GENDER AND REPRESSION REFLECTED IN WASHINGTON-POST ONLINE GLOBAL OPINION BY MONA ELTHAWY

Gender dan Represi yang Tercermin pada Opini Global Online Washington-Post

Mona Elthawy

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Abstract
Many victims of sexual harassment try to come up in media social which pushed Mona Elthawy as a Moslem and feminist to write her opinion about this case. This research is aimed to found the idea of gender and repression which reflected in the Washington Post’s online global opinion entitle “#Mosquemetoo: What Happened When I was Sexually Assaulted during the Hajj”? written by Mona Elthawy. Technique of data analysis using Fairclough three dimensional approaches which the data is analyzed based on the text structure, discourse practice and sociocultural practice. Gender inequality and repression clearly exposed in her writing which the sentences emphasize to the women and herself as the victim and in her writing she stands for women, since Mona is Moslem and Feminist. The responsse due to the text written by Mona Elthawy is positive.

Keywords: critical discourse analysis, fairclough, gender, repression.

Abstrak
Banyak korban kekerasan seksual yang mulai menunjukkan dirinya melalui media sosial dan hal ini mendorong Mona Elthawy sebagai seorang muslim dan feminis untuk menuliskan pendapatnya tentang kejadian ini. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menemukan gender dan represi yang tercermin pada opini global online Washington Post yang berjudul “#Mosquemetoo: What Happened When I was Sexually Assaulted during the Hajj”? oleh Mona Elthawy. Teknik analisis data menggunakan pendekatan tiga dimensi oleh Fairclough, yaitu: tekstual, wacana, dan praktik sosial. Ketidakadilan terhadap perbedaan gender dan represi terlihat jelas dalam kalimatnya yang menunjukkan bahwa perempuan sebagai korban dan Mona berada di sisi perempuan karena Mona sendiri adalah seorang muslimah dan feminis. Respons terhadap teks yang ditulis oleh Mona Elthawy menunjukkan respons yang positif.
Kata kunci: analisis wacana kritis, Fairclough, gender, represi.
1. Introduction

Feminist and masculinity term reflected from behavior, belief, social organization. This condition raised the multicultural movement which called as feminism. Feminism is movement which struggle for gender equality constantly (Darma, 2009). Gender is a character in man or woman which constructed by social or cultural (Darma, 2009). Besides that, gender identity also called as subjective feeling inside every person. It is also called as the existence man or woman, which is important part for everyone, and it define every personal. Feminist should on behalf of women and stand for women wherever they are. In this case feminist should fight using their ideology especially in political field which showing the multicultural. Although feminist has been criticized that their ideology makes the women itself did not try to evolve, since their ideology try to generalize the problems with no consider to the geographic, knowledge, technology development and demography. However, still, there is a condition where gender raised in society with the wrong assumption. The condition is when women, in their life, already have been pattern by gender ideology. The ideology brings up the weakness which rooted in women profile. This pattern build by social created the gap between man and woman character. This condition could raise the repression as inequality of gender which reflected in the violence, sexual harassment, rape and so on.

The sexual harassment could happen to every woman in this world without consider the places, time or the profession. Many cases of sexual harassment spread in many work place such as, academic, athletic, music and film industry even in social places. Based on Cohen (2016) in TIME magazine, harassment at Yale and Harvard in late 1970s and early 1980s happened to 18 million women while work. Based on Anita Hill (2017) in New York Daily News Opinion that almost half of employees in the US --women said the experience of sexual harassment and became bias in the policies. The incident also happened in sacred place which is firstly posted by Sabia khan in Facebook at February 2018s about sexual abuse while tawwaf during hajj in mecca. She wrote that she was just ignored the incident and keep moving slowly since still in huge crowded.

Sabia Khan status raised by online media in some countries made Mona Eltahawy –as a feminist write her opinion in Washington Post Global Opinion –entitled “#MosqueMeToo: What happened when I was sexually assaulted during the hajj”. The way of writer in writing the text is very interesting which might influence by ideology based on the society the writer stands. Since language is the central aspect in describing the subject and through language, ideology is inside the language, so that the aspect could be analyze using critical discourse analysis (Darma, 2009). The ideology has the limitation which a system or idea is owned by group of society including the process in the production of meaning.

In this study, the researcher examine the representation of gender and repression used a critical discourse analysis by Fairclough through finding the linguistic aspects in the text. In critical discourse analysis by fairclough is study about an ideology which dominantly influenced the social practice which introduce in three dimensional as the method in analyzing a text in critical way: The Text describes the object and defines the relationship between object which reflects in representation in order to know how a personal, group and an idea is reflected in text (Eriyanto, 2001). The language text can be seen in vocabulary, grammatical or semantic which could raise the representation of the object which describe in the text, relation between the writer and the reader which shows in the text and the ideology of the writer.

Based on Tallerman (2011) Passive sentences have contrast structure with active sentences --have a transitive verb which has subject and direct object. Passive sentences become intransitive verb which have subject and no object. The passive sentences could be recognized by some sign such as, subject of
active sentences demoted to a by phrase or it could be deleted, object of the active sentence change to be subject of passive sentence, and passive must be contain of be + Past Participle–of the main verb. For example:

Active: The lecture explained the situation
Passive: The situation was explained (by the lecture)

Based on Keenan (1985) as cited in Tallerman (2011) there are some verb construction occur common in sentence as an auxiliaries such as get, be, become and receive. For example is my bike got stolen.

Based on Halliday (1976) stated that cohesion is related to the meaning between text which the relation between texts is shown from repeated word or reference which called reiteration and if the lexical item not repeated or the same, it is systemically related to the first one as synonym, superordinate or general word. However, the relation could be in opposite of lexical item which called as complementarity for example: boy... girl, stand up... sit down and wet... dry. The relation with the same order series such as: dollar... cent, road... rail, and red... green. The relation could be based on the occurrence in proximity for example: laugh... joke, garden... dig, and doctor... ill. There are some different cohesion devices:

1. Reference: pronominal (he, she, it, his, her, they, them, theirs); demonstrative (this, there, here, there, then); comparative (identical, similarity, more, less, as many)

2. Substitution: nominal (one, the same, so); verbal (do, be, have, do the same, do so, that); clausal (so, not)

3. Ellipsis: nominal (deictic as head, numerative as head, epithet as head); verbal (lexical verb only omitted is lexical ellipsis and all omitted except lexical verb is operator ellipsis); causal (all propositional element omitted is propotional ellipsis and all modal element omitted is modal ellipsis)

4. Conjunction: additive (and, and also, nor, and… not, or, furthermore, add to that, alternatively, by the way, incidentally, that is, in other words, thus, in the same way, on the other hand, by contrast); adversative (though, only, but, however, even so, in fact, at least, I mean, or rather, in any case); causal (then, therefore, in consequence, with this mind, for, because, it follows, to this end, in that case, under the circumstance, otherwise, in other respect); temporal (next, before that, in the end, first.. then, at first/ formerly… finally/ now, at once, soon, meanwhile, until then, at this moment, in conclusion, to sum up, to resume, now, of course, well, anyway, surely)

The next step is analyzing the production of the text and the text in the part of social process. The Discourse Practice, related to how the text is produced and consume (Eriyanto, 2001). The production of every text through the different process since every media has its own patterns and system. The production of text in media also will be different when a poem produced by personal process, since every writer has their own background, development in their profession, and skill in accurately in reporting or writing. The consumption of the text can distribute based on pattern and the type of the text or how the institution background which close to the text, since the every media routine has different patterns in distributing the message to society.

The Social Practice, related to relationship with the context and a culture of society, institution or the media itself which influence the production of the text (Eriyanto, 2001). First, social practice discussed the situation aspect when text is produced by the writer. The theme is raised in purpose to give what the reader needs or to attract the reader even to bring down other group, and the dominant value in society.

The dominant must be seen naturally until the concept is questioned and created public opinion. Since, concept becomes the source of idea to be communicated which found in words, sentences and utterance (Darma, 2014).
The linguistic aspect can be seen in the form of sentence, passive and active sentence and the cohesion between sentences in the text, which is focuses in social meaning.

Based on the background above, the researcher aimed to find the idea of gender and repression which reflected in the Washington Post’s Global entitle “#Mosquemetoo: What Happened When I was Sexually Assaulted during the Hajj”? written by Mona Elthawy.

**Method**

This research used qualitative approaches in explanation. Technique of data analysis used Fairclough three dimensional approaches which the data were analyzed based on the text structure, discourse practice and sociocultural practice. First step, in Fairclough’s model, the text is analyzed in linguistic aspect like vocabulary, semantic and grammar (Darman, 2009). The linguistic aspect in this study is passive and active sentence in order to see how the actor shows in the text and cohesion to make the analysis of text dimension stronger.

Second step, discourse practice is interpretation of the relationship between discursive process and text (Darman, 2009). In this step, the dimension relates to how the text produces and the consumption of the text. The third step, sociocultural practice is the explanation of the relationship between the discursive process and the social process (Darman, 2009). In this steps the context of situation relate to certain society or culture.

The data source in this research is an opinion text of Mona Elthahwy in Global Opinion of Washington Post online which published at February fifth 2018 entitled “#Mosquemetoo: What Happened When I was Sexually Assaulted during the Hajj”.

Data collection in this research by reading the text and the instrument is the researcher itself in analyzing the text.

2. Finding and Discussion

2.1 Textual Analysis: Gender and Repression in Passive Sentences

The passive sentence only shows the victim, the executant could be hided or erased (Eriyanto, 2001). There are seven passive sentences which showed the victim of repression in this text. The data explained as follows:

1. **I was sexually assaulted** twice while my family and I were performing the hajj. (paragraph two line three)

2. **I had been sexually assaulted** during the hajj. (paragraph five line eight)

3. they would rather **I shut up about being sexually assaulted during the hajj** (paragraph nine line four)

4. **I posted a series of tweets about being sexually assaulted during the pilgrimage** (paragraph six line 11)

5. **my body was groped, pinched and touched without my permission during the nine years** (paragraph five line two)

The data one- five syntactically showed the passive sentence structure which must be contain of be (was, had been and being) + Past Participle – of the main verb (sexually assaulted, groped, pinched and touched). The way Mona described herself is through this passive sentence. The passive sentence only showed the subject I and my body as the victim, whereas the object showed the executant is deleted or hide.

6. **She wrote about being sexually harassed while performing the tawwaf** (paragraph one line three)

7. **Muslim women have exposed sexual assault during the pilgrimage** (paragraph eight line two)

The data six and seven syntactically showed the passive sentence structure which
is must be contain of be (was, have, and being) + Past Participle –of the main verb such as: sexually harassed and exposed. The way Mona described the victims is through this passive sentence which is only showed the subject she and Muslim women as the victim, whereas the object which is showed the executant is deleted or hide.

There are two passive sentences which showed the executant of repression in this text. The data explained as follows:

8. Male officers who commit sexual abuse will be held accountable. (paragraph eight line seven)
9. The first assault was by a man who was performing the tawwaf (paragraph two line five)

The data eight and nine syntactically showed the passive sentence structure which is must be contain of be (was and will be) + Past Participle –of the main verb (held). The way Mona described the executant in the sentence eight is through this passive sentence which is showed the subject Male officer. The sentence nine showed the different shape of the passive sentences which using a sign of by phrase which is the subject a man put in the back after the word by.

From the analysis above Mona tried to emphasize that women gender is the victim of repression. The women represent her-self using I and using pronoun she to represent other women, the using of word sexually assault represent in passive sentence five times and showed clearly the activity of sexual assault with some words which could be categorized as repression such as: groped, pinched and touched (without permission). Mona emphasizes the executant only two times in passive sentence and both subject is represent opposite gender (men).

2.2 Gender and Repression in Cohesion Devices

Cohesive is related to the connection of a sentence to the next in the written text (Darma, 2009). In this analysis the cohesive devices represent with the repeated lexical item wrote used in the sentence two times which shown as follow:

A young Pakistani woman named Sabica Khan wrote a Facebook post this month about her harrowing experience at Islam’s holy site in Mecca, Saudi Arabia. She wrote about being sexually harassed while performing the tawwaf — the circling of the Ka’aba, the cubical structure toward which Muslims pray five times a day. (Paragraph one)

The lexical item shared repeated five times, one of the data shown as follows:

In response, hundreds of Muslim women shared similar experiences on her wall. Her post was shared at least 2,000 times. To support her, I started #MosqueMeToo and tweeted about my own experience of sexual assault during the Muslim pilgrimage, the hajj. (Paragraph first, line four)

Other lexical items like spoke, speak out, tweeted, spoke publicity, exposed and posted have the occurrence in proximity that shown from the lexical item and related to the other sentences. Cohesion device and, in paragraph two line one, as additive conjunction. Those repeating lexical items, the occurrence in proximity and the using of cohesion device, are represented the freedom and braveness of the victims especially women in showing their voice and opinion in their mind, also from their experience of sexual assault. The relation of the sentence, also could be in opposite of lexical item I explained before, the use of stay silent (paragraph four line three) and shut up (paragraph nine line four) which called as complementarity shown the un-freedom and fear to show their voice.

The using lexical item experience as shown in the text above used by the writer which referring to the occurrence of sexual assault.
This lexical item repeated for five times and also there are some lexical items which have the occurrence in proximity such as: **such violation** (Paragraph six, line seven) and **something so awful** (paragraph four, line three). Sexual assault systemically related to some superordinate, such as **hand shoved onto your buttocks** (paragraph two line seven), **fondled my breast** (paragraph two line thirteen), and **groped, pinched and touched without my permission** (paragraph five line two). The occurrence of sexual assault also use the cohesion device **that** in paragraph three line three and paragraph five line fourteen as a demonstrative reference. Also, cohesion device **it** in paragraph four line one, paragraph six line three and paragraph seven line three and four as pronominal reference. The temporal correlative of the sexual assault occurrence in paragraph two line five with lexical item the **first** and line nine with lexical item the **second**.

From the finding above, it shows that woman and the writer were the victims of sexual assaulted and take any other kind of repression. Another research by Larsson (2018) also shown that, the gender inequality is the main factor of conflict and some violence. The inequality of the gender also showed, for example, when the victims prefer to be silent rather than shows up their self. The woman felt that showing their self as the victims is shame and useless since they have no support after doing the less violent movements for example become open and told that sexual assaulted happen to them.

### 2.3 Discourse Practice

Discourse practice focuses on the analysis of production and consumption of discourse. The production of discourse is based on how Mona Eltahawy state about her ideology, background of profession and the neutrality as the writer. She calls herself a proud liberal Muslim. In 2005, she was named a Muslim Leader of Tomorrow by the American Society for Muslim Advancement and she is a member of the Communications Advisory Group for Musawah, the global movement for justice and equality in the Muslim family. Before she moved to the U.S. in 2000, Mona Eltahawy was a news reporter in the Middle East for many years, including almost six years as a Reuter’s correspondent and she reported for various media from Egypt, Israel, Palestine, Libya, Syria, Saudi Arabia and China. Mona is an award-winning columnist and international public speaker on Arab and Muslim issues and global feminism which based in Cairo and New York. She is the author of “Headsscarves and Hymens: Why the Middle East Needs a Sexual Revolution” and a contributor to the New York Times opinion pages. Her commentaries have appeared in several other publications and she is a regular guest analyst on various television and radio shows. In this text Mona Eltahawy takes side in women where she stated it as “my sister” rather than as the community of fellow Moslem.

The media routine as the producer and the consumer of discourse showed how the pattern is when shaping the news. The Washington Post has experimented with the way in engaged the international readers and translating key political stories which they firstly consume the discourse before share it to the world. After that, translating foreign news into different languages and exploring the way to create more personal reading experience for user based on location. It shows that the media try to produce for the readers. Mona Eltahawy write in Global Opinion build by Washington Post in 2016 which mixing some viewpoints as the columnist and fresh voices from her region. The text “#Mosquemetoo: What Happened When I was Sexually Assaulted during the Hajj” is represent the real context in the sacred place of holly Mecca and the text is written in Arabic and English which is corresponding to the Washington Post Global Opinion pattern to supported the experience reading based on location for the reader.
2.4 Sociocultural Practice
This dimension is related to relationship with the context and a culture of society, institution or the media itself which influence the production of the text (Eriyanto, 2001). Social practice discussed the situation aspect when text is produce. Mona Eltahawy indirectly involve Sabia Khan’s experience which posted in facebook about sexual assaulted during the hajj either Mona’s experience to show the situation when she produce the text. The “Me Too” hash tag in twitter at least one year also support this text to produce.

The theme raised in purpose to give what the reader needs or to attract the reader even to bring down other group. Based on the situation above, Mona is not the first one which raised this case in social media and Opinion column. Though, she start this movement even before there is “Me Too” movement. She has purpose to adding what the reader and society needs in term of gender and repression.

The dominant value in society shows from the responses of Mona’s writing entitled “#Mosquemetoo: What Happened When I was Sexually Assaulted during the Hajj” and her status update in twitter in promoting her writing. Mona’s status update showed positive responses since many Moslem women and men also share their own or their sister and mother experience being sexual assault during the hajj. Her writing shows that there is equality gender that she builds from her ownself as the feminist. This effort react some responses which showed from some country such as: Indonesia, Turkish, Arab, French, German, Spanish and others based on the media online which re-reported Mona’s writing about sexual assault during the hajj. This response showed that this case should be raise and speak, since the silence could not protect other women. Since Larsson (2018) states that although the gender equality is only the normative change it still giving impact especially in reducing the violence. Besides that, there are negative responses of her writing based on twitter such as account @mdchandhyd and @immortal_5a which reply @monaeltahawy to prove the accusation or it just Mona’s trick to be famous and even asking whether Mona is Moslem or not. Those are the expression which did not believe to what happened to other Moslem women during the hajj since Mecca is the sacred place they believed there is nothing such sexual assault could happen.

3. Conclusion
Based on the discussion above, it can be conclude that gender inequality and repression clearly exposed Mona Eltahawy’s writing entitled “#Mosquemetoo: What Happened When I was Sexually Assaulted during the Hajj. Based on the sentence, the women emphasize as the victim of sexual assaulted and the condition where bring Mona to speaks for women. Also, the text is corresponding to the media and Mona takes side to women, since Mona is Moslem and Feminist. The response due to the text written by Mona Eltahawy is positive.

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