

A MADURESE WOMAN AND EARLY MARRIAGE: DOMINATION, RESISTANCE, AND COMMODIFICATION IN A SHORT STORY “SORTANA” BY MUNA MASYARI

(Perempuan Madura dan Tradisi Pernikahan Dini: Dominasi, Resistansi,
dan Komodifikasi dalam Cerpen “Sortana” oleh Muna Masyari)

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Abstrak

Suku Madura merupakan salah satu suku yang masih memegang erat tradisi perjodohan. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis representasi tokoh utama, seorang perempuan Madura yang hidupnya telah ditentukan oleh ayahnya dan masyarakat patriarki, dalam cerpen “Sortana” oleh Muna Masyari. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif. Data dikumpulkan setelah melakukan pembacaan cermat. Kritik sastra feminis yang didukung oleh teori Marxisme, khususnya teori komodifikasi, diterapkan untuk mengungkap dan menganalisis posisi serta nilai-nilai perempuan Madura dalam cerita tersebut. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Muna Masyari menggambarkan seorang perempuan Madura yang harus mengalami ketidakadilan gender karena pernikahan dini. Cerpen “Sortana” mengungkapkan tindakan resistansi yang dilakukan oleh tokoh utama terhadap dominasi laki-laki. Selain itu, cerpen tersebut juga mengungkap adanya tindakan komodifikasi di balik perjodohan dini.

Kata kunci: laki-laki; perempuan; dominasi; resistansi; komodifikasi

Abstract

Madura is one of amongst patriarchal societies which hold its tradition of arranged marriage in recent days. This study aimed to analyze the main character's representation as a Madurese woman whose life has been determined by her father and patriarchal society in Muna Masyari's short story entitled “Sortana”. This study used a qualitative design, and data collection used close-reading. Feminist literary criticism, which is supported by Marxism theory, particularly commodification theory, was applied to reveal and analyze the position and values of a Madurese woman in the story. The results of this study showed that Muna Masyari portrays a Madurese woman who has to experience gender injustice related to an arranged marriage. The short story “Sortana” uncovers resistance by the main character toward men's domination. In addition, the short story also reveals the act of commodification behind arranged marriage.

Keywords: man; woman; domination; resistance; commodification

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INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of early marriage or child marriage occurs in various regions in Indonesia. One of which is Madura (Jamilah, 2019; Munawara et al., 2015; Suyono, 2018). Child marriage in Madura is one of the social phenomena in the community, which is easily influenced by the culture adopted, which is still deeply rooted (Bawono & Suryanto, 2019; Rofika & Hariastuti, 2020). As a place that still adheres to and preserves traditions and culture, the tradition of matchmaking or marriage from an early age in Madura is a tradition that is still ongoing today. This happens for several reasons, such as poverty and economic burdens, particularly among low-income families (Jamilah, 2019; Susanti, 2019). Then, parents' concerns about their daughter's future life and socio-cultural factors are still deeply rooted in society. Furthermore, Sa'dan explained that several places in Madura still carry out the tradition where families match their children since they were still in the womb (Sa'dan, 2015). In addition, Suyono stated that religious leaders (*kiai*) in Madura influenced much in maintaining the tradition for Madurese people put high respect on *Kiai* (Suyono, 2018).

Parents and *kiai* are among the socio-cultural hierarchy ladder that holds an important position in Madurese society, for they have a philosophy called *bhuppa'-bhabhu'-ghuru-rato*. In Bahasa Indonesia, *bhuppa bhabhu* means father and mother, *ghuru* means *kiai*, and *rato* means government. This philosophy symbolizes the sincerity and devotion reflected in daily interactions in the Madurese community. For ethnic Madurese entities, hierarchical compliance is a necessity to be actualized in daily practice as a binding "normative rule". Therefore, the intentional neglect or violation of these rules causes the perpetrators to be subject to social and cultural sanctions (Taufiqurrahman, 2007).

In addition, Hefni stated that obedience to parents (father and mother) is given at first position because there is a

religious-cultural structure in the form of religious and cultural obligations and ethics because they have given birth and raised children to adulthood (Hefni, 2007). Hefni further explains why the term *bhuppa'* (father) and *bhabhu* (mother) are placed at the first and second positions in hierarchical compliance. The first term is placed at the beginning because of the father's position. The patriarchal cultural system that developed in Madura also became a socio-religious structure that established the father's position as the first person to be respected. In contrast, the latter term is in the second place because it cannot be separated from the position of women who are under the hegemony of men. Madurese people also highly respect teachers (religious leaders) for teaching religious sciences to their students. Lastly, the Madurese people respect and obedience to the *rato* or government (people who hold positions in government) because the government has a high social status in Madura. From this explanation, it is becoming clear that parents and *kiai* have strong influences on the continuity of the tradition of early marriage.

Arranged marriage in Madura is not only an interesting topic to study but also one of the topics or issues raised by literary writers from Madura. One of the writers from Madura who covered this issue was Muna Masyari in one of her short stories entitled "Sortana" which means *kasur tanah*. The short story won *Kompas* best short story in 2017 and was published in a collection of short stories entitled *Martabat Kematian* (Masyari, 2019). The idea for this short story and her other works came from the tradition and cultures in her village (Safutra, 2020).

In 2020, Muna Masyari received the Sutasoma Award from Balai Bahasa Jawa Timur. In the same year, Muna Masyari published her first novel entitled "Damar Kembang". Through her works, short stories, and novels, Muna Masyari consistently depicts the position and voice of Madurese women, whether as a woman, a child, a mother, or a daughter-in-law confronted with

the socio-cultural values of the patriarchal Madurese community.

The short story entitled “Sortana” reveals the narrative of a woman associated with the tradition of early marriage in Madura. Ilma, Bakthawar, and Pamulang stated that *sortana* itself means giving gifts to people who have contributed to the corpse, namely grave diggers, people who read *talqin* and perform ablution of corpses. Sortana is also given to a *kiai* who teaches religion to the corpse when it is still alive (Ilma & Bakthawar, 2020). This short story tells about its main characters, "Embu" and her daughter, the character "You" which is narrated by the supporting character "I". The "I" character is a witness to “Embu” life journey as well as Embu’s confidant. The "Embu" character was matched by his parents ever since she was a baby because of her family's poverty. At the end of the story, Embu' dies, and the character "You" marries a man who turns out to be her biological father. Through the lens of the “I” character, the readers are invited to see Embu’s misery because of her father. Therefore, it is interesting to discuss the position of a Madurese woman in society by focusing the analysis on male domination over women.

The short story “Sortana” and other short stories from Muna Masyari have been used as sources of research by many researchers. Ridwan and Suminto A. Sayuti explored locality in Madura (Ridwan & Sayuti, 2020), while Nur Jatnika explored the theme and moral values for teaching material (Nurjatnika, 2019). Faozi and Qomariyah examined the short story “Sortana” by looking at the aspects of moral values reflected in the short story (Faozi & Qomariyah, 2020). Ilma and Bakhtawar studied the short story “Sortana” by Muna Masyari, along with two other short stories “Di Tubuh Tarra, dalam Rahim Pohon” by Faisal Oddang, and “Linuwih Aroma Jarik Baru” by Anggun Prameswari, from the perspective of the sociology of literature. The results of the study show that the three short stories display the theme of death ceremonies according to their respective regions so that they place the story as a representation of

locality (Ilma & Bakthawar, 2020). In addition, Roifah and Hartanto also researched the short story “Sortana” and other short stories written by Muna Masyari from the feminist approach, especially gynocriticism. The results showed that of the four gynocriticism models proposed by Elaine Showalter, Muna Masyari's short stories did not explore women's bodies as a source of writing. On the other hand, Muna Masyari talks more about women's psyche and the language used by Madurese women, and narratives about Madurese culture (Roifah & Hartanto, 2019). However, none of them analyzed men’s domination over women related to the tradition. In addition, the issue of unequal gender relations and women’s resistance in different literary works has been analyzed by Fatmawati and Hurley-Powell. Fatmawati analyzed Madurese men’s domination over women in “Tandak” by Mahwi Air Tawar. The results show a Madurese woman is depicted as inferior, weak, and marginalized whereas a man is superior, strong, and dominant. There are some symbolic resistances, but man's power still cannot be fully seized by a woman (Fatmawati, 2017). Hurley-Powell analyzed a dystopian genre novel entitled “Dawn” by Octavia Butler for she finds the female protagonist resists the gender-based oppression from the margins through her body, voice, and intelligence (Hurley-Powell, 2019).

This study examines the short story “Sortana” by Muna Masyari by looking at how the domination of men over a Madurese woman has a commodification aspect. In addition, this short story also displays the resistance carried out by the female character. Therefore, to analyze “Sortana” this study used the theory of Feminism and Marxist commodification.

It is necessary to apply feminist literary criticism because the character that the writer will discuss is a woman. Soenarjati Djajanegara writes that literary works featuring female characters can generally be studied from a feminist perspective. Fiction, play, and poetry may be studied with a feminist approach, as long as there are female

characters. We will easily use this approach if the female character is associated with the male character. It does not matter whether they play the main character, protagonist, or subordinate character (Djajanegara, 2000).

Tyson explained that it is helpful to examine how literary texts reinforce patriarchy because the ability to see when and how patriarchal ideology operates is crucial to our ability to resist it in our own lives (Tyson, 2015). Thus, since literary works exhibit particular ideologies, it is necessary to examine how women are defined and portrayed within patriarchal ideology.

Moreover, Arimbi argued that certain texts, still, can be analyzed using a feminist perspective even though the texts “says nothing about gender relations, depicts no women at all”. In addition, diverse questions are posed if we critically analyze texts using a feminist’s perspective. In her book, Arimbi writes feminist literary critique may question the ways a particular text define and portray women, how it portrays gender relations, how it labels sexual difference, how it terms power relations between different gender role, and so forth (Arimbi, 2009).

Tyson stated that patriarchies or patriarchal cultures refer to the majority of cultures that positioned men in occupying most or all positions of power and, therefore, put women in an oppressed situation. Feminism, further, strives to comprehend and recognize how women are oppressed to reduce, if not eliminate their oppression (Tyson, 2011). Furthermore, Dobie remarked in examining and protesting the power relationships of men and women in literature, Feminist critics have expanded their focus to include several marginalized subgroups in society. Thus, they frequently look at writers from cultures as varied and different as those of blacks (African Americans and other people of color), Hispanics, Asian American, Jews, and lesbians (Dobie, 2012).

Tyson, in her book *Critical Theory Today*, states that patriarchal culture places men in a higher position than women, or men are said to be superior, both physically and intellectually. Feminist activists observe that the beliefs held by society in judging men and

women enable men to maintain their monopoly over their power in the economic, political, and social fields. On the other hand, this position put many women in a position of powerlessness and weakness, thus justifying that women are unable to pursue higher education and at the same time find work to gain economic, political, and social power. Therefore, the inferior position experienced by women in a patriarchal society is culturally constructed, not outwardly (Tyson, 2015).

The patriarchal culture views women as having to conform to their traditional gender roles. Tyson writes that traditional gender roles assume that men are rational, strong, protective, and policymakers at various times. On the other hand, women are considered emotional beings, in other words, women are irrational, weak, resigned, and have a nurturing spirit (Tyson, 2015). The values of traditional gender roles put women in a disadvantageous position because women are considered not to have the same competence as men to decide and do things, both in the private and public spheres. Thus there is injustice and marginalization of the position of women. This further confirms the sexism in the patriarchal body which means that patriarchy “reinforces the belief that women are inferior from birth or innate” (Tyson, 2015).

Furthermore, Sultana (Sultana, 2012) argues “Due to patriarchy, women were deprived of their legal rights and opportunities patriarchal values restrict women’s mobility, reject their freedom over themselves as well as their property”. Referring to the statements, the main female character Embu’ can be analyzed by linking her position with male figures or further with patriarchal community traditions to describe the situation experienced by Embu’ when she was under male domination.

This study focuses on three variables namely domination, resistance, and commodification. Hence, it is important to explain each meaning. According to *Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries*, the word *domination* means to control or power over somebody/something, especially in

unpleasant ways. In this context, patriarchy puts Embu in a situation where she cannot choose her freedom over her life. However, in the middle of the tense situation, Embu' can find a way to fight back or to do resistance to patriarchal ideology. *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries* defines *resistance* as dislike of or opposition to a plan, an idea, etc; the act of refusing to obey (Resistance, n.d.). The last variable is commodification. According to Lois Tyson, commodification is the act of relating to objects or persons in terms of their exchange value or sign-exchange value (Tyson, 2015).

Another theory used in this study is a Marxist theory, particularly commodification. For Marxism, an object has three values, use value, exchange value, and sign-exchange value. Tyson explains (Tyson, 2006) that an object becomes a commodity only when it has exchange value or sign-exchange value. Both forms of value are determined by the society in which the object is exchanged. Commodification is the act of relating to objects or persons in terms of their exchange value or sign-exchange value (Tyson, 2015).

A further explanation about commodification will be given in examples. Someone probably buys a bag for its use-value, which is to bring something. If the bag is extremely expensive, designed by a famous designer, one can sell the bag for money since it has exchange value. However, if one uses the expensive bag to impress other people so that they think that one belongs to a super-rich family, then it has a sign-exchange value. In this case, one commodifies the object (the expensive bag) because the bag has exchange value and sign-exchange value. The same situation also happens to human beings. Moreover, Tyson argues (Tyson, 2015) that when someone structures his or her relationship with other people to advance his or her social status or financial status in society, then it can be regarded that he or she commodifies human beings.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is qualitative research with the close reading method. This method is carried out to obtain and fully understand the essence of the short story. Creswell and Creswell stated that qualitative research relies on text and image data, has unique data analysis steps, and draws on diverse designs (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The data of this study is in the form of words or sentences related to the actions or speech of the characters in the short story. After the data is collected, the researcher then removes data unrelated to the research question. The analysis is carried out by interpreting the data using the theory of feminism and commodification. In addition, to support data analysis, information about the traditions or socio-cultural values of Madura was also included.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Domination

In Madura, the parents do the matchmaking activities for their children—even when the child is still a baby. The activities have been a tradition since it is carried out for generations. As a tradition that is closely attached to the Madurese community, matchmaking activities or early marriage is said to be legal and usually occur because they receive support from various parties whose social status is influential in the community. Therefore, it is common if parents to want to match their children, even at a very young age. In a society that adheres to a patriarchal system, it is very common for the male head of the family to decide and determine everything that happens in a family. The father's decision is absolute, including the decision to determine a life partner for his children, especially for daughters. Thus, being in the middle of a patriarchal system makes women occupy an inferior position or second-class citizens. This system places women in a difficult situation because the closest person, that is the father (male), dominates and oppresses

women's lives. In addition, other female family members have no decision but to be obedient and submissive.

This also happens to the character Embu' in the short story "Sortana". Due to her poor and unlucky family condition, her father had no money when she (Embu') was born. Another character who is a rich old man then comes and gives money to Embu's father to pay for his daughter's birth, however, there is no such free lunch. The old male character wants baby Embu' to be his wife in the future. The patriarchal culture places men in a superior position so that there is an assumption that men should not fail in anything, including providing for the financial needs of their families. This resulted that finally, the father character agrees to this matchmaking. Embu's tells her story to her daughter as follows.

"Ayahmu memang sudah tua saat menikahi embu', dan ia tidak memiliki keturunan satu pun dari istri-istrinya terdahulu. Kakekmu terpaksa menjodohkan embu' yang baru lahir dengan lelaki kaya yang sudah beristri tiga itu demi membalas budi setelah membantu biaya kelahiran embu'. Kata kakekmu, ia tidak mau menanggung utang budi hingga mati." (Masyari, 2019)

"Your father was indeed old when he married embu', and he did not have any offspring from his previous wives. Your grandfather was forced to match the newly born embu'to with the rich man who already has three wives to repay the favor after helping to pay for the birth of embu'. Your grandfather said he didn't want to be indebted to death. (writer's translation)

The quotation shows that avoiding debt for the rest of his life is the reason for Embu's father to agree to the match even though he has to 'sacrifice' his child to marry a man who is far from his daughter's age. Moreover, the old man's character was incapable of having offspring from his previous wives.

Embu's father places Embu' in a situation where she is a female member of a family who does not have the right to determine and choose her path in life. In the

name of "moral duty" and "avoiding debt of gratitude", Embu's father dominates his daughter and her life by depriving her of rights and mobility.

"Tidak ada pilihan baginya kecuali tunduk di hadapan orangtua. Pada tradisi takdir perjodohan bayi." (Masyari, 2019)

"She has no choice but to submit to his parents. In the fateful tradition of early-matchmaking." (writers' translation).

The quote shows that his father's abstract values are a legal way to continue the tradition of matchmaking and early marriage in Madurese society. Rejecting the tradition, for Madurese daughters, can make themselves labeled as disobedient and rebel children or in other words, bad women. Thus, in Madurese society, women who refuse to matchmake conducted by their parents will be seen as old maids. It is supported by Roifah (Roifah, 2021) who argues that Madurese women are not free to conceptualize their marriage as they want and dream of. The marriage they carried out as a form of adherence to tradition and to avoid negative stigma.

"Risiko menolak tradisi perjodohan bayi, selain dipandang sebagai anak perempuan tidak laku, ujung-ujungnya kelak ia menikah dengan orang dari luar daerahnya." (Masyari, 2019)

"There is a risk of rejecting the tradition of matchmaking for babies, apart from being seen as a spinster, in the end, she will marry someone from outside her area." (writer's translation).

This causes Madurese women to be afraid if they are labeled as women who are rebellious and unmarried. So, they prefer to be submissive and comply with family wishes and passive to community traditions.

The patriarchal system considers good women to be women who can show their loyalty to the traditional gender roles, namely submissive and weak. So, a good daughter is a daughter who obeys the wishes of the

family, in this case, it is the decision of the father or the decision of the man. Furthermore, if the daughter is already married, then the patriarchal society considers a good wife to be a faithful wife, even though her husband has died. This is also found in the short story.

“Katanya, kehormatan seorang perempuan setelah menjadi istri berada pada kesetiaannya.” (Masyari, 2019)

“They [the society] said, the honor of a woman after becoming a wife lies in her loyalty.” (writer’s translation).

Thus, patriarchal society wants or idealizes a good portrait of a woman if she is a submissive and loyal daughter or wife. If she becomes a widow, then she must be a faithful widow by not remarrying after her husband dies.

In other words, the words ‘being faithful and loyal’ brings other consequences for a woman. She is in a difficult position because she has to sacrifice her desires and needs to fulfill the demands for the idealized portrait of women in a patriarchal society. This is in line with the description of the “good girl” in the eye of patriarchal communities where patriarchal cultures determine women who fit into patriarchal virtues and values. Tyson said that the “good girl” is rewarded for her behavior by being placed on a pedestal by patriarchal culture. To her are attributed all the virtues associated with patriarchal femininity and domesticity: she’s modest, unassuming, self-sacrificing, and nurturing. She has no needs of her own, for she is completely satisfied by serving her family (Tyson, 2015).

In the short story “Sortana”, the character Embu' chooses to keep her love for another man and be loyal to her husband rather than fulfill her desire to marry the man she loves.

“Setelah menikah, embu’ memilih setia pada ayahmu, yang telah menjadi tunangannya sejak masih bayi dan memendam cintanya dalam-dalam.” (Masyari, 2019)

"After getting married, embu' chose to be loyal to your father, who had been her fiancé since she was a baby and kept her love deep down in her heart." (writer’s translation).

This quote also shows that patriarchal society wants women's devotion and sacrifice for their loyalty to their husbands. So, the value of the wife's loyalty to her husband becomes a tool to dominate women.

Resistance

Although Muna Masyari places the character of Embu' as a victim of the system adopted by a patriarchal society, the author also describes her as a victim who fights back by resisting the system. The character of Embu' resists the value of a wife's loyalty and obedience by secretly having an affair with another man. It is narrated that, at the end of the short story, the character "I" reveals the dark secret of Embu' life that the character "You" is Embu's daughter with the character of Sakdulla, a teacher who teaches Al-Qur'an. They both loved each other when Embu' was a *santri* at Kek Sakdulla's house. But they cannot get married because of differences in social status, and Embu' is bound by an arranged marriage since she was a baby.

“Ada satu amanah lagi yang embu’ titipkan padaku; menjaga rahasianya. Rahasia identitasmu. Kau dan siapa pun tidak boleh tahu, bahwa Keh Sakdulla, lelaki yang baru saja menikahimu adalah ayah biologismu. Sebagai perempuan yang dulu menjadi santri abdi di rumah Keh Sakdulla, akulah saksi cinta mereka yang kandas karena status sosial dan tradisi perjodohan.” (Masyari, 2019)

“There is one more thing that Embu’ has entrusted to me; keep it as her secret. The secret of your identity. You and no one else should know that Keh Sakdulla, the man who just married you is your biological father. As a woman who used to be a servant student at Keh Sakdulla's house, I am the witness of their love that ran aground because of social

status and the tradition of matchmaking.”
(writer’s translation)

The quote implies that the character of "You" can be considered a symbol of resistance by the Embu' toward the socio-cultural values of the Madurese community which dominates her life so that she does not have the right to determine her future life. Embu's action to have a secret relationship with the man she loves and her decision to have the character "you" as a child out of a legal marriage can be considered her resistance against legal ties between families, husband and wife in a patriarchal society.

Embu' and "I" choose to keep secret the biological father of You" and let the public know that the "You" character is the daughter of Embu' and her husband, the old rich man. Although Muna Masyari revealed that the character "You" heard rumors that she was not his father's biological daughter in her short story, the rumors were left unattended without any resolution. Until the end of the story, the character "I" still does not tell the dark secret of Embu' to "You". Unexpectedly, Embu' finally allowed her daughter's wish to marry her biological father, namely the character of Kek Sakdullah.

“Kaulah sortana bagi embu'. Keberadaanmu tentu semakin melekatkan ingatan lelaki itu padanya. Pada cinta pertama mereka. Hari inilah hari kematian embu', sekaligus hari pernikahanmu. Memang demikian pesan yang embu' titipkan padaku; menikahkanmu di dekat kerandanya”.
(Masyari, 2019)

“You are sortana for embu'. Your presence will certainly stick the man's [Kek Sakdullah] memory to her. On their first love. Today is the day of Embu's death, as well as your wedding day. That is the message that embu' left to me; marry you near her coffin.”
(writer’s translation)

From the quotation above, Embu's decision can be interpreted as Embu' intention to make the character "You" a way or a 'tool' or as a

reminder so that Kek Sakdullah still remembers Embu' as his first love. Just like the meaning of Sortana itself which means a reminder of the dead.

Muna Masyari depicts a female character that fights back or resists the situation dominated by patriarchy. At first, she is portrayed as a woman who seems submissive, yet she resists it later. As Hurley-Powell argues “to resist gendered power, female characters often have to put on a charade of compliance to resist it later. If they were to act outwardly resistant, they would be terminated or removed, which would render resistance impossible” (Hurley-Powell, 2019).

Commodification

As previously discussed, the short story “Sortana” portrays men’s domination over women. However, Muna Masyari not only shows the dominance of a father over his daughter but also can be seen as an act of commodification of a daughter by her father or the commodification of a woman by a patriarchal society. In the short story, Sortana narrates that the father is given financial aid when Embu' is born. To repay the old rich man’s help, Embu' father agreed to a request to match his daughter with the old man.

“Ayahmu memang sudah tua saat menikahi embu', dan ia tidak memiliki keturunan satu pun dari istri-istrinya terdahulu. Kakekmu terpaksa menjodohkan embu' yang baru lahir dengan lelaki kaya yang sudah beristri tiga itu demi membalas budi setelah membantu biaya kelahiran embu'. Kata kakekmu, ia tidak mau menanggung utang budi hingga mati.” (Masyari, 2019)

"Your father was indeed old when he married embu', and he did not have any offspring from his previous wives. Your grandfather was forced to match the newly born embu' with the rich man who already has three wives to repay the favor after helping to pay for the birth of embu'. Your grandfather said he didn't want to be indebted to death. (writer’s translation)

Embu experienced an arranged marriage when she was a baby because her father did not want to bear "moral obligations and debts" to the old man for the rest of his life. So, it can be further analyzed that moral obligations and indebtedness have become a way to dominate and carry out commodification actions. Muna Masyari points out that Embu's virginity, youth, and cheerfulness have been exchanged by his father for money, moral obligations, and indebtedness. In addition, the sign-exchange value refers to the change in social status that Embu' father and the old man get in the eyes of the community.

By marrying Embu' to a rich man, Embu' family's position and social status will change from a poor family to a rich one, even though Embu' will become the fourth wife. Likewise with the rich old man who previously had three wives, when Embu' gave birth to a daughter, namely the character "You", the status of the rich old man then changed to a father. Thus, he is no longer considered a barren man. Kamalia Novi stated that in Madura, men who fail to impregnate their wives are called *jubheng*, or men who are unproductive, weak, sick, and defeated. So, his wife has the right to divorce him. In addition, the patriarchal Madurese community also calls men who are not able to maintain one aspect of their masculinity—having many children—are called men who are not lake' (not macho, not manly, and not masculine) (Novi, 2020). Thus, in the eyes of the Madurese community, the rich old man is considered to have been able to prove his masculinity.

From the discussion above, we know the position of this study. The discussion discloses the men's rules are visible throughout the story. In addition, the discussion reveals that this study is in line with feminist concerns about women and men's relations in a patriarchal society. Even when her husband dies, she has to restrain her desire for labeled as a loyal and faithful wife according to the patriarchal system. This means a Madurese woman represented by Embu can experience cultural and structural pressures (Sudarso et al., 2019). Hence, it is

proved that this study aligns with Tyson's that in the patriarchal system where men benefit most, women become the victim. This is due to the assumption that they are superior to women. Therefore, they must control, dominate, and oppress women, even with acts of violence, to perpetuate this superior position (Tyson, 2015).

The discussion of this study about resistance is in accordance with the statement by Foucault about resistance. Sawicki wrote that in Foucault's notes, there are "a plurality of resistances" and "each of them a special case," which indicates there are countless ways for an individual to resist because resistance is contextual and specific to one's unique circumstances (Hurley-Powell, 2019). Muna Masyari depicts a specific situation that is very typical and occurs in Madura, namely early marriage. Hence, Embu's resistance is also contextual and specific because of the situation.

However, the writer of this study found an issue that is rarely to be analyzed. Behind the domination of male cultures depicted in this short story, this study demonstrates that Embu's father practices commodification. Thus, the study also supports the theory of commodification in the way how other human beings commodify human beings. From the day Embu' was born she has no right to choose her future life because it has been determined by her father. She is commodified by her father in exchange for money and social status for her family since they are poor families.

Five previous studies analyzed the same source of data and two previous studies analyzed the same issues in different literary works. Thus, it is essential to display the findings and previous studies' correlations to expose this study's novelty.

This study is not aligned with the previous study by Ridwan and Sayuti (2020) because it used a different theory. This study covers feminism and commodification, while the previous one used sociology of literature to explore Madura locality.

The previous study from Ilma and Bakhtawar (2020) is not aligned with this study because the theory is different. Ilma

and Bakhtawar used sociology of literature and this study used feminism and commodification. However, the previous study gives additional information about the meaning of *sortana*. *Sortana*, in this short story, is used as the story's background and functions as a paradox to criticize certain phenomena. This study is also not aligned with the previous studies by Nur Jatnika (2019) and Faozi and Qomariyah (2020) since those studies discussed moral values in human relationships.

The previous study by Roifah and Hartanto (2019) is aligned with this study since this study continues the focus of the previous study: Madurese women's representation in literary works by Muna Masyari. However, the previous one explores the four Gynocriticism models proposed by Elaine Showalter. The four models are women's writing and women's body, women's writing, and women's language, women's writing and women's psyche, and women's writing and women's culture.

This study continues the concept of Fatmawati's study which highlights Madurese women's position in Madurese patriarchal society. However, in the margin position, the female character resists the system through her body (Fatmawati, 2017). The discussion of this study supports the study by Meghan Hurley-Powell in the concept that the main female character can demonstrate and exercise resistance from a marginal domain even though she experiences gender-based oppression (Hurley-Powell, 2019).

CONCLUSION

Muna Masyari, through the short story "Sortana", narrates the impact of the patriarchal Madurese society on women through the tradition of early matchmaking experienced by the character of Embu'. It is clearly shown that women are victims of the domination of patriarchal values that place the main character of this story as a character who does not have the right to be vocal and to determine her life.

This short story portrays a woman who is in line with the values of traditional gender roles, namely being submissive and passive and in accordance with the depiction of the good girl in patriarchal cultures. However, when examined further, in the resignation of the Embu' character, she can resist the patriarchal values that bind her. The resistance carried out by the character of Embu' shows Muna Masyari illustrates that even in a margin situation, a woman can fight for herself in her subtle way. Through this short story, Muna Masyari creates a touching human reality, which is full of conflict and at the same time shows the consequences of the actions taken.

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