

Power Relation of a Sexual Harassment Victim in *Penyalin Cahaya*: A Critical Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the struggle of sexual harassment victims depicted in the film entitled *Penyalin Cahaya*. This study uses Fairclough's critical discourse analysis (CDA) model and the Outrage Management model (Scott & Martin, 2006) to examine the verbal and visual aspects of the film. The dimensions that are analyzed include the text, the discourse practice, and sociocultural practice. The key dialogues and scenes are extracted by selecting and retrieving excerpt of dialogues and scenes which depict conflict and power imbalances between the victims and the perpetrators. The results show that power imbalance and its manifestation between them can be found by observing the dialogue and the scenes. It demonstrates that there are several ways through which the abusers exercise their power over the victims. It also highlights the attempts by the victims to fight against sexual harassment, which is often ignored. Furthermore, the sociocultural state of Indonesian society, especially regarding patriarchal culture and power struggles over women, became the main driver that led to the production of this film. The significance of this study is that it can provide insight into the positions, emotions, and obstacles faced by sexual harassment victims in Indonesia, as depicted in the film.

Keywords: Penyalin Cahaya; film; sexual harassment; critical discourse analysis; Outrage Management Model

INTRODUCTION

Film is recently one of the most popular forms of entertainment. Every year, film productions consistently release new films, which can be created from writing original scripts, remaking old films, or adapting from other media such as books or comics. In Indonesia, for the past 10 years, there have been many films released within various genres. Many of them have already received both national and international recognition. Many Indonesian filmmakers have had numerous achievements recognized by famous international festivals. For example, in 2013, Mouly Surya's Film entitled *Yang Tidak Dibicarakan Proses Membahas Cinta* was screened at the Sundance Film Festival in the United States (Permana et al., 2019) and Wregas Bhanuteja with his short film *Prenjak* won

the Leica Cine Discovery Prize in Cannes Film Festival in 2016 (Anya, 2016).

Beyond serving entertainment purposes, a film can be seen as a social practice. By using its narratives, film can be used to gather evidence to identify and make sense of certain sociocultural situations. This is because the film itself is a social practice between its creators or the producers and its audience (Turner, 1999). The storytelling of a film through a rich input of music, screenplay, cast, and script, may reflect the contemporary society in which the film is produced (Mahmood, 2013). It is also undeniable that film presents a certain message or ideology. According to Gianetti in Setiawan, (2018), it is common to see films conveying a specific message

constructed by its directors with the hope that it can penetrate society and be accepted. One such message portrays the awareness of sexual harassment.

In Indonesia, sexual violence is always a sensitive topic. According to the data presented by SIMFONI-PPA (kemenPPPA, 2023), 29.883 sexual violence cases were reported in 2023, consisting of 6,332 cases of sexual violence against men, and 26,161 cases of sexual violence against women. These cases frequently made the public restless. Filmmakers often use films to voice their concerns and criticism about sexual violence and harassment. Notable films such as *Marlina si Pembunuh dalam Empat Babak* (2017), 27 Steps of May (2018), and Penyalin Cahaya (2021) are examples of films that explicitly discuss sexual harassment and violence.

Departing from the introduction above, this study aims to analyze and reveal the message about sexual harassment in *Penyalin Cahaya*. *Penyalin Cahaya* is a drama thriller film directed by Wregas Bhanuteja. This film was released for the first time on 8th October 2021 at Busan International Film Festival and on 13th January 2022 on Netflix. The film is the only one from South East Asia that was on the Netflix Top 10 list especially one that stayed on the list for two weeks straight, with a total sum of 6.92 million watch hours globally. Additionally, it won 12 awards and 17 nominations at the Indonesian Film Festival 2021 (Cicilia, 2022; CNN Indonesia, 2021).

The plot of *Penyalin Cahaya* tells the story of Suryani or Sur, a first-year college student whose scholarship is terminated because of her drunk photos being spread on social media. The incident occurs after Sur attends a celebration party at Rama's house with the Mata Hari Theater Group. Rama is an influential figure in the theater group. He is the leader as well as the scriptwriter for the play. He is known as a calm and kind person. After that, Sur tries to get her scholarship back by proving her innocence because she believes that she has been framed by his friends at the party. Assisted by her friend Amin, who operates the campus photocopy machine, Sur discovers and steals the potential evidence from the theater members' cellphones.

During her investigation, another problem arises. She discovers that several photos of her bare back have been used to decorate the theater. These photos are taken without her consent. The photos are edited so that they look like a picture of the Milky Way constellation. Sur then realizes that she has become a victim of sexual harassment. The second half of the film focuses on her and other victims' struggle for justice. The perpetrator, Rama, comes from a family of means compared to the less wealthy Sur. By utilizing his power, he is able to

intimidate Sur and her family. He is also able to garner the support of the campus deans. By the end of the film, Rama succeeds in destroying the evidence. The film ends with Sur and the other victims copying and throwing the remaining pieces of evidence from the campus rooftop.

While studies on the discourse of sexual harassment in the media have been conducted, those studies mostly analyze news and social media, such as the study by Rego (2018), Akhtar et al. (2019), Zamzuardi & Syahrul (2019), Miranti & Sudiana (2021), Nikolova (2021). However, the study on the power relationship between the victims and the perpetrators, as depicted in the film, has not yet been conducted, so this study seeks to fill the gap. In doing so, this study aims to seek the connection between sexual harassment and power relations, particularly how the perpetrators exercise their power in the film. Furthermore, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis model is used as the scalpel to dissect the messages of the film. Meanwhile, the Outrage Management model (Scott & Martin, 2006) is employed to identify how the abusers exercise their power in the film.

Sexual Harassments and the Outrage Management Model

Sexual harassment can be defined as unwanted sexual comments, gestures, or actions directed against the target based on their actual or perceived gender, gender expression, or sexual orientation. (Burn, 2018; Pina et al., 2009). Fitzgerald & Cortina (2018), in their study categorize sexual harassment into three main types, namely: (1) Gender harassment, which consists of behaviors that convey insulting, hostile, and degrading attitudes about men (Dionisi & Barling, 2018) and women, and includes behaviors such as sexual remarks and gestures as well as gender-related bullying, hazing, threats, and intimidation; (2) Unwanted sexual attention, which involves behaviors that are "offensive, unwanted, and unreciprocated" including unwanted sexual touching, sexual staring, pressure for dates, or conversations about the target's sex life; and (3) Sexual coercion that involves "sexual cooperation in return for job-related considerations" (including higher grades, employment opportunities, or academic advancement).

In many cases, the victims experience negative effects from the occurrence. Studies showed that they may experience mental problems such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) symptoms, psychological distress (e.g., anxiety and depression), low self-esteem, panic disorder, and physical problems such as nausea, headaches, fatigue, insomnia, weight loss, and the like (Karami et al., 2021). In academia, it also can interfere

with the victims' ability to succeed academically, which may lower their chances of finishing college, finding a job, and earning a living wage. (Jordan, Combs, & Smith, 2014 Klein & Martin, 2021).

To identify some of the primary strategies used by sexual harassers, the Outrage Management model was developed (Page & Pina, 2015; Scott & Martin, 2006). The model itself was developed to provide an overview of some of the major exonerative strategies used by perpetrators of sexual harassment (Mcdonald, 2012; Page & Pina, 2015; Scott & Martin, 2006). It is based on the notion that immoral and aggressive behaviors (such as sexual harassment) might unwittingly backfire on the perpetrators when revealed, causing outrage. The outrage might eventually lead to negative consequences for the perpetrators. Scott and Martin (2006) highlighted five tactics used by sexual harassers to both prevent and limit any outrage caused by their misconduct. They are: (1) Cover-up: reinforcing secrecy of their misconduct from the public eye; (2) Devaluation: labeling the victims in derogatory ways; (3) Reinterpretation: using reinterpretation to deny responsibility for their misconduct; (4) Official channels: utilizing grievance processes, courts, and other legal mechanisms to provide assurances of moral justice; and (5) Intimidation and bribery: employing threats and incentives to discourage targets form reporting.

Fairclough's Model of Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Jorgensen and Phillips in Elya (2014), Fairclough's discourse analysis wants to put together three traditions: 1) textual analysis in linguistics which may include Michael Halliday's functional grammar; 2) macro-sociological analysis of social practice including Foucault's theories; and 3) the macro-sociological interpretive tradition in the discipline of sociology. It can be summarized as three functions, namely identity functions, relational functions, and ideational functions.

In line with this theory, Fairclough has formulated a three-dimensional model in CDA, namely text dimension, discourse practice dimension, and social practice dimension (Fairclough, 1989). Text analysis means the text itself is analyzed linguistically, which includes grammar, syntax, lexicon, phonological features, literary devices (e.g. rhetorical questions), and textual structure (Fairclough, 1996). The practice related to text generation, distribution, and consumption is known as discourse practice analysis. (Fairclough, 1995). Sociocultural practice analysis is a form of analysis based

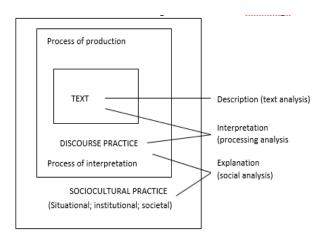


Figure 1. Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis of three dimensions diagram (Fairclough, 1995: 58)

on the social context outside of the production process. Sociocultural practices cover the wider socio-cultural, political, ideological, institutional, and historical context (Fairclough, 2003). The three dimensions diagram can be seen in Figure 1.

METHODS

This study analyzes verbal and visual aspects to examine the depiction of sexual harassment victims in their quest for justice, and the relation with harassers who have more power in the film. In doing so, the critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach is used since it looks at the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of social reality, as well as the rules and routines that form the background of the everyday discursive reproduction of power (Feighery, 2012). Examining the relations of domination, discrimination, power, and control that are both vague and transparent as seen in language is the goal of CDA (Kaufman & Lindquist, 2018). In addition, the Outrage Management model (Scott & Martin, 2006) is used to help the authors categorize the tactics used by the harassers to exercise their powers over the victims and avoid repercussions.

In collecting the data, the excerpts of dialogues and key scenes that are relevant to the purpose of this study were extracted. In doing so, the dialogue in the confrontation scene between the victim, the perpetrator, and related parties such as the university was chosen because it depicts the difficulties of the victim, the efforts of the perpetrator and related parties in defending themselves, and the power imbalance between them. Moreover, several scenes that visually depict symbolism

about sexual harassment and power imbalance were also chosen. To process the data, the researchers used qualitative data analysis which includes three main steps: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing.

In analyzing the film, Fairclough's CDA model is chosen since it connects language, discourse, and social ideological practice in society (Fairclough, 1992). There are three dimensions, namely text, discourse, and sociocultural practice. At the text level, the author discusses the analysis related to language and key scene aspects. At the discourse practice level, film distribution and consumption are discussed. After analyzing the verbal and visual aspects of the film along with its discourse practice, the result will be linked to the sociocultural context and ideological aspects where the film was produced.

FINDINGS

In discussing the sexual harassment victims' struggle as depicted in the film, the authors divided this section into four parts. Firstly, an examination of how the victims are oppressed by the harassers and how the harassers use their tactics to oppress and exercise their power in the dialogues. Secondly, a scrutiny of the key scenes of the film containing the symbolism of the victims' struggle and hopelessness in search for justice. The third part concerns the production, distribution, and general response of the audience. The last part discusses the conjunction between the film and Indonesia's socio-cultural situation.

The following excerpts of dialogues and key scenes are extracted and selected according to the aim of the study. The dialogues are about Sur's confrontation with the deans, Rama and his lawyer, and her parents. It shows the struggle, obstruction, and power imbalance experienced by Sur as a sexual harassment victim.

Table 1. The dialogues about the confrontation between Sur and related parties

Dean 2: 01:30:54	[1] Rama Soemarno, baru saja mengabari kalo dia akan datang ke sini bersama pengacaranya. [2] Dia berniat melaporkan kamu ke polisi karena pencemaran nama baik. [1] Rama Soemarno, just informed us that he will come here with his lawyer. [2] He intends to report you to the police for defamation.	
Sur: 01:31:05	[3] Tunggu pak, ini maksudnya apa ya, pak? [3] Wait sir, what does this mean, sir?	
Dean 1: 01:31:07	[4] Dokumen yang kamu bikin ini sudah tersebar dan viral di kampus ini. [5] Itu kenapa Rama melaporkan kamu. [4] These documents that you submitted have popped up online and gone viral on our campus. [5] And that is why Rama's filing a lawsuit.	
Sur: 01:31:17	[6] Pak Saya tidak memviralkan tuduhan itu, Pak! [7] Saya memberikan data itu ke dewan kode etik untuk pengusutan lebih lanjut. [8] Seharusnya mereka ditanya soal pemviralan itu. [6] Sir, I never made the allegiations viral! [7]I gave the data to the ethics board for further investigation. [8] They should have been asked about the viralization	
Dean 1: 01:31:25	[9] Saya tahu saya tahu. [10] Tapi bagaimanapun kamu kan yang bikin? [11] Dan ingat, saya tidak ingin kampus ini terseret kalau ini sampai ke pengadilan. [9]I know, I know. [10] But you're the one who prepared these documents, right? [11] And listen, I do not want the university to get dragged into this case if this does go to court.	
Dean 2: 01:31:38	[12] Fakultas sebentar lagi akan berangkatkan teater Mata Hari ke Jepang. [13] Jangan jadi terganggu karena masalah ini. [14] Saya juga sudah bicara dengan Rama supaya kita bicarakanlah persoalan ini secara kekeluargaan. [12] The faculty will soon send the Mata Hari theater to Japan. [13] Meaning, that we don't want this case to jeopardize that trip. [14] I've already talked to Rama personally, so we can try and find a way to resolve this issue amicably.	
Sur: 01:31:53	[15] Pak, dengarkan saya dulu, Pak. [15] Sir, listen to me first, sir.	
Sur's Dad: 01:31:56	[16] Pak mohon maafin anak saya ya. [17] Anak saya sering bikin salah. Mohon dimaafin ya. [16] Sir, please forgive my daughter. [17] She often makes mistakes. Please forgive her.	
Dean 2: 01:32:01	[18] Bapak tapi tolong silahkan duduk dulu sebentar ya. [19] Silahkan, silahkan Pak ya [18] But please take a seat first, Sir. [19] Please, sir. Just have a seat.	

Sur's Dad: 01:32:08	[20] Pak, Bapak. [21] Damai aja ya Pak ya? Damai. [22] Anak saya itu emang ga tahu aturan, Pak. [23] Saya akan hukum setelah ini ya, Pak. [20] But, sir. [21] Let's just settle this here. Right here. [22] My daughter's the one who's out of line. [23] I'll punish her after this, Sir.		
Rama's Lawyer: 01:32:15	[24] Bapak sabar silahkan duduk. [25] Biar kami jelaskan. [24] Be patient Sir, please sit down. [25] Let us explain.		
Sur: 01:32:18	[26] Saya tidak pernah memviralkan data itu. [27] Saya memberikan data itu kepada dewan kode etik untu pengusutan. [28] Kalau ada kesalahan dan penyebaran, harusnya dewan disalahkan [26] I never made those documents viral! [27] I submitted them to the ethics board for further investigation [28] If there are mistakes and they get spread around, the council should be blamed		
Rama's Lawyer: 01:32:27	[29] Mbak tenang. [30] Bukankah mbak yang buat dokumen itu dan bagikan pertama kali ke orang lain? [31] Mas Rama Soemarno di cap sebagai pemerkosa, cabul, penjahat kelamin. [32] Ini semua termasuk pencemaran nama baik client saya. [33] Selain itu mbak juga mencoba untuk meretas hp klien saya? [34] Itu semua adalah perbuatan yang melanggar undang-undang. [29] Please, calm down. [30] Aren't you the one who made the document and shared it with others for the first time? [31] Rama Soemarno now is being labelled as a rapist, a creep, and a wile pervert. [32] These and all considered defamation to my client. [33] Were you also trying to hack into my client's mobile phone? [34] Everything you've done is against the law!		
Rama: 01:32:45	[35] Saya ada buktinya. [35] I have the evidence.		
Sur's Dad: 01:32:51	[36] Mas, mohon maafin anak saya. [36] Mas, please, forgive my daughter.		
Sur: 01:32:52	[37] Bapak ngapain pake minta maaf segala. [38] Coba bapak liat foto ini. [39] Ini instalasi yang digunakan oleh kelompok teater. [40] Foto ini di ambil jam 2 subuh tepat pas NetCar saya behenti. [41] Ini foto punggung saya! [37] Dad, Stop apologizing. [38] Look at this photo over here [39] It's the one used for Mata Hari's installation sets. [40] It was taken at 2:00 when my NetCar stopped at the park. [41] It's a photo of my back!		
Sur's Dad: 01:33:08	[42] Heh, Sur! Jaga mulut kamu. [42] Heh, Sur! Watch your mouth.		
Dean 1 : 01:33:09	[43] Pak, sudah. [44] Bapak tenang ya, tenang. [43] Please, sir. [44] Calm down, Sir.		
Rama: 01:33:13	[45] Sur, itu bukan foto punggng kamu. [45] Sur, that's not a photo of your back.		
Sur: 01:33:16	[46] Saya mau melakukan pengecekan pada file ini. [47] Ayo kita bawa ke tim forensic untuk diperiksa. [48] Sekalian kita cek foto instalasi yang lain. [49] Dia ngambil foto saya tanpa seizin saya, Pak. [46] I want these investigated thoroughly [47] Let's take these to the forensics team. [48] And we can check the other installations. [49] These were taken without my consent!		
Rama: 01:33:25	[50] Saya tahu kamu masih dalam keadaan stress sejak beasiswa kamu hilang. [51] Betul saya ambil foto itu jam 2 pagi. [50] know that you're still distressed after you lost your scholarship. [51] It is correct that I took the photos 2:0.		
Rama's Lawyer: 01:33:29	[52] Mas Rama, biar saya yang teruskan. [52] Mas Rama, et me take care of this.		
Rama: 01:33:33	[53] Tapi kalo kamu bertanya dengan saya, saya sedang motret bintang, Sur. [54] Yang saya foto adalah debu debu Bintang Milkyway. [53] But if you ask me, I took pictures of the stars. [54] Those are photos of the nigrsky, The Milky Way.		
Sur: 01:33:42	[55] Mana buktinya? [56] Malem itu Jakarta hujan, ga mungkin bisa dapet foto bintang. [55] What's your proof then? [56] It was raining all over Jakarta, you couldn't have seen the sky!		
Dean 1 : 01:33:47	[57] Sur, Bukannya waktu itu kamu sedang dalam kondisi mabuk toh? [58] Apa jangan-jangan kamu ini masih halusinasi? [57] Sur, were you heavily intoxicated that night? [58] Or are you still hallucinating now?		

Sur: 01:33:53	[59] Justru karena itu saya butuh bantuan penyidikan, Pak! [59] That's why I need all the help to investigate this!	
Rama's Lawyer: 01:33:58	[60] Baiklah, kalo Sur tak terima, kita selesaikan di persidang. [61] Jika kita ke persidangan, Sur bisa berhada pan dengan semua pihak yang ada di data yang viral itu. [62] Termasuk pihak dari NetCar. [60] Alright, if Sur insists, we will finish it in the court. [61] And if we do take this case to court, Sur, you'll be facing every single individual mentioned or related to those documents. [62] That includes the NetCar party	
Dean 2: 01:34:09	[63] Pak, tolong kalau bisa persoalan ini diselesaikan di internal kampus saja. [63] Sir, please, as much as possible, let's try to reach an agreement here so we can keep this problem contained internally.	
Sur's Dad: 01:34:15	[64] Mas, Mohon jangan. [64] Sir, Please no	
Sur: 01:34:16	[65] Bapak udah! [66] Ga usah sujud-sujud segala [65] Dad, stop it! [66] You don't have to begging on your knees	
Sur's Dad: 01:34:20	[67] Diam! [68] Diam kamu. [67] Shut up! [68] Just shut up! [69] Kamu dulu udah salah ga mau ngaku, sekarang mau bikin salah lagi? [69] You've been making mistakes, when are you ever going to learn?	
Rama: 01:34:25	[70] Pak. Sudah, Pak. [71] Sebetulnya saya butuh tak lebih dari klarifikasi. [70] Sir. Please, sir. [71] What I need is nothing more than a clarification.	
Rama's Lawyer: 01:34:32	[72] Mas Rama tunggu sebentar [72] Rama, please. I'll handle it.	
Rama: 01:34:33	[73] Sebentar, Mas. [74] Kami teman-teman teater sebetulnya ada untuk saling menguatkan. [73] Let me speak [74] In the theatre, we always support each other.	
Rama's Lawyer: 01:34:39	[75] Mas Rama, biar saya yang lanjutkan ya? [75] Rama, please let me take it from here.	
Rama: 01:34:33	[76] Dan kami masih menganggap Sur ini seperti keluarga dan lebih ingin ini diselesaikan secara kekeluargaan saja. [77] Apalagi kita sekarang dalam persiapan untuk pentas di Kyoto. [78] Jadi kalo dari saya, saya hanya membutuhkan Sur membuat permintaan maaf secara terbuka dan klarifikasi. [79] Dan lalu besok Sur, kita bisa kembali lagi seperti keluarga di teater. [80] Bapak, Ibu, soal beasiswa Sur yang hilang, bapak saya sudah bersedia untuk membiayai uang kampus Sur sampai tuntas. [81] Dan Sur masih bisa mengerjakan web serta menerima gaji sebagaimana mestinya. [76] We still consider Sur as a part of our theater family and we would prefer to solve this issue as a family would. [77] We're currently swamped preparing a show for Kyoto. [78] All I want is for Sur to make a sincere public apology and clarification. [79] Then after that, tomorrow, we can go back to being a family again in the theater. [80] Sir, ma'am. If you're worrying about Sur's scholarship, my father has agreed to pay for Sur's tuition until she graduates. [81] Also, she can still work on the website, while receiving her salary.	
Sur: 01:35:21	[82] Saya mau kasus ini diusut lebih lanjut! [82] I'm going to proceed with the case!	
Sur's Dad: 01:35:24	[83] Suryani, cukup! [83] Suryani, that's enough!	

DISCUSSION

The Confrontation between the Victim and the Harassers

The confrontation scene opens with the meeting between Sur and the deans as the representatives of the faculty.

The cover-up attempt can be seen at the beginning of the dialogue. The words [11] Dan ingat, saya tidak ingin kampus ini terseret kalau ini sampai ke pengadilan, [13] Jangan jadi terganggu karena masalah ini, [63] Tolong kalau bisa persoalan ini diselesaikan di internal kampus



Figure 2. Sur meets the deans (01:31:07)

saja. are uttered by the deans of the faculty. The deans, who are considered to be representatives of the faculty and campus, wield the most influence in this scenario. They are also the ones whom Sur asks for assistance as a victim of sexual harassment in order to gain support and justice. It can be seen that although the deans are not the perpetrators, they attempt to cover up the case. A cover-up is often reinforced by the reluctance of the organization to publicize sexual harassment cases. The main reason is that organizational authorities are often frightened of unfavorable publicity in bringing sexual harassment to public light, rather than seeing the benefits of exposure as a deterrent for prospective harassers. (Page & Pina, 2015) The words terseret and terganggu are used to show the stance of the faculty in this matter. They have negative connotations which express the hesitation of the deans and the faculty to support Sur. This cover-up signifies that the faculty has their own interest and does not want to have their reputation be dragged through the mud.

The use of words mabuk, and halusinasi uttered by the deans in [57] Bukannya waktu itu kamu sedang mabuk? [58] Apa jangan-jangan kamu ini masih halusinasi? can be seen as an attempt to devalue and reinterpret the event. Harassers may seek to devalue the targets of their actions with derogatory terms allowing for more self-exoneration. Reinterpretation is used by harassers to shift blame, downplay the severity of their actions, recreate harassing incidents to make them seem innocuous and harmless, and place the blame on the victim and other contextual factors (Page & Pina, 2015; Scott & Martin, 2006). It enables perpetrators to reconstruct harassment as normal, socially acceptable, and innocuous behavior (Page & Pina, 2015; Scott & Martin, 2006). In Sur's case, however, these tactics are used not by the perpetrator but by the deans. Accusing Sur of "being drunk" and "hallucinating" to damage her credibility. Moreover, by reinterpreting the event, the deans hoped that she would feel doubtful about what she had reported regarding the sexual harassment. The result that the deans wanted was for Sur not to file a report and to settle the matter privately, thus removing them from the issue.

Intimidation using official channels can be seen in the line by Rama's lawyer, [60] Kalo Sur tak terima, kita selesaikan di sidang. [61] Jika kita ke persidangan, Sur bisa berhadapan dengan semua pihak yang ada di data yang viral itu. There are several issues that put the victims at a disadvantage when facing the official channel. Court trials and grievance procedures, for example, can be very expensive, procedural, and sluggish in responding to a



Figure 3. Intimidation attempt by Rama's lawyer (01:32:33)

complaint. It can cause outrage over events to wane over time. Because of these reasons, those with greater power tend to benefit from using official channels. (Page & Pina, 2015; Scott & Martin, 2006). Dealing with official channels will put Sur and her family at a disadvantage due to resource limitations. It is expected that the victims will be frightened and reconsider continuing the case. On the other hand, Rama, as a person with power, will benefit from this situation.

The attempt can also be seen in the use of register related to legal or law, such as *pengacaranya*, *pencemaran nama baik.*, *persidangan*, and *perbuatan melanggar undang-undang*. These words are uttered by Rama's lawyer who has more knowledge of the law. There's an indication that Sur and her parents have little to no knowledge of the law and also lack the resources to face the lawyer in court. This is why Sur is unable to counter the arguments.

This kind of intimidation is often encountered by sexual harassment victims. Intimidation is one of the common methods employed by sexual harassers to deter targets and witnesses from reporting and interrupting sexual harassment (Page & Pina, 2015; Scott & Martin, 2006). Targets of harassment are frequently intimidated into not openly talking or complaining about sexual harassment. Compliance may be rewarded with ongoing employment or perhaps promotion. Some perpetrators even resort to death threats to prevent their victims from talking about what happened. Threats and bribes may be made in a more subtle, implicit way in less apparent forms of harassment (Scott & Martin, 2006). Intimidation often occurs when perpetrators who have more power attempt to silence victims by using a defamation lawsuit as a threat. As a result, intimidation and bribery can be used to deter the target from filing a formal complaint, which may limit the identification and exposure of sexual harassment.

Besides intimidation, the use of euphemism and

metaphors can also be found in the dialogue. Sexual harassers might adopt a variety of methods as they attempt to resolve their harassing behavior with their self-image as "good" people. These include mental exercises like "euphemistic labeling," which uses certain words to minimize the severity of their behaviors (Crowley, 2023; Page & Pina, 2015). Furthermore, by using euphemistic and metaphoric language, the harassment behaviors might be rationalized as harmless and unimportant while also lessening the sense of personal accountability felt by the perpetrators (Page & Pina, 2015).

The use of the words *keluarga* and *kekeluargaan* demonstrates euphemistic expression. *Keluarga* or family refers to people who are related by blood such as parents, brothers, or sisters. When a family has a problem, they often debate it until they reach an agreement. For example, by saying [14] Saya juga sudah bicara dengan Rama supaya kita bicarakanlah persoalan ini secara kekeluargaan, the dean indicates that he does not want to bring the case to the court. They want to resolve it internally.

The metaphor [76] Kami masih menganggap Sur keluarga is often said by Rama, the perpetrator. It does not mean that he cares for Sur as a family member. He pretends to have a close relationship with her to convince the others that he would never do any harm to her. Furthermore, he wants to build an image that he is kind and innocent. This is his effort to gain sympathy from the deans and for Sur's parents to support him. With all the support and sympathy given to him, he makes a demand of Sur which is a public apology by saying "Saya hanya membutuhkan Sur membuat permintaan maaf secara terbuka dan klarifikasi."

The last metaphor is found when Rama says "kita bisa kembali lagi seperti keluarga di teater". Again, Rama uses the word keluarga to pressure Sur into agreeing to the demand. He emphasizes that no harm will come after Sur apologizes publicly.



Figure 4. Rama's attempt to persuade the family (01:35:09)

Along with the use of metaphors, Rama also employs bribery as the last tactic to persuade Sur's family in the lines [80] Bapak, Ibu, soal beasiswa Sur yang hilang, bapak saya sudah bersedia untuk membiayai uang kampus Sur sampai tuntas. [81] Dan Sur masih bisa mengerjakan web serta menerima gaji sebagaimana mestinya. This approach is typically used in situations of sexual harassment, where offenders provide incentives such as job-related benefits including promotions, pay raises, and preferential job assignments in exchange for the target's submission and cooperation (Page & Pina, 2015). Rama, as someone in the same organization as Sur, knew that Sur's family experiences economic difficulties. Sur herself went to college relying on scholarships. Therefore, knowing the weakness of the victim, he tried to play the role of an aide to portray benevolence. He lured Sur with a scholarship and a decent job. This proved effective because at the end of the scene, Sur and her family were forced to agree to a public apology.

In terms of grammar, the dialogue comprises a total of 83 sentences, consisting of 73 positive sentences and 10 negative sentences. A positive sentence is characterized by facts and reflects reality. It contains no negative or denial words. Meanwhile, a negative sentence is characterized by the use of negative or denial words (Fairclough, 1989; Mustika & Mardikantoro, 2018). In addition to that, Fairclough (1989) argues that negation has experiential value in that it serves as the basic means by which we distinguish what is not the case in reality from what is. It implies that a speaker or writer is affirming and assuring the legitimacy and accuracy of what is being said or written when they employ more positive language.

Table 2. Positive and Negative Sentences

Sentence	Number of Sentences	Total
Positive	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83.	73
Negative	6, 11, 13, 17,22, 26, 45,56, 64, 66,	10

However, apart from the usage of positive and negative sentences, we also need to recognize the situational context in the discourse. Situational context can influence the interpretation of discourse participants, with the more powerful person having the ability to determine presuppositions and impose their interpretation. This means that apart from the literal use and meaning of positive and negative sentences, we also need to pay close attention to the presuppositions and interpretations of these sentences, since the presupposition can be sincere, manipulative, or containing an ideology (Fairclough, 1989).

In the dialogue, it can be seen that presuppositions are enforced by the more powerful parties such as the deans and the perpetrators to the victim. They are enforcing their interpretation of Sur as a troublemaker, accuser, and defamer which will bring numerous problems to the faculty and the theater. Thus, it can be concluded that although positive sentences are commonly found in the dialogue, most of the utterances, especially from those who have higher power, are used to enforce a fact or to convey the speaker's version of reality.

Lastly, the turn-taking in the dialogues is also worth examining. In general, the turn-taking system according to Fairclough (1989) is the operative system of determining who has the talking turn, and it depends on, and is a part of, power relationships between participants. Turn-taking has a basic formula: the person speaking may select the next speaker; if that does not happen, the next speaker may take the turn; if that does not happen, the person speaking may continue. It is assumed that if all participants have equal rights or power, they may select others or select themselves at any certain point. The more powerful participants may limit the contribution of the less powerful participants by talking continuously, whereas the weaker participants have less opportunity to talk. The stronger party may interrupt, enforce explicitness, control the topic, and formulate the topic to dominate the talking (Fairclough, 1989:134-135).

In the dialogue above, the deans act as mediators and representatives of the university, thus having more power and can select themselves at several points of the conversation. In total, they speak 18 sentences

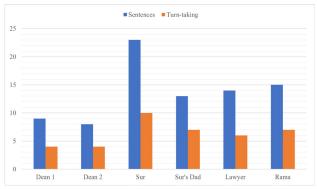


Figure 5. Sentences and Turn-taking in the Dialogue

and conduct 8 turn-takings. During the scenes, the deans perform various acts such as giving and asking for information and issuing instructions more freely compared to Sur. In addition, the deans can be seen using interruption by saying "[63] Tolong kalau bisa persoalan ini diselesaikan di internal kampus saja", enforcing explicitness by asking "[57] Bukannya waktu itu kamu sedang mabuk? [58] Apa jangan-jangan kamu ini masih halusinasi?" and controlling the topic in the sentence [9] Saya tahu. [10] Tapi bagaimanapun kamu kan yang bikin?

Rama and his lawyer have more power compared to Sur. The lawyer speaks 14 sentences and performs 6 turn-takings. Meanwhile, Rama speaks 15 sentences and does only 7 turn-taking. Although their turn-taking was limited, when they speak on their turn, it could be seen that they were dominating and were not interrupted. The lawyer mostly talked about legal topics according to his expertise, while Rama talked about his wealth and kindness. They effectively control the topic, skillfully constraining and intimidating Sur and her family without being interrupted.

Sur, on the other hand, has the highest number of sentences and turn-takings. She performs 23 sentences and 10 turn-takings. However, most of the time, she simply takes the turn passively. Her role is limited to only giving relevant responses or defending herself. She can be seen using interruption to select herself at several points of conversation which occurs in the utterance, for examples [65] Bapak udah! [66] Ga usah sujud-sujud segala" and "[82] Saya mau kasus ini diusut!" It can be concluded there is an imbalance of power relation between Sur as the sexual harassment victim and the opposition, leaning more towards the opposing parties.

The Symbolism of the Struggle and Hopelessness of the Victims

This is the scene where Sur makes a public apology. It can be seen that her dad is the one recording her. The other parties such as Rama and his lawyer, the deans, and her friends can be seen standing on the opposite side of Sur. There is a gap between them. This scene has a symbolic meaning that a sexual harassment victim is often cornered by those who have more power and has to fight alone. These scenes also depict the reality of sexual harassment victims in Indonesia. They are often repressed and asked to make a clarification or apology for defamation.

Fogging or fumigation scenes can be found several times in the movie. In Indonesia, the Directorate General of Disease Prevention and Control, a division of the Ministry of Health, has been in charge of Indonesia



Figure 6. Sur's dad and friends record the apology (01:35:28)



Figure 7. Sur makes a public apology (01:36:17)



Figure 8. Fogging on the street (00:23:23)

national dengue prevention and control program since 1968. One of the program's preventative measures is fogging (Harapan et al., 2019). Fogging involves the ultralow volume or conventional space spraying of chemical pesticides in regions where there have been recorded dengue outbreaks. In addition, the program includes the 3M ("Menguras, menutup, mengubur" or "To drain, to cover, and to bury") approach, which has been used to prevent dengue fever in several Indonesian locations and attempts to reduce mosquito breeding places (Rakhmani et al., 2018). The fog from the fumigation usually obstructs people's vision and suffocates them when breathing. This illustrates how sexual harassment victims feel suffocated and silenced when they want to speak up. The victims are often intimidated and forced to retract their statements or apologize publicly. It also illustrates how hard it is to



Figure 9. Rama catches the victims (01:55:38)



Figure 10. Sur and Farah throw the pieces of evidence (02:03:29)

reveal and arrest the perpetrator of sexual harassment. As if they are being covered by fog. Fogging in this movie is also used by Rama to destroy the pieces of evidence and documents. He uses the smoke to cover the surrounding location while his henchmen restrain the victims. He then proceeds to burn the phone which contains the pieces of evidence. Moreover, in those scenes can also be heard the slogan "Menguras, menutup, mengubur" or "To drain, to cover, and to bury". The slogan is often announced by fumigators to inform local residents about fogging activities. In the film, the words can be analyzed as a euphemistic expression of covering up and burying sexual harassment cases. In the similar sense, the slogan is used warns the audience that there is an attempt to eliminate and silence sexual harassment cases.

The final scene of the film shows Sur and Farah pushing a photocopier machine to the faculty's rooftop. They then begin to copy the remaining evidence of the sexual harassment case. Sur then asks Farah about the tattoo on her back, which is written in Javanese script.

Sur: "Tato di punggung Kak Farah artinya apa?" "That tattoo on your back, what does it mean?"

Farah: "Di dalam kegelapan, saya memutuskan untuk bekerja." "Even in the darkness, I decided to keep fighting."

Then, they distribute the copies by throwing them from the rooftop. Several people pick up the copies and read them. After that, the other victims and friends begin to help Sur and Farah to copy and throw the copies.

This final scene carries the main message that the filmmaker wants to convey to the audience. The tattoo and the act of throwing the copies symbolize the hopelessness of sexual harassment victims. When the victims are silenced and cornered by those who have the power, the only way that they can do this is by making their story "viral" as to be heard by others. For example, in Indonesia, we often find trending posts about sexual harassment on social media. The victims or their friends usually post the stories to ask for help from the netizens or just to spread awareness related to sexual harassment. Another example is the hashtag movement #MeToo which originally was used to encourage victims of sexual harassment and violence to speak up. The #MeToo movement has raised awareness of the pervasiveness of sexual harassment and abuse, which has prompted more people to report incidents and seek assistance, as well as to have conversations with the victims about sexual assault (Modrek & Chakalov, 2019). The viralization of sexual violence stories through the #MeToo movement and the dissemination of photocopied files and evidence have a similar motive, which is a last attempt to seek help from outside parties based on a sense of disappointment and desperation by the victim.

What Sur and Farah did cause a ripple effect. The friends and victims read and then helped distribute the photocopied files. This is an expression of support and solidarity from the public who care about sexual harassment cases. The effect of spreading the story also affected the victims who finally dared to speak out because it turned out that they were not alone. The implication at the end of the film shows that the students and members of the Mata Hari theater know what Rama has done. The filmmakers wanted to convey a message to the victims not to give up, even when they feel hopeless. Stand together, never stop fighting and seek justice even if you have to fight in darkness and despair.

Discourse Practice Analysis

Discourse practice is related to text production, distribution, and consumption of the discourse. In terms of text production, the film is directed and written by Wregas Banureja. He won several awards for Best Director and Best Original Screenwriter for *Penyalin Cahaya*, which was also his debut of a feature-length film. During his filming career, he often added the sociocultural topic to his short films. In making the film, he is inspired by the

phenomena of sexual harassment in Indonesia. He stated that many of the victims do not have space to speak up. Based on the facts and reality of sexual harassment in Indonesia, he wants to spread awareness of the issue and stand up against the intimidation of the perpetrators. It can be said that *Penyalin Cahaya* wants to spread a certain idea, which is the awareness of sexual harassment.

In terms of distribution, *Penyalin Cahaya* can be accessed through Netflix. By using the service, the producer wants to reach global audiences. It is proven to be effective because *Penyalin Cahaya* is the only film from Southeast Asia that has been on the Netflix Top 10 list for two weeks, with 6.92 million watch time globally.

The audiences' initial responses are mixed. It can be observed via social media, YouTube, E-newspaper, and the like. The negative responses are mostly because the second writer of the film is alleged to have been involved in an act of sexual harassment. The positive responses mostly discuss how well the actors and actresses perform, the cinematography, and the hidden symbolism in the film. This indicates that the producers are able to successfully insert their messages into their films by using a high degree of cinematography and storytelling. The negative response can also be interpreted as an indication that most of the Indonesian population, especially the younger generation, already understand the general definition of sexual harassment. It can be concluded that in spite of the mixed response, the film is a success nonetheless. This sensitive topic can be brought to the masses and penetrate society without any problem.

How Socioculture Affected the Film

At the situational level, at the end of 2021, the issue of sexual harassment at universities experienced an increase in Indonesia. According to a 2019 survey conducted by the Indonesian Ministry of Religion across 16 universities, there were 1011 cases of sexual violence. Additionally, The Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology of the Republic of Indonesia conducted a survey in 2020 covering 79 universities. The result shows that 77% of lecturers admit that sexual violence has occurred on their campus. Meanwhile, 63% of the cases go unreported to maintain the campus's reputation. As for the victims' gender, 90% are women and the rest are men (Sucahyo, 2022). The cases encompass various forms of sexual harassment including physical, verbal, symbolic, written or pictorial, psychological, rape, sexual intimidation, etc. The victims were students from various universities. As for the perpetrators, they were lecturers and students who were close to the victims. In addition, throughout the case procedures, several injustices can

be found, the victims often being marginalized while the perpetrators only receive a warning or a light punishment. Affected by the socio-cultural situation, *Penyalin Cahaya* was made and released. The contents of the film try to mirror the social reality of sexual harassment, with Sur as the victim being depicted as powerless. They have to face many obstacles and impediments to speak up and to seek justice.

At the institutional level, this film involves an educational institution manifested as an unnamed university. Several factors, such as, gender discrimination, power dynamics, and institutional culture, might impact sexual harassment in universities. In the film, the deans and staff of the faculty that Sur interacts with are all men. Moreover, the main perpetrator, Rama is also the head of the theater organization where the victims work together and are involved in many theater activities. This situation puts Rama in a position of power, as he is directly in control of the Mata Hari theater organization. It shows that those positions of power and higher status are occupied by men. These men always put pressure on the victim. It points out the fact that the gender composition or distribution of employers and constituents in a university might cause discrimination, which also might impact the extent of sexual harassment (Milkman et al., 2015). Thus, it is understandable that Sur, as a woman and the victim, is depicted as someone who does not have any voice or power during her journey to finding justice.

Furthermore, the perpetration of sexual harassment in universities can be influenced by individual opinions and institutional culture. These factors may also affect how sexual harassment accusations are handled in universities (Moore & Mennicke, 2020; Said, 2020). Like other institutions, universities might have a culture that normalizes and silences sexual violence. This may result in a failure to prosecute those who engage in sexual harassment and an underreporting of incidents



Figure 11. Depiction of male campus officials (00:19:48)

(Bondestam & Lundqvist, 2020). The power dynamic between students and faculty staff has also been noted as a differentiating component in the university campus sexual harassment field (Karami et al., 2020). Students rely on the faculty to teach them the information they need to advance in their field, to give them grades, to provide career development opportunities such as research experience, mentoring, networking, funding, professional opportunities, and to introduce them to influential people in their field (Karami et al., 2020). With such a high degree of dependence, it is not surprising that students have a lower power position than the faculty. Therefore, as the element with higher power, the faculty has the responsibility to always protect and serve students. In the film, however, the faculty is depicted as reluctant to resolve the sexual harassment issue. The deans do not want to be further involved, rather to resolve the issue peacefully to protect their public reputation. As for educational institutions, universities should provide a safe place for their students. Universities must be decisive in dealing with sexual harassment cases.

On the social level, the discourse that is being presented to the public is often influenced by social conditions. The patriarchal culture of Indonesia contributes greatly to the continuation of sexual harassment cases. Sexual harassment is made possible by the power disparities between men and women, which are maintained by rigid patriarchal norms and gender inequality (Hardt et al., 2022). In a patriarchal system, the male party believes that they are in a superior position and have full authority over women. This perpetuates gender inequality by placing males in a stronger and more powerful position than women (Caragnano, 2017).

Patriarchal norms frequently promote the image of male dominance and female submissiveness, resulting in a power imbalance that makes it more difficult for individuals to notice and fight incidents of sexual harassment. Furthermore, patriarchal beliefs may foster the perception that sexually harassing someone of a different gender, particularly those perceived as weaker or more vulnerable, is acceptable. Moreover, women also become the victims of violence on various levels, including physical, psychological, economic, and sexual assault, as a result of inadequate protection and law enforcement against women, along with government policies that are seen as being insensitive and anti-women (Susanto, 2015).

Moreover, although it is not visible in the film, traditional patriarchal attitudes within certain religious communities may reinforce the idea of male dominance and female submissiveness, creating a power imbalance that makes it more difficult for individuals to recognize and challenge instances of sexual harassment. For example, anti-feminist organizations often originate in Indonesia from the group of religious studies which is called *liqo'*. *Liqo*, which means "gathering" in Arabic, is a religious gathering activity or forum attended by a small group of trainees and their mentor. *Liqo* groups started to appear in Indonesia in the 1980's, often taking place in mosques or mentors' homes. They are established and developed for the purpose of training and teaching the religious knowledge and ideology (Fuad, 2021). This groups often emphasize the idea that women are subservient objects to men. It is a form of worship (*taqw*) to submit to males who are designated as imams or leaders at home (Alfirdaus et al., 2022).

The film itself tries to capture the struggle of a woman as the victim of sexual harassment in a patriarchal society. Patriarchal power is practiced over women through institutionalized, restricted norms of behavior and the association of family honor with female virtue (Hadi, 2022). For example, during the film Sur's father often comments on Sur's clothes which, according to him, are vulgar. The university staff also spread slander about Sur, insinuating that her intoxication was inappropriate because she is a woman. Moreover, norms of modesty and shame, which are often found in patriarchal countries, may lead to a culture of silence and underreporting of sexual harassment (Hardt et al., 2022). This was shown when Sur's report seemed to be ignored simply because she was drunk at the time of the incident. The relevant parties perpetuated the preconception that Sur was a bad, misbehaving woman who had violated the norms, suggesting that the sexual harassment was justified. On the other hand, the victim's family often feels embarrassed when reporting the case. They often choose to remain silent and reconcile to maintain the dignity of their family. They are more afraid of negative prejudice from the surrounding community.



Figure 12. Patriarchal values in Sur's family (00:10:19)

Furthermore, Indonesia's collectivist culture may impact the occurrence and perception of sexual harassment. Collectivism emphasizes group harmony and cohesion, which can influence how behaviors are interpreted and addressed in society (Adikaram, 2014). Maintaining social peace is prioritized more in collectivist societies, which may result in fewer actions being classified as sexual harassment (Sigal et al., 2005). The reason for this is that people in collectivist nations are less inclined to confront or report instances of sexual harassment due to their permissive and conflict-avoidance behaviors (Sigal et al., 2005). This can be seen from the permissive attitude of parties other than victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment. In the movie, the staff and representatives of the faculty illustrate how ordinary people and institutions are culturally collectivistic. They deliberately use words such as kinship, deliberation, reputation, and so on. This follows the characteristics of a collectivist society that upholds social harmony and tends to avoid conflict for the sake of their good name and stability. This gives the perpetrators a chance to be treated leniently because they will be difficult to punish. As for the victims, they tend to be reluctant to report and seek justice, because they know that the response they get will not be in line with their expectations.

CONCLUSION

The present study focuses on analyzing how sexual harassment and power relation is connected, as portrayed in Penyalin Cahaya. The authors utilize Norman Fairclough's critical discourse analysis and combine it with the outrage management model by Scott & and Martin in analyzing the film. Three dimensions have been analyzed, namely the text, the discourse practice, and the sociocultural aspect. In terms of text analysis, the dialogues between the victims, the perpetrators, and the related parties such as faculty members during the confrontational scenes are chosen. It is revealed that the victims of sexual harassment were depicted as having less power. Meanwhile, the perpetrators and related parties are portrayed as being dominant and having greater authority. How the perpetrators and faculty members use their power is also highlighted. Common tactics used to reduce outrage and intimidate victims are found, including attempts to cover up the events, labeling the victims in derogatory ways, reinterpreting the events, using official channels, and the use of intimidation and bribery as formulated in the outrage management model. The use of euphemisms and metaphors, as well as turntaking by the perpetrators, from a linguistic perspective, also indicates that there is a power gap between the victims and the perpetrators.

From discourse practice, Penyalin Cahaya can be said to be a successful film, as evidenced by the various awards it has received as well as the number of viewers and positive audience responses. In terms of sociocultural analysis, Penyalin Cahaya is a medium for filmmakers to voice their concerns as well as a way to show a glimpse of the social and cultural conditions of Indonesian society. Sexual harassment in Indonesia is closely related to the patriarchal culture that perpetuates the power imbalance between victims and perpetrators. This culture can be found within the family, in institutions or organizations, and society. Patriarchal culture harms victims because it places women as the inferior and weak party, thus creating openings for sexual harassment to occur. The stigma attached to victims, especially women, also makes it difficult for victims to seek justice. In addition, the collectivist and permissive culture of Indonesian society also influences the way sexual harassment cases are handled. Reported cases are frequently not taken seriously and often concluded peacefully. This contributes to the perpetuation of sexual harassment cases due to the lack of reprimand for the perpetrators.

It can be concluded that popular media such as film can be a means to voice, normalize, and perpetuate a movement or ideology. Instead of voicing awareness about imbalances in power relations, sexual harassment, and patriarchal culture in a traditional way, the use of popular media such as film can raise awareness of these issues indirectly. By combining various elements of cinema, these issues can reach a larger audience and have a more internalizing effect. Penyalin Cahaya could give us insights about sexual harassment victims and their hurdles. The insights can be implemented to educate audiences on how the perpetrators use their power and various tactics to get away with sexual harassment. Various practices from institutions and related parties are also mentioned so that the public has an awareness of the difficulties of sexual harassment victims in seeking justice. As for the victims, through this film, the producer gives a message of encouragement to continue to seek justice.

This study is expected to be one of the references for topics around gender-based violence. For future studies, a combination of CDA and other theoretical approaches is suggested to analyze other popular media discourses. To gain a deeper understanding of the topic, further studies are needed to explore the different types of gender-based violence. Various aspects such as psychology and law related to the topic can also be explored further.

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