

THE POWER OF BU TEJO AND DIAN? THE ANALYSIS OF FEMINIST POWER RELATION IN THE FILM *TILIK*

Sonny Angjaya

Universitas Kristen Maranatha, Bandung, Indonesia
E-mail: sonny.angjaya@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Tilik is a short film directed by Wahyu Agung Prasetyo. Given that the film's plot is primarily focused on the relationships of its female characters, the problem of female representation cannot be ignored. This article focuses on the power dynamic between the film's two central female characters, Bu Tejo and Dian, through the lens of Amy Allen's feminist perspective on power. The analysis identifies four dimensions of representation that contribute significantly to the development of their power relationship: physical appearance, marital status, gender role depiction, and socioeconomic status. The underlying significance of the power relationship between Bu Tejo and Dian in the film is analyzed through qualitative Content Analysis and Contextual Analysis approaches. This study reveals that the film portrays both women ambiguously, how patriarchal society creates an ecosystem that pits women against one another for power, and how the minor male characters in the film continue to exert significant influence over Bu Tejo and Dian in acquiring, maintaining, and exercising their power in a patriarchal society.

Keywords: feminism, gender, power relation, representation, and woman

ABSTRAK

Tilik adalah sebuah film pendek besutan Wahyu Agung Prasetyo. Film ini fokus pada interaksi antar tokoh perempuan dalam penyampaian narasinya sehingga isu representasi perempuan di film ini tidak dapat diabaikan. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengkaji relasi kuasa melalui representasi dua tokoh perempuan utamanya yaitu Bu Tejo dan Dian menggunakan teori Kuasa Feminis yang dikemukakan oleh Amy Allen. Terdapat empat aspek representasi yang membentuk relasi kuasa antara dua karakter tersebut yaitu penampilan fisik, status pernikahan, penggambaran peran gender, dan latar belakang ekonomi. Untuk mengungkap makna di balik relasi kuasa antara tokoh Bu Tejo dan Dian di dalam film, penulis menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan menggabungkan metode Analisis Konten dan Analisis Kontekstual. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bentuk representasi yang ambivalen dari dua tokoh perempuan tersebut, bagaimana masyarakat patriarki membentuk sebuah ekosistem yang membuat perempuan saling menjatuhkan demi memperoleh kuasa, dan sosok laki-laki minor di dalam film masih memiliki pengaruh yang signifikan terhadap bagaimana tokoh Bu Tejo dan Dian mendapatkan, mempertahankan, dan memanfaatkan kuasa yang mereka miliki dalam masyarakat patriarki.

Kata kunci: feminisme, gender, perempuan, relasi kuasa, dan representasi

1. INTRODUCTION

Film, as a form of art and mass entertainment, is one of the most prevalent

media products which does not give us the perception of what reality is but instead it provides a certain view of the world, that is

always given to us based on a particular perspective and angle (Longhurst et.al. 2008). Thus, according to Smelik (2016), rather than presenting the world as it is, it instead gives a representation from a particular position or viewpoint of a particular ideological view of reality. Feminist theory is one of the fields that concerned with the issue of representation in mass media, particularly on how woman is being represented, or misrepresented, in film. Tuchman (1981) argues that in pop culture, women experienced what he called 'symbolic annihilation' which refers to the absence, marginalization, or stereotyping of women in many aspects of popular culture. Although, there are evidences of how women gaining a more prominent and active roles in the media, it does not change the fact that women continue to be mostly depicted in the mass media mostly as sexual objects, and/or fulfilling their traditional roles as wives, mothers, and partners to men (Longhurst et.al. 2008).

Thus, Lauretis in *Sutandio (2020)* highlighted the importance of feminist criticism in film which could provide the public with awareness on the gender bias that has been normalized and socially constructed by a patriarchal mindset. According to Longhurst (2008), patriarchy is a social system that is seen as dominated and centered around male through the construction of cultural conventions that provide men with power

and exclude women from it. Thus, feminist film critics emphasized on understanding the outreaching power of patriarchal ideology through imageries with the help of structuralist theoretical frameworks (Smelik, 2016). From early 1990's to 2000's, feminist critics put a particular highlight on how women are being represented in gendered and sexualized ways on various mainstream media, including film, as well as how those representations reflected the dominant ideology. In other words, when applied in a mainstream media product such as film, feminist theory aimed to discover, the gendered patterns of representation and the explication of power relation that lies beneath them (Cuklanz, 2016). Such analysis is still relevant and significant because the expression of dominant patriarchal ideology on mainstream media shifts overtime to accommodate the feminist arguments and so does the degree of power that women have on their assumed dominated position. Thus, in this particular research, I would like to reveal how the dynamic female representation and power-relation between them not only reflect the dominant ideology but also the degree of power that women have and how they gained, exercised and maintained it from an Indonesian short film entitled *Tilik*.

Tilik (2018) or also known as *Tilik (Woman on Top)* is a short-film directed by Wahyu Agung Prasetyo and written by

Bagus Sumartono. The film production was funded by the Department of Tourism and Culture of the Special Region Yogyakarta. Amidst the 2020 pandemic, the film became an overnight sensation since it was published to be watched for free via YouTube on the 17th of August 2020. At the time when this article was written, the 32 minutes film has been viewed around 25 million times on YouTube, which is a monumental achievement for an Indonesia short film. Furthermore, the film gained most of its fame through the outstanding performance of one of its main cast that portrayed the antagonistic Bu Tejo to a point that the actress who played her, Siti Fauziah, are both praised and harassed for her portrayal. The film also garnered some controversies due to its ending that shocked and caught a lot of people off guard on how the film portrayed its female character, Dian, through a narrative subversion that may go against the Indonesian morality standard.

Tilik itself is a Javanese term which refer to a social practice of visiting the sickly relative or neighbor that usually organized by the women in the neighborhood. The film follows a group of women who ride on a back of an open truck in order to visit their ill-ridden mayoress. On their way to the hospital, they start to chat and gossip to pass the time and the recurring topics of the conversation is about Dian, the notorious young woman who is

treated as a public enemy among the housewives. She is criticized for her dubious behavior as an unmarried woman who are able to afford a lot of things without a clear occupation and is assumed to have a 'sugar daddy'. The main focus of this article is to analyze the representation of the characters Bu Tejo and Dian, from Feminist perspective, for both are the two focal female characters and the film a whole revolved around the perspectives of these two characters and the power dynamic between them. The two representations would then be applied to Amy Allen's feminist triad of power based on her article *Rethinking Power* in order to reveal the power relation between them as well as the various factors that justify it within the film.

According to Allen (1998) when Feminist perspective is being used as a tool to approach a certain issue or phenomenon related to gender, women, and power, it tends to compete or even contradict one another. According to her, the existing feminist account of power tends to only focus only on one-sided perspective and neglect the other aspect that often interrelated by nature. The one-sided approaches that she is referring to here is between what she called the *domination theorists* and the *empowerment theorists*.

Allen (1998) defined the *domination theorists* as those who are focusing on 'the

ways which men have power over women'. This view on gender suggests that women are powerless while men are the powerful one. Meanwhile, she defined the *empowerment theorists* as those who are recognized that men have power over women but focus on 'the power that women have to act'. This view suggests that women has 'power to transform themselves, others, and the world' through practices such as preserving, nurturing, and empowering children. However, those who subscribed to the domination theory denied the possibility and capability of women to resist and exercise their power despite being dominated as the term female power become redundant in the context of *domination theory*. Meanwhile, the issues that arise from the *empowerment theorist* approach is the problematic and ambivalent nature of the idealization of 'feminine' practices such as nurturing, caring, and motherhood that has upheld the male dominance and misogynist culture as the basis of transformative power and failed to address the ways women also exercised and established domination over others.

Allen posits the importance to find a middle-ground for the two one-sided approaches when talking about feminist power dynamic in order to recognize the crucial roles that "some women play in subordination of others, and the way different women are differently empowered

by particular practices" (Allen 1998). Moreover, the approach must be able to address "the complex and multifarious power relations in which women find themselves, wherein they can be both dominated and empowered at the same time." (Allen) Thus, in order to mediate those two existing perspectives, she proposed three categorizations of power in analyzing feminist power dynamic which are power-over, power-to, and power with. Firstly, Allen defined power-over as "the ability of an actor or set of actors to constrain the choices available to another actor or set of actors in a nontrivial way." The important things to be noted is that the concept of 'power-over' sees feminist-relevant power as something that often exercised daily by those who do not deliberately intend to do so. For power-to, Allen defined it as "the ability of an individual actor to attain an end or series of ends." In other words, power to is used to explain the capacity that allows an agent to act despite of the power that others have over them. Lastly, Allen defined power-with as "the ability of a collectivity to act together for the attainment of a common or shared end or series of ends" in order to achieve a collective empowerment. These three concepts of power cannot be understood as three separate types of power but rather interrelated with one another. Additionally, when utilizing them to analyze a complex feminist power relation in particular cases,

all concepts may be present or some may be absent depends on the context of the situations.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Few months after its release on YouTube, there have been several studies which use *Tilik* as its research object which are done from various perspectives. Firstly, Nurhablisyah (2020) analyzed the film's by using David Bordwell's concept of film narration. Tutiasri, et.al. (2020) emphasized on the reception of the cultural practice of *Tilik* (visiting sick neighbor) by using the film as a point of reference as well as an in-depth interview method on the housewives in Bantul. The result shows that such practice is still performed by the housewives in Bantul. By applying John Fiske's semiotic theory, Savitri (2020) discussed the discourse contestation that occurred in the film by analyzing the ideologies behind women stereotyping from the main character which shows misogyny perspectives and the need for equality not only between men and women but also among women. In a similar vein, by applying Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory, Winarto (2020) is focused on the ambivalence aspect from the female characters from *Tilik* of which he argues that there is a symbolic violence that put the women in the film on subordinated position that pit women against women. However even though it can clearly be

interpreted as misogynic practice, such female representation is still seen as source of entertainment and representational form that reflecting reality by its audience. Meanwhile, Christina (2020) conducted a study that solely focused on analyzing the speeches and utterances of the character Bu Tedjo in the film as she is the focal point of the film which shows that from most of her speeches, she often used direct and representative speeches with veiled politeness which shows her dominant voice in the conversation while at the same time reflecting the Javanese culture's layered politeness. On similar vein, Frandika (2020) also focused on the language aspect used by the characters in the film by discussing the forms and types illocution speech from the characters' dialogues through pragmatic approach. Meanwhile, Inayaturobbani (2020) conducted a study that mostly focused on the function gossiping displayed in the film. She applied evolutionary psychological approach using SCENT (Self-Concept Enhancing Tactician) research model. The study show how gossip in *Tilik* is used for self-promotion which related to pride and self-protection which related to fear.

Based on the numerous researches that have been done using *Tilik* as research object, it can be seen that most of them are mostly focused on how women are often seen to be dominated or misrepresented in

Indonesian films using semiotic or gender theory in patriarchal society. Some of researches that use *Tilik* use similar approach in seeing how the portrayal of female in the film is shown to be misogynist and further proof that female representations in Indonesian films are still largely dominated by patriarchal ideology. However, I argue that those researches tend to focus mainly on the domination aspect alone and ignore the empowerment and solidarity aspect that may be present in the film. By building upon those previous researches, this study would fill the research gap by focusing on the analysis of power relation of the female representations from feminist perspectives but not only from the dominated standpoint but also include the potential aspect of empowerment and solidarity by applying the concept of interrelated triad of power consists of power-over, power-to, and power-with by Amy Allen (1998) which as far as I am aware, has not been done using this short film in particular.

3. METHOD

The research was conducted through qualitative approach which is an approach that allow a researcher to examine and take note of small cues to decide how to make sense of the context as well as building larger knowledge claims about a particular culture that may help people to understand the world, their society, and its institutions. (Tracy, 2019). This qualitative

approach combines content analysis with contextual analysis in film studies. Content Analysis, according to Smith (2017), is a type of analysis that deals with the assessment of materials in a given text in order to obtain a deeper meaning out of it. On this research, the content analysis will specifically be used to reveal the deeper meaning behind the power relation between Bu Tejo and Dian by analyzing relevant visual and audio cues that are present in the film. Meanwhile, according to Sutandio (2020) contextual film analysis is a type of film analysis which examines a film in a larger context such as time, setting, and cultural background within it.

In conducting the research, the author did the following steps: Firstly, several screenings of the film are required to identify and gather both visual and audio cues from key scenes that revolves around Bu Tejo and Dian in the film. Secondly, the representations of those two characters would be analyzed in the context of feminism through the characters' actions, reactions, motivations, and dialogues as well as the mis-en-scene of the film which are presented as screenshots. Thirdly, these representations would be further analyzed based on the following Table.1 by Sutherland (2017) which shows the degree of power that women have from their representation in films based on the three concepts of feminist power by Allen. Fourthly, the feminist power-relation

between Bu Tejo and Dian would be explicated in order to reveal how each of Allen's interrelated triad of power reflected through their representations in the film and what social factors that influenced the power-relation between them. Lastly, the conclusion of the research would be drawn based on the representation and power-relation analysis from visual and audio cues of the film.

Table 1. Power and powerful woman in film (Sutherland, 2017)

Power	Defined	In Film
Power-over	An actor can carry out his/her will over another; Domination, empowerment	1) Women become powerful by the adoption of masculine characteristics. 2) Masculine women often engage in the exploitation of others 3) When women are physically strong, they are often highly sexualized
Power-to	Sense of personal control; Self-efficacy; mastery	1) Women experience life, culture, and traditions as restrictive 2) Women find some agency where there was none 3) Women find they no longer need to be dependent upon men
Power-with	Coalition building that is necessary to address oppression and inequality	1) Women struggling with constraints of oppressive system 2) Women come to realize the extent of their oppression 3) Women work together to confront oppressive system

4. DISCUSSION

On this discussion, the analysis is generally divided into two parts. The first part will focus on Bu Tejo and Dian's representation analysis and the second

part will focus more on the power-relation analysis between them.

4.1. Bu Tejo and Dian's Representation Analysis

This part of discussion will focus on how Bu Tejo and Dian are represented in the context of feminism. In the film, Bu Tejo is portrayed as one of the women in the neighborhood who are going to visit the ill Mayoress from their village to the hospital in the city. In terms of setting, the movie took place during an afternoon with most of the scenes in the film took place on a back of the truck, a confined space filled with housewives which is an ideal space for interactions to happens between them. The type lighting used in most of the film is motivated lighting by using the sun as natural source of light which added to the authenticity and grounded aspect of the film. During the trip, she is the one who open up conversation about Dian with other women by gossiping about her and painted her in negative ways to other women on the truck. Though, Yu Ning, a relative of Dian who are on the same trip tries to stop her, Bu Tejo would constantly bring the topic up again throughout the film. Meanwhile, Dian is primarily portrayed as the social pariah among the women in her villages. In the film, she only appears for a short amount of time thus most of information about her were told from the conversation between Bu Tejo and the other housewives as she is

the main topic of their conversation. Though we as the audience only knows her mostly through second-handed information instead of directly from her portrayal, there are still some significant things that could be inferred about how the society treats a woman like her in the context of feminism. There are four main aspects that are considered significant in regards of their representation which are physical appearance, marital status, gender roles, and socioeconomic status.

4.1.1. The Appearances of Bu Tejo and Dian

In term of appearance, Bu Tejo is represented as a middle-age woman in her early 40's who has the majority of screen time compared to any other characters in the film. Moreover, every time she appears on screen, the camera almost always using a close-up shot or medium close up shot to focus on either her expression, what she has to say, or her interaction with other characters which emphasize the dominant role that she has in the film. When it comes to clothing, Bu Tejo is shown to wear light-blue colored shirt, dark pair of long pants, and a green hijab. Clothing, according to Barber and Lobel in Longhurst (2008), has symbolic function of which sees clothing choices as one of the indicators of the wearer's social status. In that regards, her clothing, particularly hijab, shows her religious affiliation which is Islam the major

religion of the Indonesian. As other housewives on the truck also wear hijab as well, it shows that wearing a hijab is a common practice for women in her village and Bu Tejo is a part of that common and accepted practice.



Figure1. Bu Tejo and the other housewives
(Source: *Tilik*, 2018, Time Code: 00:02:24)

Hijab, in the context of this film, may carries a deeper symbolic meaning than a mere fashion statement that Bu Tejo choose. According to Smith-Hefner (2007) the practice of wearing hijab (or veiling) becoming more common among Indonesian women post-Soeharto's New Order regime that restrict the expression of Islam expression in public space. Hijab, particularly from the Western point of view, is often closely associated with Islam conservatism or anti-Western modernity. However, many studies suggest that it actually carried a diverse, complex, and highly-contested meanings even among the women who wear them such as political activism, the rise of middle-class, or even modernity to name a few. Nevertheless, among the various possible meanings behind the practice, there are two common threads, wearing hijab is a woman's own

personal choice and it is an expression of piety and religious commitment based on the teaching of Islam. For some women, wearing hijab is often a difficult decision as it is associated with a certain standard of ethic and behavioral restriction in public. Thus, it sometimes creates divided views among those who wear it and those who do not.

Thus, when it comes to the significance of hijab in Bu Tejo's representation, it is an expression of her piety which indicate that those who wear it supposedly have a higher moral standard compared to those who do not. Though not explicitly stated, it creates a kind of hierarchy among women in which those who wear hijab is considered to be morally higher compared to those who do not. Thus, it may explain Bu Tejo's treatments towards Dian in the film as she keeps questioning and shunning Dian's choices in life which she considers to be immoral. Bu Tejo's actions may be seen as a moral thing to do among the housewives since in the movie Dian is shown not to wear a hijab thus, she is treated as 'the Other' and considered to be morally inferior compared to her and the rest of the housewives.

Meanwhile, Dian is represented as a young woman in her 20's who wears a purple shirt and a black skirt who only appears near the end of the film. Unlike Bu Tejo, she is shown to have a long hair and not wearing hijab which from religious

standpoint creates a clear contrast between her position as 'the other' who embraced secularism and is considered to be morally inferior in comparison with Bu Tejo. Moreover, during the limited duration of her screen time, the camera mostly used either medium shots or medium-long shots to show her appearance from the waist up. But on the contrary with Bu Tejo, Dian only has minimum dialogue with other characters in the movie which means that those shots may be taken to focus on Dian's look which is considered to be attractive by the people around her.



Figure 2. Dian in person
(Source: *Tilik*, 2018, Time Code: 00:25:12)

In the film, Dian's physical attractiveness is one of the main aspects that defined her. There are three particular scenes in the film that shows her physical attractiveness to the opposite sex. The first scene is shown when the housewives were talking about Dian's pictures on her social media that they considered inappropriate (Prasetyo, 2018). On this scene, the very mention of Dian's name makes the truck driver, Gotrek, look restless which imply his curiosity on the conversation about Dian which shows his apparent interest toward

her despite the fact that his wife is on the driver-seat. The second scene happen when the truck stop on a mosque for a toilet break and the housewives and Gotrek were having a conversation about the suitable candidate to replace Bu Lurah's position who is sick. On this particular scene, Gotrek jokingly proposes Dian as the new mayoress because all the men will elect her for that position which demonstrate how popular she is among the men in the village but met with disapproval from the housewives which is shown from the following dialogue.

Gotrek: "Okay, let's settle this, how if we elect Dian to be the Mayor?"

But Tejo: "Ew, no way in hell"

Gotrek: "All men would pick her for sure."

The Housewives: "Don't you dare to think about that; please don't let her. Knock on woods."

Bu Tejo: "Our village would come to an end" (Prasetyo, 2018, 11:56-12:19)

The last scene is during the conversation between Bu Tejo and Yu Sam about whether Dian is using susuk (beauty charm implant) or not. This particular scene emphasizes on Dian's beauty to a point that Bu Tejo suspects her of using susuk to attract all the men in the village which is shown from the following dialogue.

Bu Tejo: "Yu Sam, do you think Dian has a charm?"

Yu Sam: "It could be yes, it could be no. She is pretty after all. Many eyes are on her"

Bu Tejo: "If it were just about a pretty face, it's nonsense. All men are in love with her. It must be because of

her charm. (Prasetyo, 2018, 16:30-16:57)

Thus, the scene and dialogue above shows that Dian's representation in the movie is mainly defined through her attractiveness to the men around her. It shows that Dian's role in the movie is centered around male gaze, a concept posited by Laura Mulvey (1989) which stated that the role of women in film is often reduced as a mere sexualized object for the enjoyment of the male characters or viewers. Though in this film Dian is not physically sexualized but the way she is defined by her beauty to attract men on narrative levels imply the "ideological meaning that woman has for men...in relation to herself, she means nothing" (Smelik, 2016). The way Dian is being treated due to her looks shows what Tseelon in Longhurst describes as the modesty paradox in which "women are constructed as seduction, ever to be punished for it" (2008).

4.1.2. The Marital Status of Bu Tejo and Dian

In the film, marital status of Bu Tejo and Dian held a significant meaning in the way they represented. Himawan (2018) suggests that Indonesian society still consistently regarded the universality of marriage as cultural demand and often associated married people to be kind, caring, loving, and happy and failure to

marry is considered as a sign of social incompetence. According to Widyastari (2020), the religious and sociocultural construction in Indonesia deemed marriage as the preferable status because it is considered as an act that both following *Sunnah* and prevent *zina* which is unlawful sexual acts between unmarried males and females. For women in particular, marriage is still seen by some as the only way that woman could truly be fulfilled (Auchmuty 2012). In terms of marital status, Bu Tejo is represented to be married to her husband Pak Tejo, who is mentioned several times by her throughout the film. In the film, her role as the wife to Pak Tejo is very important in the construction of her public identity as throughout the entire film she is simply called as Bu Tejo and nobody ever mentioned her maiden name in the film. It shows how in Indonesia, a woman's identity is often defined and constructed around her relation with her husband instead of herself in other words her social standing rests entirely on her role as a wife. In Javanese culture value, a husband is seen as the patriarchal head of the household but in the more practical everyday life, the husband and wife partnership are seen more as complementary to one another instead as subordination of the wife (Hefner 2007). Bu Tejo's role in complementing and supporting her husband are shown in three particulars scenes.



Figure 3. Bu Tejo on her husband's candidacy
(Source: *Tilik*, 2018, Time Code: 00:11:55)

The first scene is shown when Bu Tejo talks about the possible candidacy of her husband as the new district mayor of the village which is shown from the following dialogue.

“Well if the people want to, you know, elect him to be the district mayor...it'd be disrespectful to say no...My husband principle is talk less do more...let's talk about our mayoress for a second. She is getting sick often. Give her a break...It is time for her to get some rest. I feel sorry for her. Besides, it's the time, our village to have a handy mayor. But not the single one because they can't even get their lives together” (Prasetyo, 2018, 10:52-12:04)

On this scene, he framed her husband as a suitable candidate who is able to act quickly and effectively. In the process, she compared him to the current mayoress whom she considered no longer viable due to her health condition. She also emphasizes that a married man is more suitable for the role compared to the single ones which goes to show how marital status is considered very important to show a degree of reliability and responsibility. The second scene occurred during a

conversation between Yu Ning and Bu Tejo on why they have to go to the hospital on the back of a truck. On the scene, Bu Tejo claimed that her husband could have asked his acquaintance to chart a bus for them instead of having to be in such uncomfortable position. This particular scene goes to show how Bu Tejo framed her husband as a problem solver that could make their circumstances better which is show from the following dialogue.

“Yu Ning why didn't we take the bus instead of this truck.... If it were the case, I could talk to my husband. He has a friend who got a bus. So, we don't have to struggle like this” (Prasetyo, 2018, 13:50-14:18).

The third scene happened during an argument between Yu Ning and Bu Tejo after the truck they rode on broke down. Yu Ning tells Bu Tejo that it may be due to her husband's bribe that she gave to Gotrek that the truck broke down (Prasetyo, 2018). Bu Tejo retorts back by saying that she cannot accept other people who talk badly about her husband and goes on by stating her husband's achievements as a successful constructor who has a lot of connections to politicians and how he is able to achieve it through honest work which is shown from the following dialogue.

“Yu Ning, watch your mouth. My husband is a good man, he is working properly. I am the wife; I am the one who knows all about him. I', upset when someone talk lies about my husband. Just because now he is a successful contractor, befriended with a lot of politicians, people talk

lies and gossip about it like what you did right now” (Prasetyo, 2018, 18:48: 19:10).

This scene in particular shows Bu Tejo's role in maintaining her husband's public image and framed him as a successful and honest entrepreneur.

The three scenes above showcasing Bu Tejo's active role in complementing and supporting her husband as a wife to help his political endeavor. Bu Tejo's actions support Auchmuty's statement on the role that some married women assume who are “devoting themselves to furthering their husband's career, and through him their economic and social standing” (Auchmuty, 2012). Thus, Bu Tejo's actions show that as a wife, her husband's success is also considered to be her own personal success in supporting him as it would boost her social standing and would give her more legitimacy in a patriarchal society. Although, the downside from that is that women are more likely to be “rendered financially dependent on and therefore subservient to, men...left women exposed and impoverished if the relationship came to end.” (Auchmuty, 2012). Since Bu Tejo's social standing is solely depends on her status as a wife, the existence of a single and attractive woman like Dian is considered as a threat to her position that need to be dealt with.

In the film, Dian is represented as a single woman who is rumored to have a possible relationship with the Mayoress'

son Fikri. Dian's singlehood is considered inappropriate and unacceptable by the rest of the women in her village with Bu Tejo as the representational voice of that disapproval. In legal term, singlehood is defined as adults who are not currently married and not divorced or widowed and from social perspective it is defined as those who are not in a romantic relationship with anybody (De Paulo & Morris, 2006). Bu Tejo's interest in Dian's status is considered normal because unlike in the West, in Indonesia it is common for people to ask for personal information including age and marital status and those who are still single in their mid-20's are more prone to questions and potential judgment from the people around them (Himawan, et.al. 2018). In Indonesian society, single, unmarried women are more prone to stigmatization and even though the reasons behind singlehood for women are complex and varied, it is still widely considered as a sign of individual deficiency and undesirable state in contrast with marriage as the highly desirable social status change (Himawan, et.al. 2018). Such stigmatization is exactly what is shown from how Dian is being talked about by Bu Tejo and the other housewives. The stigmatization toward Dian's singlehood is explicitly shown from two scenes in the film.

The first scene is shown in the beginning of the film when Bu Tejo is questioning Dian's relationship with Fikri.

Bu Tejo pointing out about rumors that Dian's may work as an escort as she often visits hotels and shopping mall with men and showing the other housewives Dian's pictures with a man that she posted on social media which is shown from the following dialogue from Bu Tejo.

"I wonder what Dian does for living. I heard that she does inappropriate job...Poor our Mayoress if she's going to have that kind of in-law. Someone said that she often rents a room and going to the mall with different guys. What kind of job is that?" (Prasetyo, 2018, 01:22-02:32).

The scene specifically displays the example of stigmatization that Dian has to experience as a single woman. Dian's interaction with men as a single woman is considered inappropriate and leads to negative rumor about her among the housewives. It exemplifies the society's expectation that single women should not interact with men unless he is the person that she is going to marry. The second scene that problematized Dian's singlehood happened during an argument between Yu Ning and Bu Tejo when she accused Dian to be the cause of why Bu Lurah is hospitalized due to her possible relationship with Fikri. During the scene, Bu Tejo also blames Dian for not getting married even though other girls on her age have married. She also claims that the only reason why she talks about Dian is as a precaution for other housewives in case she is a really hussy who would have an

affair with their husband which shown from the following dialogues,

“It’s her (Dian’s) fault. She should’ve get married in her age. All of her friends already married...I am not slandering; I just want to take a precaution...From the fact that Dian is actually not a noble woman. She loves to flirt with our husbands” (Prasetyo, 2018,14:59-15:49).

The scene and dialogue above revealed two things, the first one is the fact that Dian’s singlehood is not seen as a personal choice but more as a deviation from social obligation that needs be corrected by getting married. The second one is how Dian is seen as a threat by Bu Tejo and other housewives because she has the potential to involve in extramarital affair with their husbands and should be blamed and shunned for her singlehood. In the context of the film, Dian is shown to be the only one that is blamed and demonized for something that she could hypothetically do but Bu Tejo and the rest of the housewives left the husbands out of the equation which shows the double standard that put the man out of responsibility while the woman has to bear the responsibility and got punished for such action. The way Dian is treated in the film for her singlehood goes to show the pressure and consequences of being a single woman in patriarchal Indonesian society that put marriage as primary sociocultural expectation.

4.1.3. The Gender Role Portrayal of Bu Tejo and Dian

Gender role is defined as roles that “men and women are expected to occupy based on their sex” (Blackstone, 2003). Blackstone (2003) also stated that from feminist perspectives, gender role is not only limited to the way females and males should behave in society but how it linked to the different level of powers between them which suggest that men tend to possess greater power than women in both marriage (domestic sphere) and in society at large (public sphere). One of the ways the assumption of power between the two genders are constructed is through how both genders are represented in wide range of media. To sum up on what Collins (2011) stated, women in media are often underrepresented, sexualized through provocative clothing, portrayed in restricted and negative ways, subordinated in various manners, and shown to adopt the traditional feminine roles as homemakers, nonprofessionals, wives, parents, and sexual gatekeepers. According to Bakers (2016) such portrayal of women creates distortion of reality while at the same time constructing it through various misrepresentation of what a woman should or could be which is called the ‘images of women perspective’. Barker (2016) also suggested that the way women being portrayed in media contain both affirmation and denial which are affirmation of

womanhood as passive and subordinate within her domestic duties to her husbands and children while at the same time denying the aspects of women's creativity, activity, and individuality that connected to career and public sphere. Such argument is in line with what Smelik (2016) stated on how film or cinema is a cultural practice that representing and perpetuating myths about women and femininity. Thus, it is important to examine how the film represent the gender role portrayals of both Bu Tejo and Dian in the film in order to understand the power relation between them.

In the film, Bu Tejo is portrayed to adopt the traditional woman gender role as a wife and a mother. It is shown from how she mentions her husband to others several times in the film as well as the way she addressed him to others as '*bapaknya anak-anak*' (the children's father). However, what is intriguing about her gender portrayal is the fact that despite adopting women traditional role in the film, she also possesses qualities that do not quite fit with the stereotypical portrayal or troupe of women in such feminine role. Throughout the movie, she is actually shown to be active, dominant, rational, and confident. Such qualities are especially shown particularly when she tries to convince the other housewives about the negative rumors surrounding Dian (Prasetyo, 2018, 01:22-02:32; 14:59-15:49) as well as when

she tries to promote her husband as the next district mayor (Prasetyo, 2018, 10:52-12:04). On those scenes, she is shown to be able to convince the other housewives about Dian's misbehavior based on proofs, arguments, and logic and able to dismiss Yu Ning's effort who tries to defend Dian from her accusation. Moreover, she is also shown to have a role and interest outside the domestic sphere from how she is able to play a significant role in public sphere by rounding support for her husband's political career. Thus, Bu Tejo in the film is shown to have an ambivalent gender portrayal, for on one hand she is shown to fulfill the traditional domestic roles as a wife and a mother but on the other hand she is also shown to possess qualities that could be considered masculine. Her gender portrayal in the film actually shows that having fulfilled traditional roles does not always mean the women are completely dominated and lacking in power, as Bu Tejo actually show to have some degree of agency to act and choose what best based on her self-interest.

Meanwhile the way Dian portrayed in the film is actually fits to three of women common stereotypes that are formulated by Diana Meehan in Baker (2016) which are *the harpy*, *the siren*, *the decoy*, and *the victim*. *The harpy* is a common stereotype that is used to describe woman who is single and aggressive while the *siren* is a stereotype that is used to describe a

woman who sexually lures men to bad end. These two stereotypes about Dian is not necessarily how she is portrayed in the film but how the other women on the village see her as single woman who have the potential to aggressively sexually lures their husbands. Moreover, *the victim* is a common stereotype for women which described as passive, suffer violence or accidents. In the film, Dian is not shown to suffer from physical violence from anybody but she does suffer as the victim of the negative rumors and stigmas for being a single woman by the other women in her village who treats her as a social pariah. However, despite being stereotypically portrayed, in the film Dian is also shown to act outside the common gender expectations on women. For instance, she is shown to have her own career instead of fulfilling the domestic roles as a housewife which shows some degree of independency. She is also portrayed as a single woman which go against society's expectation on women to get married even though most of women at her age already did which shows how she has some degree of agency to exercise her own personal choice in regards of her marital status. However, it has to be noted that these positive portrayals of Dian are mostly implicit and easily overlooked in the film.

However, the film also reveals that Dian is mostly defined in opposition with at least two male figures. The first male figure

is Fikri, the Mayoress' son, whom Bu Tejo and the other housewives suspect to have a romantic relationship with Dian. In this context, she is portrayed as a mere potential romantic partner and object of desire for Fikri instead of her own person. Such portrayal is emphasized from the way Bu Tejo often connect Dian marital status with Fikri (Prasetyo, 2018, 01:22-02:32) as well as from the following dialogue when Bu Tejo finally meet Dian and Fikri on the hospital parking lot and teases them about their relationship:

Wait a minute, so Dian took Fikri and his mom to the hospital, right? You guys are not official yet but act like it already. Why don't you get married now? (Prasetyo, 2018, 25:55-26:03).



Figure 4. Dian and Fikri asked about their relationship
(Source: *Tilik*, 2018, Time Code: 00:26:03)

From the way they act embarrassed and do not really deny Bu Tejo's teasing shows that there may be something more about their relationship as suspected by Bu Tejo. This particular scene uses eye-level, medium long shot and put both Fikri and Dian as the center of the shot having close distance with one another may indicate how their romantic relationship is finally revealed to the public. This scene shows

how from the perspective of Bu Tejo and the rest of the housewives, Dian is no longer seen as an individual but more as Fikri's romantic partner which shows how she defined in opposition with her relationship with Fikri instead of her own self.

However, the end of the film further revealed that Dian actually does not have any romantic relationship with Fikri but with somebody else which turns out to be the second male figure, Minto who is the father of Fikri and the ex-husband of the Mayoress. The scene starts with Dian who walks in a fast pace on a parking lot, it uses an extreme long shot and only put Dian as the center and the only character in the frame. The shot emphasizes Dian's awareness of her surroundings as the expression on her face shows her to be on high alert to make sure that nobody seen her there as she enters Minto's black sedan car which indicate that she is about to do something that should not be seen by anybody that she knew (As seen in Fig. 5).



Figure 5. Dian carefully enters Minto's car
(Source: *Tilik*, 2018, Time Code: 00:29:18)

The scene continues inside the car where she is met with Minto. This scene uses over

the shoulder shot that focused on both Dian and Minto in a confined space (as seen in Figure. 6 and 7) which may emphasize the intimacy between them (Sutandio 2020). However, since the shot is also taken from behind thus both Dian and Minto's face expression could only be seen partially. The lighting used in this scene is *low-key* lighting which makes the scene darker compared to any other scenes in the movie. The uses of *low-key lighting* which involves a high amount of shadow in this scene may support the nature of both Dian and Minto's secret romantic relationship that has to be kept in the shadow away from the public attention.



Fig. 6. Dian having conversation with Minto in the car
(Source: *Tilik*, 2018, Time Code: 00:29:34)



Figure 7. Minto rubbing Dian's hair
(Source: *Tilik*, 2018, Time Code: 00:30:06)

The nature of the relationship between Dian and Minto is revealed when she expresses her frustration having to

hide their relationship and wishes that Fikri could approve their intention to get married. He then asked her to be patient and to trust him in handling the situation, which is revealed from the following dialogue.

Dian: "I think I can't handle it anymore. Living under the radar like this. When would it be the time Fikri accept that his father is going to remarried?"

Minto: "Be patient, dear. I need you to be patient. Take a leap of faith in me. (Prasetyo, 2018, 29:33-29:58)

The dialogue above raises two points about Dian gender portrayal, the first one is the fact that she is willing to marry a much older man shows that she is once again going against the society's expectation who expect her to marry a man closer to her age. The dialogue also indicates that she is actually aware of all the negative rumors about her and wants to change the situation by marrying Minto. However, this dialogue also reveals the second points about Dian which is the fact that she is actually helpless and has to depend on two male figures to change the situation that she is in which are Fikri and Minto. Without Fikri's approval and Minto's action, Dian on her own are unable to clear her name in the public eyes and unable to change her current circumstances which further display that she has no power to solve her own predicament without men's assistance. The way the film portrayed Dian shows that even though Dian as a woman is able to show some degree of choices to act

against the gender expectation that is forced upon her, in the end she still has to rely on men to fix her life.

4.1.4. Socioeconomic Status of Bu Tejo and Dian

The last representation aspect that is considered significant to the power relation between Bu Tejo and Dian is socioeconomic status. Baker (2014) defined socioeconomic status (hereafter will be shortened as SES) as a measure of one's combined economic and social status which include aspects such as education, income, and occupation. Sometimes, SES of a person is also defined based on the amount of wealth, home ownership, and neighborhood disadvantage. Thus, the SES of an individual may reflect one social standing in a society among any others.

In terms of socioeconomic status, Bu Tejo is shown to be more well-off economically compared to the other housewives on the truck which is indicated by the material possessions that she is shown to have in the film. The first scene that show Bu Tejo's higher SES is shown during her conversation with Gotrek and Yu Ning about her husband candidacy (Prasetyo, 2018, 10:52-12:04). In this scene, she is shown to wear gold jewelries on both of her hands. On the same scene, it is also shown from how she gave a money envelope from her husband to Gotrek which are shown from Figure 8 and

9 below,



Figure 8. Bu Tejo and her Jewelries
(Source: *Tilik*, 2018, Time Code: 00:10:58)



Figure 9. Bu Tejo gave Gotrek money
(Source: *Tilik*, 2018, Time Code: 00:10:32)

The fact that Bu Tejo is the only one who wear such jewelries and able to give Gotrek some additional money from her husband shows that she has higher SES among the other housewives on the truck.

The second scene which display Bu Tejo's higher SES is when she had an argument with Yuk Ning who she considered to offended her because she talks badly about her husband (Prasetyo, 2018, 18:48-19:10). On this particular scene, she mentioned about the fact that her husband is a successful contractor and has a lot of connection with politicians. Such claim for her shows that she does have a higher SES thanks to the financial success of her husband that also elevating her SES as his wife. From the two scenes

above it can be seen that Bu Tejo does have a higher SES but it is important to note that the social status and material possessions that she have are most likely coming from the success of male figure in her life which in this case her husband. Moreover, despite of her higher SES, she does not actually show to possess any personal achievement or success based on her education, personal income, and occupation that could elevate her SES. Thus, it can be concluded that Bu Tejo's SES is something that she got by becoming Pak Tejo's wife of which without her marriage she may lose her higher SES in society.

Meanwhile Dian in the film is shown to have a lower SES in terms of education, income, and occupation. In terms of occupation, Bu Tejo suggested that Dian must have side jobs that are questionable in nature because she is able to purchase a lot of new stuffs despite only starting her job for a short while as seen in her following dialogue.

"I'm sure she has plenty of side jobs, right? It's impossible she just got one job. But what's the other we don't know. A girl just got a job, suddenly got that much money. Of course, people asking around." (Prasetyo, 2018, 3:12-3:27)

Bu Tejo's statements reveal that in the eyes of the people around her, Dian does not have a favorable SES due to the her being young and single yet seems to be able to gain a lot amount of money from her

newly obtained job which is considered illogical for Bu Tejo and the people of her village.

Furthermore, the circumstances behind Dian's SES is explained through Bu Tejo's statements about her education and family background. She reveals that Dian is not coming from a well-off family which is shown from the following dialogue.

"Just think about, I'm not saying about their family. Her father left her when she was a child, her mother just has a little plot of rice field. That's why she didn't go to college. She just started working suddenly her phone is new, so does her motorcycle. Where does that money come from?" (Prasetyo, 2018, 3:48-4:15)

From the dialogue above, it is revealed that she was raised by a single mother and her current SES is heavily influenced by the fact that her father left the family early in her life. Thus, she is unable to afford a better education for herself which consequently made her unable to get a good career. The economic and family background that Dian has further put her at a disadvantage in terms of SES on top of being unmarried which eventually leads to the negative rumor about her.

There are two points that can be inferred about Dian SES based on what Bu Tejo stated about her. The first one is the assumption that a woman cannot make it financially on her own. The circumstances of Dian's occupation remain unclear even until the end of the film yet even the possibility of her being able to afford the

new stuffs that she has on her own is considered as impossibility by Bu Tejo and the rest of the villagers. Additionally, the fact that Dian is put in such situation due to the absence of paternal figure or breadwinner in the family implies that as a woman, her single mother is unable to give her financial security that her father could and how helpless Dian and her mother are without a male figure in the family. How Bu Tejo perceived a woman like Dian in that regards is under the assumption that a woman could only succeed financially either through a male figure in the family, through marriage like she did or by being an immoral woman and offering her body to men in exchange of material possession. Such assumption about Dian reveals to great extent of dependency that the women in the film have on men when it comes to SES as the possibility of being a single, career woman is still being shunned and stigmatized upon.

4.2. Bu Tejo and Dian's Power Relation Analysis

After analyzing the four aspects of representation, on this part of the discussion I am going to elaborate on the power relation between Bu Tejo and Dian using Allen's (1998) concept of triad of power which are Power-Over, Power-To, and Power-With in the film adapted by Sutherland (2017) (Shown in Table.1) and connecting the concepts with how both

characters' representation in the film.

4.2.1. Power-To

Allen (1998) defined the concept of Power-To as "the ability of an individual actor to attain an end or series of ends...how members of subordinated groups retain the power to act despite their subordination." Meanwhile, in the context of a film, power to is defined as "sense of personal control; self-efficacy; mastery" (Sutherland, 2017). How power-to is revealed in a movie is divided into three categories (as seen in Table.1) however in this particular film, the two characters only show the first two which are the facts that both characters lived in a restrictive society and how both characters find agency in such society.

In case of Bu Tejo, in the film she is represented a woman who choose to fulfill her traditional roles as both a wife and a mother. However, despite of her domestic roles, she is shown to be able to gain power from her roles and able to use it for her own ends. In the film, her choice in wearing hijab and her status as a married woman put her in an advantageous position among other housewives as it provides her with a sense of camaraderie as they shared the same experience with her as a wife or a mother. Thus, it gave her a legitimacy when she tries to convince other housewives that what she thinks about Dian is true and put Dian as a single woman who does not wear

hijab in the position of the Other among the housewives. Her higher SES also helped build her legitimacy as it allowed her to gather evidence on Dian from the internet to convince the other housewives even more. Her power-to is also shown from her active role as a mediator to assist her husband political career. Her roles as a housewife gave her a unique opportunity to use the power that she has as a fellow housewife to rally the support of other housewives for her husband that he may not be able to attain by himself. Such role in public sphere is important for her because if her husband succeed in advancing his political career as district mayor, Bu Tejo as his wife will also gain more power particularly in terms of SES from it.

Meanwhile Dian is represented as an unmarried woman who is considered immoral and treated as a social pariah. Such treatment, may be given to her due to her showing a sense of agency in a number of aspects in her life that are in opposition with the societal expectation. Firstly, she is shown to be single despite the fact that other women at her age is already married. The second one is the fact that she is not wearing hijab when most of the women in her village has. The third one is the fact that she is able to build her own career despite of not receiving a higher education show a degree of independency. The last one is how she chooses Minto, a much

older partner, that would probably put her in a more problematic position than her current one, shows that she is able to make a choice that she thinks is right despite of the possible opposition that she may receive from the people around her. However, the extent of Dian's power-to is only limited to her personal choices as a person but she has little or no power when it comes to change her SES on her own and how people like Bu Tejo sees her in a negative way. Thus, her choice of wanting to marry Minto can be interpreted as the only way for Dian to both elevating her SES as well as to relieve the pressure of having to get married by fulfilling the society's expectation.

From the power-to aspect of Bu Tejo and Dian, both women actually able to exercise the power that they have despite of the limitations that are imposed on them. However, the film also shows that both of them are still highly dependent on men figures in their lives. Bu Tejo is highly dependent on her husband when it comes to her SES as well as her public identity of which without him, she will lose them all. That is why the presence of woman like Dian who is younger and beautiful is considered as a potential threat for her current position. Meanwhile Dian's lower SES is due to the absence of her father that robbed her the opportunity of having a better education and subsequently made her unable to get a better career for herself.

Thus, in the film, she chooses Minto as a way out from her current predicament and try to get close to Fikri to gain favor from him so that she could get approval to marry his father which show how dependent she is to male figures in order to gain SES in similar fashion like Bu Tejo did with her husband.

4.2.2. Power-Over

When it comes to power-over, Allen (1998) defined it as "the ability of an actor or set of actors to constrain the choices available to another actor or set of actors in a nontrivial way." In the context of a film, Sutherland (2017) defined power over as "An actor can carry out his/her will over another; Domination, empowerment." In the movie, Dian is not shown to be able to carry her will over other characters at all due to her minimum appearance and interaction with other characters as well as due to her weaker social standing in society. However, what Dian actually has is the potential to have power over others by exploiting her feminine qualities which is her attractiveness as a woman that could allow her to have power over men that are attracted to her and over other women that are not as attractive as her. However, in the film she is not shown to exercise that power because such actions, that are considered inappropriate for a 'good' woman to do, will put her under scrutiny and ostracism even more. That potential that she has is the

very reason why Bu Tejo is exercising the power that she has over Dian in this film. Bu Tejo's actions and representation in the film falls under the first two categories of power-over that Sutherland (2017) posits (see Table.1) which are her becoming powerful by adopting masculine characteristics as well as engaging in the exploitation of others, which in the context of the film, towards Dian.

As mentioned in the previous part, Bu Tejo is depicted as a woman who showcases masculine qualities as she is shown to be a dominant, active, opinionated, and confident woman which is quite oppositional with how women typically portrayed in media. Those masculine qualities that she possesses gave her power and legitimacy to convince other housewives about the negative rumors surrounding Dian despite the fact that it is a mere speculation on her behalf. Additionally, it also enables her to deny those who opposed her particularly Yu Ning who tries to defend and questioning Bu Tejo's attitudes towards Dian. In the film, the way Bu Tejo exercising her power over Dian is through gossip. Gossip, according to McAndrew (2014), can be used as a way to learn unwritten rules in a particular social group as well as an effective form of punishment to deter deviant behavior and enforcing cooperation. Thus, gossip is typically used in response to social norm violation and is considered justified as

“moral” thing to do. Bu Tejo's gossiping about Dian in the film is thus considered justified among the housewives as an effort to ‘fix’ Dian who is seen as a social deviant who does not comply with what is expected of her as a woman.

Furthermore, on a more negative notes, McAndrew (2014) also stated that gossip could also be seen as an opportunity to manipulate reputations by circulating negative information on competitors with the goals of socially ostracizing or excluding social competitors from one's social group and to prevent them from maintaining a reliable social network on their own. The motives over such behavior, particularly among women, are usually related to envy over physical appearances or males. In the context of the films, such behavior is shown by Bu Tejo towards Dian because Dian as a single woman, who is physically attractive and popular among men, has a higher mating value and is considered as a potential threat for fear that she could disturb or even ruin their marriage by having an affair with their husbands. By initiating and participating in gossip about Dian, Bu Tejo is actively constraining the choices that Dian have in building social network with her surrounding in hope that she would get married and no longer be a threat for her and other housewives. Thus, the way Bu Tejo exercising her power over Dian by utilizing her masculine qualities through

gossip can be seen as a form of exploitation to maintain the power that she gained from her husband by eliminating Dian as a potential threat while at the same time solidifying her reputation in the social group. From the discussion on power relation between Bu Tejo and Dian above it is revealed that a patriarchal society, where the most viable way for women to gain power and improve their social standing is through marriage, creates a highly male-dependent ecosystem that pit woman against woman over males in mating competition that forces them to a power struggle instead of empowering one another.

4.2.3. Power-With

Power-with according to Allen (1998) is defined as “the ability of a collectivity to act together for the attainment of a common or shared end or series of ends.” Meanwhile, in the context of film, Sutherland (2017) defined it as a form of coalition that is needed in order to address oppression and inequality of which women are shown to experience restrictions in society, made aware to the extent of such restrictions, and work together to confront the restrictions. In the film *Tilik*, there are two scenes in which the women in the film are shown to work together for a common end. The first scene is when the truck that the housewives rode on broke down and they manage to restart the engine by

working together to push the truck (17:31-18:07). While the second one is when the truck was stopped by a policeman because riding on a truck is considered a traffic violation in which they managed to get away from the police by working together (22:26-23:40). Those two instances do show the women’s collective efforts in an attempt to reach a common goal which is to visit the Mayoress in the hospital. In both scenes, they are shown to be able to work together however they were not driven by the awareness of a form of oppression or as an effort to confront it. On the contrary, Bu Tejo and the housewives are actually shown to build coalition to perpetuate the restrictions by gossiping about Dian’s marital status and the negative rumors that surround her. As such, in terms of power-with there is an ambivalence in which the women in the film are shown to exercise their collective power for the sake of another woman (the mayoress) as well as working together against other woman (Dian) to maintain the status quo in a patriarchal society.

5. CONCLUSION

Despite its comedic genre and its short-duration, *Tilik* as a short film has subtly managed to show the complexity of women’s experiences in contemporary Indonesian society from the representation of its two female characters, Bu Tejo and Dian. It is indeed very easy to criticize and dismiss both women as either the victim

and victimizer and how the film portray women in a negative stereotypical manner from their representations. Bu Tejo could simply be reduced as another gossip woman who is far from exemplary of how a woman should be. Meanwhile Dian could also be reduced as a mere stereotypical helpless woman whose innocence revealed to be another beautiful seductive 'other woman.' However, by examining some significant aspects from their representation namely appearances, marital status, gender role portrayal, and socioeconomic status, it gave clearer context behind their actions as well as revealing some overlooked aspects from both characters. Bu Tejo is represented as a confident woman who is not afraid of voicing her opinion and able to use his traditional position as a housewife in public sphere by advancing her husband's political agenda for the advancement of her own SES. Meanwhile, Dian represented as a woman with lower SES that constantly defies society's gender expectation by being single, having her own career, and choosing a partner that is way above her age which is why she is being ostracized and treated as a social pariah. Thus, both women are represented in an ambivalent manner which may be the reason why it becomes a point of contention among its audience. Their representations also reveal to be driven by power-relation based on the intersectionality between gender, religion,

politics, economy, culture, and social class.

Additionally, by applying Amy Allen's Theory of Power (1998) and its application in film by Sutherland (2017) to analyze their representations, it revealed three recurring and persisting woman issues. In terms of power-to, marriage is shown as the only viable way for both women to gain social approval and in advancing their SES and how the unmarried ones were often met with disapproval and are constantly got pressured to get married from her surroundings. In terms of power-over, the fact that both characters are highly dependence on male in terms of gaining power, exercising their power, and maintaining their power in society leads to the power struggle between Bu Tejo and Dian. It is ironic considering the fact that the role of male characters in this film are minor but has major impacts on both of them. The third and final one is how patriarchal society creates a highly male-dependent ecosystem that pit woman against woman, who considered each other as threats, over males in mating competition that forces them to a power struggle instead of empowering one another which explains the absence of power-with or collaboration between women in the film.

In retrospective, *Tilik* has managed to reopen a public discussion and conversation about how a woman should be represented in the media as well as

bringing up the problematic issues regarding women that often taken-for-granted to the public space such as gender roles and expectations. From how the film represented both Bu Tejo and Dian, it also revealed the complex, long-standing, and problematic issues in regards of women and power on how they gain, exercise, and maintaining power that are still largely depend on male figures. The film acts as a sharp reminder of how it is often women themselves who perpetuate the patriarchy ideology by exploiting other women instead of being the ones who overcome it. The film also becomes a hard call for a more positive, progressive, and realistic representation of women in Indonesian cinema that could empower rather than distorting the images of women in order to break away from the long-maintained patriarchal constructed stereotypical roles.

The limitations of this particular research lie from the fact that it only used qualitative approach and focused only on the representations of Bu Tejo and Dian. Though it does make the research more focused, it also keeps the research from touching upon the feminist power relation in a wider social context. For future research, a similar research using the same film that includes other female characters in the film as well as the male characters may produce a more comprehensive analysis. Further research could also be conducted by analyzing how the media cover the

female characters of *Tilik* as well as how the audience are responding to the ambivalent women's portrayal in the film in order to find out how the female representations are actually interpreted by the audience using qualitative and quantitative approaches. Furthermore, an analysis of a more positive and progressive women representation on other Indonesian short films is still lacking and still need more exploration.

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