

JUGUN IANFU WOMEN'S INTERSECTIONALITY IN INDONESIAN NOVELS

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ABSTRACT

The oppression of subaltern women is shown to be systemic in nature with intersecting identities in literary works with a postcolonial viewpoint. This study investigated the intersecting identity of *jugun-ianfu* (comfort women) during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942–1955) using Crenshaw's (1992) intersectionality theory. The data were obtained from two Indonesian novels set during the Japanese occupation, namely: *Kadarwati: Perempuan dengan Lima Nama* karya Pandir Kelana (1982), *Mirah dari Banda* karya Hanna Rambe (2010), *Kembang Jepun* karya Remy Sylado (2003), and *Jalan Lahir* karya Dias Novita Wuri (2021). The data in the form of discourse units, phrases, clauses, sentences, and words that relevant to the focus of the study were analyzed using qualitative descriptive methods. This phase were carried out by comparing, categorizing, tabulating the data obtained, followed by forming inferences. Repeated readings (semantic validity), referrals to relevant reference sources (referential validity), and discussions with colleagues (interrater reliability) were used to ensure the data's validity. The study findings reveal that *jugun-ianfu* had five intersecting identities so that they were subjected to systemic and persistent oppression: (1) a citizen of Japanese colony, (2) female, (3) young, (4) being educated and mastering Japanese culture and language, and (5) came from civil and middle-low economy class. These identities determine the form of oppression experienced by *jugun-ianfu*. Women who were young, beautiful, well educated, and mastering Japanese culture and language will be obliged to serve senior Japanese military personnel and become their concubines. The women were sexually exploited, obliged to serve the officers and their guests, and were deprived of their freedom because they were constantly being watched by the Japanese army's secret services. As a subaltern group with an intersectional identity, the *jugun-ianfu* potentially encounter systematic oppression in various form. Literary works reveal this reality and also raises awareness of it.

Kata Kunci: *postcolonial, subaltern, layer of oppression, jugun-ianfu*