasaan khusus terhadap lelaki tertentu dan merasa harus memiliki kesempatan memilih (RDP141).

“So, Paruk Village doesn’t realize who I am now,” she said to herself.

Srintil had been thinking over her experiences as a ronggeng…. Now, however, she felt she wanted the opportunity to make choices about she did with men (TD 150-151).

As Janet states men control women’s power and sexuality (346). Srintil’s role as a ronggeng dancer is fixed by the sacred tradition of Dukuh Paruk society. She is responsible for serving men’s sexual desires who wants her body. Actually, Srintil has a dream like the other women who want to be a wife and a mother by having children (Tohari 370; 373). In contrast, as a ronggeng dancer, she has no chance to make her dreams come true. More than that, Srintil is owned by public because she is a ronggeng dancer. She has no private life as an ordinary woman who wants to get married (becoming a wife) and has children (becoming a mother).

As a ronggeng dancer, Srintil has another responsibility i.e. to be a gowok (Tohari 139). Gowok is a woman who prepares unmarried man for his first night with his wife later (Tohari 140). In other words, a ronggeng dancer has to serve that unmarried man sexuality before he gets married so that he is able to have sexual intercourse with his wife on their first night well. It is implied that in the first night, a husband should “guide/teach” his wife to do sexual intercourse. This fits what Hartmann mentions about the monogamous heterosexual marriage, which implies that men control women’s sexuality (19). This existence of a gowok also means that have sexual intercourse with a woman other than his wife, but the woman who does it (as a gowok) should be unmarried.
The principles of patriarchal society do apply in Srintil’s life as a ronggeng at Dukuh Paruk. As Hartmann states that patriarchal society enables men to dominate and to oppress women. It is because men have a power and material base to do that domination and oppression toward women, in which Srintil as a ronggeng dancer is really dominated and oppressed by men (18). In short, she is just an object for men to satisfy the men’s sexual desire who buy her with high price.

In addition, as Kournay states patriarchal society let a woman be inferior to men (32). Thus, women’s voice are not be heard by men. When Srintil refuses Marsusi, a rich man, who wants to pay her to satisfy his sexual desires, her objection was not be heard at all. Instead, he results in anger.


The muscles of Marsusi’s jaw knotted. His eyes blazed at the ronggeng…. His face savage, Srintil prepared herself, expecting her guest to smash something (TD 161).

In this case, the domination of patriarchal society is very clearly shown in Srintil’s experiences as a ronggeng dancer. Dukuh Paruk shows the pattern of patriarchal system, where women are inferior to men and men control the society with their authority which naturally happens.

Srintil’s struggles against the patriarchal society

Dukuh Paruk’s society believes that being a ronggeng dancer is a precious thing because the society appreciates her very much. Besides that, a ronggeng dancer will be treated well by the society (Tohari 38). However, Srintil perceives it differently. The position as a ronggeng dancer makes her feel uncomfortable, and she is not prepared for it. As Tohari depicts,
At eleven, for the first time in her life Srintil becomes the centre of attention. She feels ashamed (21).

In other words, she is not ready yet to be a ronggeng dancer, maybe because she is not enough and she is still immature. Moreover, Srintil does not like being a ronggeng dancer who has to follow the society’s tradition of a ronggeng. The novel portrays four proofs that reflect Srintil’s rebellion to the patriarchal tradition of her village.

Srintil’s first struggle against the patriarchal society of Dukuh Paruk happens when she has to go through “bukak kelambu” (open curtain of bed) tradition before becoming a ronggeng dancer. In this tradition, she has to serve a man who pays the highest price for her virginity. Instead of obeying the tradition, Srintil gives her virginity to Rasus, the man that she loves.

“Yes, but I’m still afraid. Rasus. You’re so good to be here while I’m being bought and sold...I hate this. I’d rather give myself to you, Rasus... You do want to, don’t you?” (Tohari 77).

The above quotations shows that Srintil takes the initiative to have a sexual intercourse with Rasus. By offering herself to Rasus, Srintil not only acts against value of the tradition in that society but also she acts against the principles of patriarchy. As Hartmann states, the hierarchy of patriarchy controls women’s power and their sexuality (13). In other words, in patriarchal society it is men who come to women. But, in this case, it is Srintil who comes to Rasus and offers herself to Rasus. What srintil does reflects her disobedience to the tradition as well as patriarchy.

The second struggle from Srintil to get her liberty as a woman in the patriarchal society takes place when she decides not to serve man again after Rasus has left Dukuh Paruk to join the army. This particularly happens when Marsusi, a rich man who has authority in the certain society, comes to Srintil and ask her to satisfy his sexual desires. Although, Marsusi has a lot of
money, thus power, and he offered it to Srintil, she strongly refuses him (Tohari 140-141). Srintil’s objection reflects her rebellion against the hegemony of patriarchal society in which women are regarded as objects of men (Samuel 2). She seems not to care about her position as a woman in a patriarchal society where she has to obey men because they are the subject of the culture.

In addition, Srintil does not only refuse the men who come to her after Rasus has left Dukuh Paruk, but she also refuses to be a ronggeng dancer anymore. This is her effort against the patriarchal society of Dukuh Paruk. It happened when she was twenty years old, after she had spent two years in prison because of politic conflict in 1965. Then, she decides not to be a ronggeng anymore. If there is a person who asks her to dance, she refuses it. Even when nyai Kartareja begs her to dance again, she also refuses it.

“Anu, kami mendengar sampean seorang ronggeng. Masih suka meronggeng?”
Pertanyaan Tamir yang tak terduga membuat jantung Srintil terpukul dan membuat dadanya menyesak.
“Anu, Dik. Itu dulu. Sekarang saya tidak lagi meronggeng. Dulu pun saya cuma ronggeng bobor, ronggeng yang jarang naik pentas.”
“Jadi sampean sekarang tidak meronggeng lagi?”
“Tidak.”
“Ah, kenapa?”
“Tidak. Tidak.”
“Ya, tapi mengapa?”
“Pokoknya tidak.” (Tohari 317)
“Uh… we heard that you are a ronggeng. Do you still dance?”
Srintil was surprised that Tamir’s question made her heart pound the way it did. Her chest heaved as she spoke.
“Well, young man. That was a long time ago. I no longer dance as a ronggeng. I was once a ronggeng.”
“Not at all?”
“No.”
“Why not?”
“I just don’t.”
“But, uh, how about if… what I means is, you know why I came here, don’t you?”
“Yes, I know.”
“Why don’t…”
“No, young man.” (Tohari 355-356)
The above dialog represents Srintil’s refusing Tamir and Diding who ask her to dance again and her determination not to be a *ronggeng* dancer. In other words, Srintil has decided to refuse to be an object of men’s lust. Although Tamir and Diding come from Jakarta, she straightly refuses them by saying “no” many times. Srintil’s statement which is just say “no” without any reasons indicates that she really doesn’t want to dance.

Srintil’s last struggle to free herself from the tradition is represented when she wants to marry and has children. It started when Srintil met Bajus, a handsome man from Jakarta. Her instinct as a woman who wants to marry and has children is more blazing because Bajus comes to her life. Bajus always treats Srintil better than the other men who usually came to her. Besides that, Bajus also helps Srintil build her house. Bajus’s attitudes that always helps Srintil and treats her better than others men makes Srintil thinks that he is a respectful and good man (Tohari 369).

Srintil’s desire to marry Bajus, give birth to his children strengthen her refusal to be a *ronggeng* dancer. A *ronggeng* dancer is owned by the public. Therefore, she should be unmarried. In short, Srintil wants owned by only one man, i.e. Bajus, although she does not explicitly state it. As Tohari writes,

“Aku hanya ingin kawin seperti semua orang kawin. Itu saja.”

Mas Bajus akan melihat bukti bahwa bekas ronggeng atau bekas tahanan pun bisa menjadi istri yang baik, dan bisa lebih baik daripada perempuan bukan bekas ronggeng atau perempuan bukan bekas tahanan (RDP 371-373).

“I want to marry like other people marry, that’s all.”

Bajus will see that even a former *ronggeng* dancer and political prisoner like me can be a good wife, and that I can be better than a woman who was never a *ronggeng* dancer or a prisoner (TD 414-417).

Srintil’s desire to marry Bajus may also be affected by her past experience as a *ronggeng* dancer, whom is mostly considered and treated as a sexual object by men. Besides treating her
well and respectfully, Bajus also helps her financially. By stating what she desire and saying that she, an ex-ronggeng dancer and prisoner can be a good wife, Srintil acts against the patriarchal norms. The dialog above implies that it is Srintil, instead of Bajus, who “proposes” Bajus. Although Srintil has disobeyed the tradition of Dukuh Paruk, which puts her as an object of men’s lust, Srintil’s belief in the essence of the balance of men and woman, and her view of the duties of a wife reflects that she also believes in patriarchy. Hartmann states that in monogamos heterosexual marriage, duties of a wife are childrearing and houseworking (20). This is reflected in the following quotation:

Kemudian Srintil sendiri yang merasakan kepahitan sejarah dalam hidup yang ditempuhnya sebagai seorang perempuan milik umum. . . menjadi istri laki-laki tertentu adalah inti keberimbangan antara keperempuanan dan kelelakian. Maka tugas seorang istri lebih mulia daripada tugas seorang ronggeng (Tohari 337).

However, she had eventually learned for herself life’s bitter lessons about being a woman who belonged everyone…. and now believed that to become the wife of a particular man was essential in balancing out femininity and masculinity. Thus, she saw now that the duties of a wife were nobler than those of a ronggeng (Tohari 377).

By desiring to be a wife and assuring Bajus that she can be a good wife, which is more noble than being a ronggeng dancer, Srintil supports patriarchy, after she first rebels against patriarchy. A good wife according to patriarchal culture is a wife who only stay at home, serve her husband, raise children, and do the house works instead of becoming a career woman (Hartmann 19-21). As a ronggeng dancer, she refused to serve Marsusi and-to dance as usual, it means she againt the patriarchal norms of Dukuh Paruk. But, she also believes in patriarchy when she wants to be a wife and loves the duties as a good wife.
Conclusion

The discussion reveals that Srintil suffers because she is a woman living in a patriarchal and collectivist society, male-dominated society. As she is chosen to be a ronggeng dancer for her society, she has to bear the collectivist society pressure of patriarchal concept at Dukuh Paruk. In the name of preserving the traditions, she has to serve men’s sexual desires and satisfy men’s lust regardless of her own will and feeling. Thus, Srintil tries to rebel against the patriarchal society in order to get her liberty.

By denying not to serve men and refusing to be a ronggeng dancer again, Srintil expresses her protest to the patriarchal society and tries to free herself from the patriarchal society’s pressure. She attempts her rebellion based on her own ways. Although she tries hard to liberate herself from the patriarchal values, she finally cannot be free at all. She is still trapped again in that patriarchal concept. This maybe because she lives in collectivist culture, in which she should still be able to follow traditions from one’s in group.

When she has her desire to offers herself to be Bajus’s wife, she believes in patriarchy system because she thinks that duties as a wife; i.e. to serve her husband, stay at home to raise her children and do houseworks, are better than her duties as a ronggeng dancer. In other words, she supports patriarchy system by having that desires. It is because in a monogamos heterosexual marriage, a wife has to be loyal to her husband. Besides that, a wife is not allowed to be career women. They are expected to be at home and raise their children and be financially dependent on their husband. Srintil’s expectation toward Bajus who often helps her financially and treats her well to be her husband, reflects that she believes in patriarchy. In short, this study reveals that Srintil cannot be really free from the patriarchal society.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I wish to express my greatest gratitude to my Savior, Jesus Christ who always take care of me and bless me in finishing my study at English Department. This thesis would have never been completed without invaluable advices and guidance from my supervisor and examiner, that’s why I want to express my sincere appreciation to Ibu Lany Kristono, M.Hum. and Ibu Suzana Maria L.A.F., M.Hum. Special appreciation I give for my beloved parents who always support and pray for me. For EDers 2008 and “kos Payung 7A” especially Ika Adelia and Eko Winarsih thank you for our togetherness, that’s the amazing memories. The last but not least, I would like to express my best gratitude to my someone special, Risky Dwi Prastya who loves, understands and supports me.
REFERENCES


<http://www.clarechambers.com>


<http://www.norma-norma.com>


<http://www.patriarchalsystem.com>

