



The Politics of Power over Women's Bodies: Japanese Imperial Hegemony and the Construction of Jugun Ianfu in the Novel Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkeraman Militer

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Abstract: This research article aims to understand and describe how the Japanese Imperialist hegemony over the formation of the Jugun Ianfu system is represented in the novel Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkeraman Militer by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, as well as explain how the practice reflects the politics of power over women's bodies. By using qualitative methods and hermeneutic approaches in the framework of Michel Foucault's body political theory, the results of this study show that the practice of exploitation of women in the novel is not just a form of physical violence, but a manifestation of a hegemonic and veiled power system. Women's bodies are used as tools of the state through the process of dehumanization, identity removal, and silencing of voices. In the novel's narrative, the female body is no longer owned by herself, but rather is fully regulated by the military as part of the war strategy. This reflects how Imperialist power makes the body a political territory, and this novel becomes a space to expose and counter the practice of power that normalizes the oppression of women's bodies.

Keywords: *Body Politics, Hegemony, Jugun Ianfu*

Abstrak: hasil penelitian ini bertujuan untuk memahami dan mendeskripsikan bagaimana hegemoni Imperialis Jepang terhadap pembentukan sistem Jugun Ianfu direpresentasikan dalam novel Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkraman Militer karya Pramoedya Ananta Toer, serta menjelaskan bagaimana praktik tersebut merefleksikan politik kekuasaan atas tubuh perempuan. Dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dan pendekatan hermeneutika dalam bingkai teori politik tubuh Michel Foucault, hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa praktik eksploitasi perempuan dalam novel tersebut bukan sekadar bentuk kekerasan fisik, melainkan manifestasi dari sistem kekuasaan yang hegemonik dan terselubung. Tubuh perempuan dijadikan alat negara melalui proses dehumanisasi, penghapusan identitas, serta pembungkaman suara. Dalam narasi novel, tubuh perempuan tidak lagi dimiliki oleh dirinya sendiri, melainkan diatur sepenuhnya oleh militer sebagai bagian dari strategi perang. Hal tersebut mencerminkan bagaimana kekuasaan Imperialis menjadikan tubuh sebagai wilayah politik, dan novel ini menjadi ruang untuk mengungkap sekaligus melawan praktik kekuasaan yang menormalisasi penindasan atas tubuh perempuan.

Kata kunci: *Politik Tubuh, Hegemoni, Jugun Ianfu*

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary socio-political studies, gender is no longer understood merely as a biological distinction between men and women, but as a social and cultural construct that is continuously reproduced in everyday life. This construction of gender generates differentiated norms of roles and behavior assigned to men and women, which ultimately produce unequal power relations. Within patriarchal social structures, women are frequently positioned in subordinate and marginalized roles. Furthermore, women's bodies become sites of social and symbolic control monitored, regulated, and evaluated through prevailing institutions, cultural norms, and value systems. (Puspitawati, 2013). This theoretical framework is particularly relevant for understanding women's experiences within histories of violence and war, including the practice of jugun ianfu, in which women's bodies were

subjected not only to physical domination but also to the systematic loss of autonomy over their identities and lives as a result of structured and institutionalized power relations.

The concept of body politics in this study is essential for understanding how power operates in subtle yet systemic ways upon the human body, particularly the female body. Michel Foucault argues that power is not always repressive and vertically imposed; rather, it is also micro-level, diffuse, and embedded within everyday social practices. (Zukin, 1996). Modern power no longer operates solely through physical violence, but through surveillance, discipline, and the internalization of norms. The human body, particularly the female body, becomes a primary object of this disciplinary process. It is regulated not only by the state, but also by various institutions such as the military, religion, schools, and the media. (Mudhoffir & Mudhoffir, 2013).

This indicates that women's bodies function not merely as social objects, but also as mediums through which power is distributed and exercised. Martin Wight, in *Power Politics*, argues that within an anarchic international order, power becomes the dominant principle shaping interactions among actors, particularly through the use of military force, political influence, and mechanisms of domination to maintain or expand state interests. (Wight, 2002). Although the concept of power politics was originally formulated to explain relations among states, its fundamental principle, namely, the logic of domination and control in pursuit of power, can be traced to more micro-level contexts.

Power no longer operates solely through state policies or grand strategies, but increasingly through the regulation of specific individuals and social groups. In this configuration, women's bodies become concrete arenas where the logic of power politics is enacted through practices of control, subordination, and instrumentalization in the service of broader political interests. Women's bodies are thus not neutral entities; rather, they function as sites upon which the state negotiates, inscribes, and exercises its political agenda. Within the framework of imperialism, these dynamics become more explicit, as colonial regimes directly control and manage women's bodies as resources essential to sustaining domination, ensuring military stability, and maintaining the continuity of imperial power projects.

A concrete example of this dynamic is the Jugun Ianfu system instituted by the Japanese military during its occupation of Asia, including Indonesia, through which thousands of women—many of them minors—were coerced into sexual slavery to serve soldiers under the pretext of maintaining morale and health. Their bodies were systematically appropriated by the state and military apparatus, stripping them of autonomy and reducing them to instruments of political and military strategy. Viewed through the lens of practical politics—understood not only as formal state governance but as the management and distribution of power and resources within social life (Pelletier, 2005)—the Jugun Ianfu system represents an extreme convergence of body politics and political practice, where women’s bodies were deliberately controlled, mobilized, and exploited to advance imperial objectives (Zein et al., 2019).

Within the Jugun Ianfu system, the state and military framed women’s bodies as instruments of national service and wartime sacrifice, legitimizing physical coercion and sexual exploitation through nationalist and moral discourses. This convergence of repression and ideological justification is reflected in *Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkeraman Militer* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, which portrays how imperial power controlled and normalized violence against women’s bodies. While prior studies have emphasized feminist critiques and historical reconstruction, few have analyzed the novel through the lens of colonial-imperial body politics. This study, therefore, seeks to fill that gap by examining how women’s bodies are represented as instruments of state power, contributing to interdisciplinary discussions on gender, politics, and literature.

METHODS

This study employs a qualitative research method, as it seeks to uncover meanings that are not explicitly articulated in the narrative, particularly those related to Japanese imperial hegemony in the formation of the *Jugun Ianfu* system in the novel *Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkeraman Militer* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer. The primary object of analysis is the novel itself, which is examined as a representation of power practices and body politics within the context of imperialism. Research data were collected through library research, including the novel as the primary source, as well as

books, scholarly journals, and previous studies as secondary sources to strengthen the theoretical framework and analytical context.

This study employs a hermeneutic approach to achieve an in-depth interpretative understanding of *Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkeraman Militer*, emphasizing careful conceptual and linguistic analysis. It utilizes the philosophical hermeneutics of Hans-Georg Gadamer, particularly his concept of the “fusion of horizons,” which underscores the dialogical encounter between the interpreter’s perspective and the text in generating a more comprehensive and meaningful interpretation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Gender and the Politics of Power in Literary Works

Gender is a social category shaped through historical, cultural, and political processes embedded within society; therefore, it cannot be understood as something inherently or biologically fixed at birth. Gender identities and roles are constructed through values, norms, and social practices that are reproduced across generations and institutionalized through various structures, including family, education, religion, media, and the state. Because it is socially constructed, gender is inherently dynamic and subject to change in response to shifting social contexts and historical developments (Puspitawati, 2013).

Within socio-political dynamics, the construction of gender significantly shapes power relations that are often unequal. Women are frequently positioned in subordinate roles, stereotyped with particular characteristics, and restricted in their access to public spaces, resources, and political participation. These imbalances are reflected in gender-based divisions of labor, practices of marginalization, symbolic domination, and the emergence of gender-insensitive policies. Such inequality is not confined to everyday domestic life; it is also internalized within social and governmental structures, ultimately influencing the quality of justice and equality within society.

Alongside the development of critical thought and feminist movements, understandings of gender have undergone significant paradigm shifts. Gender studies have moved beyond merely examining differences between men and women toward a more comprehensive analysis of how gender identity functions as an instrument of power, how states and

institutions reproduce inequality, and how women and other marginalized groups struggle to reclaim spaces of freedom within hierarchical social systems. In development and public policy contexts, a gender perspective has become essential to ensure that programs and political decisions are designed inclusively and equitably, while addressing institutionalized inequalities.

The Women in Development (WID) approach, introduced in the early 1970s, sought to integrate women into development programs that had largely ignored them. However, WID was criticized for its “add women and stir” tendency, as it incorporated women into existing systems without challenging underlying power structures. This limitation led to the emergence of Women and Development (WAD) in the late 1970s and 1980s, which emphasized structural analysis and linked gender inequality to global capitalist exploitation. Women were seen as experiencing dual exploitation as wage laborers and as unpaid domestic workers.

Subsequently, Gender and Development (GAD), emerging in the mid-1980s, shifted the focus toward analyzing gender relations and transforming the structural, cultural, and political foundations of inequality. Rather than solely enhancing women’s participation, GAD emphasized restructuring power relations between men and women. In the 1990s, Gender Mainstreaming (GM) further advanced this trajectory by promoting the integration of gender perspectives into all stages of policymaking. Although GM is not applied here as an analytical framework for the Jugun Ianfu case, it marks the evolution of feminist thought responding to structural gender injustice.

These evolving paradigms are crucial for understanding how women’s bodies are positioned within structures of power. In the context of military imperialism depicted in *Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkeraman Militer* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, women’s bodies are not merely marginalized but exploited as instruments of domination. Gender oppression thus extends beyond socio-economic realms into the body as the most concrete site of power. The concept of body politics becomes central in analyzing how state authorities regulate and instrumentalize women’s bodies.

Literature functions as a symbolic and cultural space that represents and critiques social realities. Through narrative and characterization, it exposes hidden power structures and hegemonic processes. In this novel, women’s bodies emerge as contested political terrains. Japanese military

power controls not only territory but also women's bodies, treating them as state assets rather than autonomous subjects. This reading resonates with Michel Foucault's notion of productive power, which shapes identity and consciousness. Ultimately, the novel serves as a space of resistance, revealing and memorializing the politics of the body within colonial history.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer's "Teenage Virgin in the Grip of the Military": Literary Works as a Critique of Power

Pramoedya Ananta Toer is widely regarded as one of Indonesia's greatest literary figures, known for his courage and consistency in addressing themes of oppression, injustice, and resistance to power. Born in Blera on February 6, 1925, Pramoedya directly experienced the periods of Dutch colonialism, the Japanese occupation, the Indonesian Revolution, and the New Order regime. As a writer, he endured significant political repression. He was imprisoned by the Dutch authorities and later detained by the New Order regime for fourteen years on Buru Island without trial, accused of endangering state stability. (Setyawan, 2025).

The harsh and repression-laden life experiences of Pramoedya Ananta Toer are reflected in his works, which not only portray social realities but also articulate resistance against the domination of power. He is known not merely as a writer of fiction, but as an author whose works are rich in historical content, ideological engagement, and social criticism. One of the international honors he received was the Ramon Magsaysay Award (1995), in recognition of his contribution to the struggle for freedom of expression through literature (Hani Abu Hassan & Dong Hoon, 2025). His life experiences and ideological commitments form an important background in shaping the narrative character of the novel *Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkraman Militer*, particularly in its depiction of how women's bodies and consciousness are manipulated by imperial systems of power.

The novel was first published in 2001 and later reprinted by Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia in 2015. Although relatively brief, it is dense with meaning and stands as one of the few Indonesian literary works that directly addresses the tragedy of the *Jugun Ianfu* young women who were forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese military during the occupation period.

The novel employs a first-person singular point of view, narrated by an unnamed young girl who represents the collective experience of women victims of the Jugun Ianfu system. The protagonist is not given an explicit name, signaling the process of dehumanization she endures. The loss of a name signifies the loss of identity, a crucial aspect in the analysis of body politics. She and the other girls are promised education, employment, and training; however, upon arrival at the military base, they are forced to serve as sexual attendants for Japanese soldiers.

The primary settings of the novel are military barracks and Buru Island enclosed, repressive, and uniform spaces where control over the body is strict and systematic. The novel does not depict violence in a vulgar or explicit manner; this restraint, however, constitutes its strength. Violence emerges through silence, stillness, and interior language. Such representation reflects the workings of hegemonic power, which compels the oppressed to remain silent, to accept their condition, and to feel as though they have no alternative.

Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkraman Militer is one of Pramoedya's works most heavily imbued with political content and critique of power. Through the story of young Jugun Ianfu victims, Pramoedya does not merely narrate personal suffering; he exposes how imperial power operates subtly and systemically upon women's bodies. The novel may be read as a literary critique of biopolitics, wherein the state of Japan as an imperial force uses women's bodies as instruments to sustain military morale and wartime ideology. In this context, power does not simply oppress physically; it colonizes women's consciousness and identity.

The narrative bears a heavy historical burden and sharp political critique. The power represented is not only militaristic but also ideological. Pramoedya constructs this story not merely to remember, but to voice suffering long silenced. The novel serves as a medium that reveals how body politics operates in tandem with imperial domination: women's bodies become resources regulated and exploited by the colonizing state to maintain military stability and war ideology. Furthermore, the novel presents a form of biocolonial politics a fusion of colonial logic and biopolitics in which women's bodies become new territories of colonization. Thus, Pramoedya's work is not simply a historical narrative but a critical intervention against

practices of power that normalize oppression and the dehumanization of women's bodies.

The biocolonial politics in the novel finds its clearest practical expression in the establishment of the Jugun Ianfu system. The Japanese state constructed networks for recruiting and transporting women from various regions of Asia, including Indonesia, employing moral legitimacy and nationalist propaganda. Women's bodies were not only forced to serve soldiers' sexual needs but were transformed into instruments for maintaining military discipline, morale, and productivity. Sexual violence in the novel, therefore, is not merely an individual act but a state strategy operating through bodily control and biological regulation.

Japanese Imperial Hegemony and the Formation of the Jugun Ianfu System

In Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkraman Militer, Pramoedya Ananta Toer illustrates how Japanese power established the Jugun Ianfu system not solely through physical violence, but through ideological control and discursive manipulation. The recruitment of young girls was carried out under the promise of employment and education two socially valued prospects associated with a better future. This strategy demonstrates that power operates hegemonically: oppression is packaged as opportunity, appearing natural and even beneficial to those subjected to it.

Upon arrival at the military camps, the women did not immediately face overt violence; instead, they experienced gradual isolation. They were separated from their names, language, and personal identities. Names were replaced with numbers; individuality was erased. The removal of names symbolizes the loss of humanity and evidences how colonial power penetrates both body and consciousness through subtle yet systemic domination. Power is not always present in the threat of weapons, but in structures designed so that victims have no option to refuse.

The *Jugun Ianfu* system in the novel demonstrates how the colonizing state manages women's bodies as military resources. The state determines what is taken (women's bodies), when they are used (during wartime), and how they are acquired (through manipulation and control). Women's bodies are relocated, disciplined, and exploited to support soldiers' morale. Within

this framework, women are denied autonomy; the structure of power ensures compliance without requiring explicit violence.

Furthermore, Japan constructs a narrative that the *Jugun Ianfu* contribute to the Asian struggle. When the narrator refers to themselves as “useful comforters,” the success of hegemonic ideology becomes evident. Victims no longer perceive themselves as victims but as agents fulfilling a supposedly noble duty. At this point, power not only oppresses but reshapes consciousness, making oppression appear normal and justified.

This phenomenon may be interpreted through Michel Foucault’s concept of biopolitics, which concerns the regulation of bodies through discipline and governance. Yet the novel moves beyond biopolitics toward what may be termed biocolonial politics: women’s bodies become new territories of colonization. While biopolitics regulates the lives of citizens, biocolonialism exploits human bodies as instruments of imperial warfare. Women’s bodies are treated like military logistics recruited, managed, distributed, and exhausted without reciprocal benefit.

Nevertheless, the novel does not end with suffering alone; it also becomes a form of resistance. In the silence of the unnamed narrator, in the persistence of memory and consciousness, there exists a space of resistance. Colonial power may regulate and silence the body, but it cannot entirely erase dignity and humanity. The body becomes both an archive of power and a site of quiet resistance. Thus, the novel not only records colonial brutality but also dismantles the logic of power that colonizes women’s bodies, affirming that humanity can never be completely subdued.

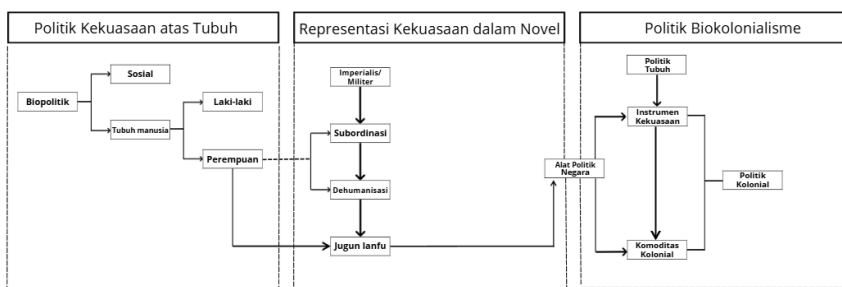


Figure 1

Chart of Research Results on the Politics of Power over Women's Bodies: Japanese Imperialist Hegemony and the Formation of *Jugun Ianfu* in the

Novel "Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkraman Militer" (Young Virgin in the Grip of the Military)

Conclusion

Japanese imperial hegemony in the formation of the *Jugum Ianfu* system in the novel *Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkraman Militer* represents a concrete manifestation of the politics of power over women's bodies. Through its narrative, the novel demonstrates that imperial power subjugates not only the physical body but also the symbolic and ideological dimensions of existence. The women in the story are ensnared by false promises of education, employment, and service, which ultimately transform their bodies into instruments for satisfying the biological needs of the Japanese military.

The findings of this study indicate that *Perawan Remaja dalam Cengkraman Militer* portrays a form of power that colonizes not only territory and social structures but also women's bodies at the biological level. Women's bodies are depicted not merely as sexual objects, but as biological capital mobilized for Japanese military strategy through processes of recruitment, regulation, and unilateral exploitation. This position affirms the presence of biocolonial politics the fusion of biopolitical and colonial logics within the practice of Japanese imperialism. Within this framework of biocolonial politics, women's bodies become political territories that are colonized, regulated, and exploited by the state, not merely as social objects but as instruments of imperial power.

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