

## **Discourse analysis in the sequence novels of Leila S. Chudori (2012, 2017)**

**Tiara Widyaiswara<sup>1</sup>, Riya Risqi Setyaningrum<sup>2</sup>, Ali Nuke Affandy<sup>3</sup>**

Universitas Islam Lamongan<sup>1,2</sup>  
Universitas Muhammadiyah Surabaya<sup>3</sup>  
email: [tiarawdya@unisla.ac.id](mailto:tiarawdya@unisla.ac.id)<sup>1</sup>  
email: [riyarisqi@gmail.com](mailto:riyarisqi@gmail.com)<sup>2</sup>  
email: [alinukeaffandy@yahoo.com](mailto:alinukeaffandy@yahoo.com)<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract** - This research is about the resistance of life characters from political exiles and student activists in 1998 contained in the novels *Pulang* and *Laut Bercerita* by Chudori (2012, 2017). The focus of this study is the Foucault (2012) discourse analysis which focuses on resistance characters in fighting the new order regime. This study aims to examine the patterns of resistance through discursive formations in archeological reading. The steps of analysis are to mark it based on existing discourse, link the lines of text with the sequence, observed the rupture, and interpretation of the meaning. The results of the study show that Chudori's novels present patterns of resistance that cannot be separated from the new order regime that once ruled Indonesia. This is based on the discursive formation that occurs in the text that describes if the power of the new order regime

**Keywords:** archeology of knowledge, discursive formation, discourse analysis, resistance

## 1. Introduction

In this regard, it shows that history and literature have a close relationship. This opinion can be true on the other hand because history is often a topic in literary works, as well as literary works which is one of the written sources about history. In this case, literary works become the main source because other written sources are minimal and scarce (Widyaiswara, 2019).

One of the writers who emphasize the historical value in his works is Chudori (2012, 2017). In the third and fourth novels entitled *Pulang* and *Laut Bercerita* in which the two novels have the same theme about the history and social criticism of the new order regime in Indonesia (Widyaiswara et al., 2021). Therefore, the two novels are interesting to analyze. The contents of the stories in *Pulang* and *Laut Bercerita* novels are different stories but have the same target against the new order regime. This has attracted enough attention to be researched for several underlying reasons. First, these novels present two major events that has happened in Indonesia, namely the September 30th Movement, 1965 which continued until the failure of the new order regime in 1998. Second, is the presence of central characters who have been marginalized in their lives in different countries. In *Pulang* (Chudori, 2012), the character of the main character appears in France, *Laut Bercerita* (Chudori, 2017) appears a 23-year-old college student activist named *Biru Laut* who bravely takes action against the government in Indonesia. Third, the stories continue through generations of characters, from a father to his only daughter, from brother to sister.

The reason is emphasized based on the structure offered in the texts of Leila's sequence novels which have an appeal about the resistance that is repeated over and over again. By these problems, this study concern on the discourse on the resistance of the characters in the *Pulang* and *Laut Bercerita* novels by Chudori by utilizing Foucault's (2012) theory of discourse analysis to be able to get the meanings of the resistance patterns carried out by the characters against the New order regime. Besides that, the theory was applied as the relation discourse produced in a certain context. One of the most crucial aspects of understanding the text is to place the discourse in a particular historical context (Mandarani, 2018).

Several previous studies related to the same topic of Foucault's Discourse analysis in analyzing the novel or same text. The first, Sagita (2019) which entitled "*Wacana Spiritualitas Humanis dalam Novel-Novel Karya Ayu Utami*". This study applies discourse analysis by Foucault. The result shows that spirituality cannot from the case of the new order regime in Indonesia. There are several discursive formations are founded such as religious spirituality, human creation, and religious spirituality. Based on the archeology and genealogy reading, the spirituality discourse is not only the practice of criticizing and raveling the understanding that is admitted as the acceptable truth (Sagita, 2019; cf. Khristianto & Nirmawalati, 2018).

The second, Adiputra (2021) which entitled "*Antara Kuasa Kebohongan dan Kebebasan Beropini Warga: Analisis Wacana Foucauldian Pada Hoaks Pandemi Corona di Indonesia*" studies used qualitative with the method of Foucauldian discourse analysis which uses a variety of concepts including power, identity, and knowledge. The resulting study shows corona pandemic hoax is a set of regular and production rules related to the power in the post-truth era (Adiputra, 2021).

The third is the study of Widyaiswara (2019) which is entitled "*Resistensi Tokoh-Tokoh pada Novel-novel Leila S. Chudori*", which applies Archeology and Genealogy reading by Foucault (2012). The method applies the discourse analysis perspective of Foucault. The resulting study shows the Episteme which is found in the form of "rejection", refers to the knowledge, attitudes, and policies of the New order which was critically addressed by political exiles and student activists. It means that further indicates if the post-New order regime provides more democratic and open political peace.

All of the research before are different from this study including the data, the focus study, and the resulting study. The similarity is the research from Widyaiswara, but this study focuses on the Archeology reading method by Foucault (2012).

## **2. Method**

### **2.1 Research Design**

This research applies the qualitative approach on the several basic reason. First, the object of study chosen in this study describes the history (events) that have become a social phenomenon and have occurred in Indonesia. Second, the goal to be achieved in this research is to reveal the discourse on the resistance of the characters against the government of the new order regime so that it can be emphasized the depth of meaning. This statement with the opinion of Endraswara (2011) if qualitative research prioritizes the depth of appreciation between concepts that are studied empirically.

### **2.2 Data Collection**

The data collection technique used in this research is library research. In analyzing the data adapted to the archaeological method of knowledge from Foucault's (2012) perspective, namely identifying the form of resistance, then classifying it, describing the connection, making meaning of these patterns, and making conclusions (Widyaiswara, 2019).

### **2.3 Data Analysis**

The data analysis technique applied discourse Foucault's which focus on discursive formation which is called as Archeology of Knowledge. This analysis led Foucault to become a prominent thinker (Kendall, 1999). The first is by finding discursive formations which he defines as groups of statements that have rules, correlations, and functions as determinants of diversity. As a system that has such diversity, texts cannot be seen as running continuously (Foucault, 2002). The different oppositions and their roles can be described. It can be said that discourse formations are groups of statements that have a single information system, as in Foucault's view, the major themes (history of ideas and thoughts) are the birth of ideas, continuity, change, and the spirit of the times. Stated by June that Foucault's analysis has concerned with three main focuses namely discourse, power, and subject (Buchanan, 2007)

Almost the same as Mills' opinion in understanding discourse is not about the series of words or text proportions but something that produces something else, in its study considering the context of events and references so that the discourse must be intact. as one unit (Sara, 2002). At this stage, it will look at the interrelationships of statements in the form of discursive formations that are interconnected and form a pattern of coherence. Fifth, show other forms of what is included in a text. As a result, this research will formulate the meaning behind the resistance discourse (Foucault, 1976; Adiputra, 2021).

## **3. Results and Discussion**

In this study, use the theory of discourse analysis that was initiated by Foucault (2012). This perspective was chosen because there are several similarities between his perspective and this research. This is Foucault's view if every power there will be resistance, it means that in one dominant discourse, there will be marginal discourse. Another reason because of the need for texts that present repetitions of aspects, the same topics discussed by Foucault as “discursive formations”. Beside that has the findings of the same repetitive patterns, it reduces the resistance of the discourse of *Pulang* and *Laut Bercerita novel* (Chudori, 2012, 2017) gives a deeper meaning to what is meant to be made explicit through the discourse.

In this study, use the theory of discourse analysis by Foucault (2012). Foucault's perspective was chosen because there are several similarities between his perspective and this research. This is Foucault's view if every power has resistance, which means that in one dominant discourse, there will be marginal discourse. Another reason the theory is chosen as the analysis is because of the need for texts that present repetitions of aspects, the same topics discussed by Foucault as “discursive formations”. With the findings of the same repetitive patterns, it reduces the resistance of discourse in the novel *Pulang* and *Laut Bercerita* (Chudori, 2012, 2017). Below, the researcher describes the production of texts of discursive formations that have been found through archaeological reading in the novel *Pulang* and *Laut Bercerita* by Chudori (2012, 2017).

### Resistance in New order Regime Products

The first step to finding the existence of resistance discourse is to identify traces of various elements of resistance carried out by the characters. This is expected as a basic step to find discursive formations that are expressed through the actions, attitudes, dialogues, and monologues of the characters that lead to everything that is the result or deliberately made by the Suharto regime.

In *Pulang* (Chudori, 2012) novel has represented the politic exile characters who live in Paris. Both explicitly and implicitly, characters in *Pulang* (Chudori, 2012) carried out their resistance regarding the policies created by the new order regime. This was first expressed through Dimas Suryo's daughter, Lintang Utara. He received an offer to attend the Kartini Day celebration at the Indonesian embassy from his girlfriend Narayana, the son of the Indonesian Ambassador's representative who lives in France. On the basis of wanting to find out more about Indonesian culture, Lintang accepted the offer. From this incident, many new things have centralized Lintang as a political exile, as is the case in the following quote. *Ketika aku mengambil es leci, aku mendengar beberapa lelaki yang jelas tengah terlibat dalam debat.*

“Siapa yang berani-berani membawa dia kesini?”  
“Biar sajalah. Kan tidak ada larangan untuk anaknya?”  
“Sudah pada lupa Bersih Lingkungan?” (Chudori, 2012).  
“Who dared to bring him here?”  
“Let it be. Isn't there a prohibition for his child?”  
“Forgot to clean the environment already?”

Based on the quotation above, it shows that the party should be attended by Indonesian citizens who have been categorized as *Bersih Diri Bersih Lingkungan*, they are the families of the Ambassador of the Indonesian Embassy. This defines that political prisoner are no longer concerned with individual problems, but also with the generation of kinship who will bear the status of political exiles.

Another situation that led to *Bersih Diri Bersih Lingkungan* was presented by Dimas Suryo's nephews, namely the children of Aji Suryo named Rama and Andini. Rama as Aji's eldest son feels that all his friends consider Aji Suryo's family to be a despicable family and need to be shunned.

“Setiap hari Rama penuh dengan paranoia mengecek apakah ayahnya diteror pada tempatnya bekerja. Dia juga mulai jarang menggunakan nama Suryo dibelakang namanya (Chudori, 2012)”.  
Every day Rama is full of paranoia checking whether his father is terrorized at his place of work. He also rarely uses Suryo's name after his name.

Implicitly, *Bersih Diri* has been in effect for almost decades and has been passed down from generation to generation for ex-Tapol (political prisoner) families. As a result, it gives a sense of marginalization to the people around him. Like what happened to Rama, he tried to do a form of resistance by not using his last name that could identify if he was the son of Aji Suryo. The resistance to the products of the new order continues in *Luat Bercerita* which is set in 1998, is told through the central character, the *Laut Biru* character and his friends such as Sunu, Alex, Daniel, Kasih Kinanti, Anjani, Gusti and several of their seniors, one of them is Arifin. Bramantio. Some of them have background links and understandings with ex-Tapol (political prisoner) related to the events of the September 30, 1965 movement. This is related to the policies launched by the government.

“Aku menahan diri untuk tidak emosional dan perlahan menceritakan bahwa belakangan aku mendengar peraturan Bersih Diri Bersih Lingkungan yang sudah diperkenalkan lebih dahulu di Jakarta dan kini diterapkan diseluruh Indonesia” (Chudori, 2012).  
I refrained from getting emotional and slowly told me that recently I heard about the Clean, Self, and Environmental regulations which were introduced earlier in Jakarta and are now being implemented throughout Indonesia.

In the quote above explicitly presents the policy “Bersih Diri Bersih Lingkungan” which shows how the new order created a bad stigma about leftism or communism which the government attached to limiting rights to the work environment. The quote also shows that the policy applies there is no age limit because it will be inherited by children, grandchildren, relatives, in-laws, and so on.

The character of *Laut* represents an illustration of how a country during the new order era was present without giving a proper life role to every citizen. This happens if there is discrimination that differentiates them on the basis of their political affiliation in the past. So that it can have an impact on the community's economy as in the example in the quote above, if they want to work with matters related to the public sector, they will have a discriminatory fate.

The product of policy above, also has an influence on the media field. One of them was the print media, which was supposed to be a medium of communication. At that time, it was required to be admirable and not to criticize a government regime. This resulted in the freedom of the press to be very limited to perpetuate the power of the rulers. If this is violated, there could be a ban on the mass media concerned, similar to what happened to several media outlets mentioned by Mr. Arya Wibisana, as deputy editor-in-chief of the Jakarta Daily. In the context related to the media as one of the products of the New Order, it appeared when Julius gave Koran Metro with the headline "Wirasena Dalang Kerusuhan" to *Laut*. casually stated that Koran Metro is a medium held by the government and its journalists are friendly with the authorities.

*“Disitu mengatakan mereka menangkap 200 “cacing tawuran” dan belum berhasil menjerat “gembong” (Chudori, 2017).  
“It says they caught 200 “brawl worms” and haven’t caught the “kingpin” yet.*

The quote above clearly illustrates that the media in providing information is not neutral, meaning that it involves political tendencies. As *Laut* said if Metro journalists can't use good and informative diction. In addition, it implicitly shows that if the counter-press views on activists are clearly seen through the quote above, how the print media of Metro considers activists as brawl worms, the mastermind who indicates as the driving force behind the various riots that occurred. The inclement journalism practices are a clear manifestation of misinformation which was initially considered a normal phenomenon and then became a trusted thing (Adiputra, 2021)

The others resistance of new order regime is showed through the Identity Card as Indonesian. There is initial E.T. additional ones attached to their respective ID cards. Not infrequently journalists use pseudonyms to more freely enter the world of work. As presented by Mr. Sumarno in telling Mr. Warman and Mr. Muryanto as journalists, he used a pseudonym that did not match the identity on the ID card. The labeling of identity is a stumbling block that will make it difficult to enter the world of work. In short, Pak Sumarno represents how discrimination against a group of community members will affect all aspects of their lives in the future.

### **Resistance in Economic Conditions**

Discourses related to these matters are present in the text predominantly through various points of view, thoughts, and actions taken by the characters in Leila's novel against the New order regime. These actions lead to several traces of resistance being carried out on the conditions of influence of the presidential leadership pattern, including those carried out, namely economic conditions, Discourses related to economic conditions in the *Pulang* novel are present in a lesser degree. However, it is sufficient to represent a condition that represented Suharto's leadership in the days before the regime collapsed in 1998. This condition was presented by *Lintang* through a letter written to his father in France regarding the current economic conditions in Jakarta on May 6, 1998.

“Setelah harga BBM naik, dengan sendirinya semua harga semakin melejit, maka unjuk rasa semakin gegap gempita dan lebih kerap (Chudori, 2012)”.  
*After the price of fuel rose, automatically all prices skyrocketed, so the demonstrations grew louder and more frequent.*

In the quote above, it is described by *Lintang* that the economic conditions in 1998 were experiencing a slump in which the price of fuel increased and other basic commodities also increased. Facing such conditions, the students bravely staged demonstrations to demand price stability. The actions they took in the quote were described as a bravery against the members of the military who ordered them. Through this event, *Lintang* also said that Alam and Bimo were getting busy in helping students conduct demonstrations.

In the events presented in *Pulang*, which refer to Jakarta's complicated economic conditions, which were marked by student demonstrations demanding a reduction in fuel prices. Continuing on the Telling Sea which is presented through various events such as the death of Mbah Mien, the death of Kinan's younger brother, and Alex's statement regarding the condition of Indonesia, the demonstrations carried out by the workers and Kinan showed how Indonesia's economic conditions during the New order government made them plan various forms of resistance. This shows that the economic factor is also one of the factors causing the actions taken by students and activists to be able to demand rights and justice.

#### **Resistance in Social Conditions**

The main point of this discussion is to analyze how the traces of resistance carried out by students, activists, and the community have an impact on social life (social environment) during the leadership of Soeharto.

One of the main characters in *Pulang*, Dimas Suryo, tells of his fate as an Indonesian citizen who was exiled in France due to the tragedy of the September 30th Movement. The beginning of his departure for France was at the request of Hananto, a friend and head of the Nusantara News agency in Jakarta where he works. He was asked to attend to replace him at the IOJ (International Organization of Journalists) event in Santiago, Chile. Meanwhile, another friend attended an event in Havana, Peking for the affairs of the Asian-African organization. In the end, the four friends decided to live together in France because Indonesia's socio-political conditions were still heating up. This condition was expressed by the figures of Ibu and Aji through the first letter they sent to Dimas while in France as follows.

*Sekali lagi ibu menekankan sebaiknya mas Dimas tetap di Eropa saja. Kami sudah merasa lebih tenang di Jakarta. Perburuan semakin mengganas, bukan hanya pada mereka yang dinggap komunis, atau ramah kepada PKI (Chudori, 2012).*

Once again, my mother emphasized that Dimas should stay in Europe alone. We already feel calmer in Jakarta. The hunt is getting fiercer, not only for those who are considered communists, or friendly to the Indonesian Communist Party.

The quote clearly illustrates how the conditions in Jakarta are getting hotter after the G30S tragedy (30<sup>th</sup> September movement). The massacres were carried out indiscriminately on all people suspected of being affiliated with the communist ideology. This indicates that the way the president uses it is very repressive without thinking about human values and justice for those who are innocent. For the sake of personal safety, Ibu Dimas suggested that Dimas stay in France only when the hunt began for many exiles in the country.

The same case from the various books that were categorized as forbidden during the Dimas era. The discursive formation related to the social condition "the prohibition of reading Pramoedya's books" is present in the Telling Sea through the character Kinan. Kinan is described as a student activist who is familiar with the typical world of student politics, one of which is reading forbidden books at that time such as *Bumi Manusia*, *Anak Semua Bangsa*, *Jejak Langkah*, dan *Rumah Kaca* written by Lekra activist, Pramoedya Ananta Toer. Kinan not only reads and copied, she also discusses it with her friends.

Bringing Pramoedya's novel was forbidden at that time, because he was considered a traitor to the state. This was created by the New order regime because Pram himself had been a prisoner on the Buru Island and a member of the Lekra arts group which the government considered leftist or communist-affiliated. Therefore, these novels are said to be forbidden books or leftist books that are prohibited from circulating in the community.

#### **The Meaning of Resistance through Discursive Formation in Sequence Novel**

After analyzing the forms of discursive formations in the novel *Pulang* dan *Laut Bercerita* (Chudori 2012, 2017), the next step is to critically discuss the cracks found so that it can be seen what power practices occur in them. In this context, the power found is owned by the government to the highest power of a country, namely the president (the party authorized to create knowledge and concepts). The main meaning is defeating character to face the regime and the peacefulness condition post the regime.

#### **4. Conclusion**

After analysing Chudori's (2012, 2017) novels, it shows there is a resistance discourse identified through the traces of resistance carried out by the characters in the novel. These traces were found through Foucault's archaeological method, namely looking at the production of discursive formations that occurred in the novel texts including; the production of discursive formations of New order products that lead to policies, concepts, and ideas that appear regularly as a result of a regime, secondly; production of discursive formations of economic, and social. From the discursive formation, it's obvious that there are changes in resistance that occur every year. Starting from physical resistance to cultural resistance. The significance of the resistance patterns that are present in Leila's novels cannot be separated from the political power of the New order that once ruled in Indonesia. The power refers to the defeat of the main figures in the resistance against the government regime and peacefulness condition post the regime.

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