



## WIJI THUKUL'S TEXTUAL STRATEGY IN ITS SYMBOLIC CONTESTATION IN INDONESIAN LITERATURE ARENA: PIERRE BOURDIEU'S CULTURAL PRODUCTION ARENA STUDY

### STRATEGI TEKSTUAL WIJI THUKUL DALAM KONTESTASI SIMBOLIKNYA DI ARENA SASTRA INDONESIA: STUDI ARENA PRODUKSI KULTURAL PIERRE BOURDIEU

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#### **Abstract**

*Poetry is a means of conveying ideas. Wiji Thukul is a poet who was allegedly lost because of his poetry. This study describes the textual strategy or strategy of writing poetry that Wiji Thukul took in his symbolic contestation in the Indonesian literary arena during the New Order era. This research uses Pierre Bourdieu's cultural production theory to describe and explain Wiji Thukul's literary problems, both intrinsic and extrinsic, simultaneously. The data source of this research is the poetry anthology written by Wiji Thukul. The research data is in texts related to the textual strategy of writing Wiji Thukul's poetry on his symbolic contestation during the New Order era. Data were collected through document study and interviews. Data were analyzed with content analysis based on the mechanism of Krippendorff, including a) identifying Wiji Thukul's textual strategy in his symbolic contestation, which was used as material for analysis, b) classifying analysis units according to the problem in the study, c) conducting unit analysis to explore the findings that have identified, and d) determine aspects of the findings to make inferences and draw conclusions. The results of this study: 1) Wiji Thukul used a textual strategy by writing romantic-religious poetry from 1980-1985, 2) Wiji Thukul used a textual strategy by writing critical social poetry from 1985-1990, and 3) Wiji Thukul used a strategy textual by writing party poetry in the period 1990-1998.*

**Keywords:** *Textual Strategy, Wiji Thukul, Symbolic Contestation, Arena of Cultural Production, Pierre Bourdieu*

#### **Abstrak**

*Puisi merupakan salah satu sarana penyampaian ide. Wiji Thukul merupakan seorang penyair yang diduga hilang karena puisi ciptaannya. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan strategi tekstual atau strategi menulis puisi yang ditempuh Wiji Thukul*

*dalam kontestasi simboliknya di arena sastra Indonesia pada masa Orde Baru. Penelitian ini menggunakan teori arena produksi kultural Pierre Bourdieu untuk mendeskripsikan dan menjelaskan persoalan kesusastraan Wiji Thukul, baik intrinsik maupun ekstrinsik secara bersamaan. Sumber data penelitian ini, yaitu antologi puisi yang ditulis oleh Wiji Thukul. Data penelitian berupa teks yang terkait dengan strategi tekstual menulis puisi Wiji Thukul pada kontestasi simboliknya pada masa Orde Baru. Data dikumpulkan melalui studi dokumen dan wawancara. Data dianalisis dengan analisis isi berdasarkan mekanisme dari Krippendorff, meliputi: a) mengidentifikasi strategi tekstual Wiji Thukul dalam kontestasi simboliknya yang menjadi bahan analisis, b) mengklasifikasikan unit-unit analisis sesuai masalah dalam penelitian, c) melakukan analisis unit untuk mendalami hasil temuan yang telah diidentifikasi, dan d) menentukan aspek temuan untuk melakukan inferensi dan menarik simpulan. Hasil penelitian ini: 1) Wiji Thukul menggunakan strategi tekstual dengan menulis puisi romantik-religius pada rentang waktu 1980-1985, 2) Wiji Thukul menggunakan strategi tekstual dengan menulis puisi kritik sosial pada rentang waktu 1985-1990, dan 3) Wiji Thukul menggunakan strategi tekstual dengan menulis puisi kepartaian pada rentang waktu 1990-1998.*

**Kata-kata kunci:** arena produksi kultural, konstestasi simbolik, strategi tekstual, Wiji Thukul, Pierre Bourdieu

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Poetry is a literary work that serves to convey ideas. Indonesia has many poetry writers. One of them is Wiji Thukul. Wiji Thukul is recognized as a poetry writer who chooses a simple language, namely using everyday language. Wiji Thukul's poetry is social criticism and romantic and religious (Suyono et al., 2017). Wiji Thukul is an activist who went missing in the 1998 events, namely the change from the New Order era to the Reformation era (Ismawati, 2018). His arts activities range from writing poetry, establishing art communities, traveling around, reading poetry (poetry singing), and conducting art workshops (Wiseman, 2010).

This study uses the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu's literature approach to understanding the poems written by Wiji Thukul. Poetry is considered a literary arena, namely an arena of strength and struggle or symbolic contestation to fight for the position of a legitimate writer (Bourdieu, 1987). The form of the literary arena can be in the form of a site. The site analysis determines each position that corresponds to one particular genre. This position is defined subjectively by a system of distinctive properties so that one place can be positioned among other functions (Winasis & Adji, 2019). The existence of each position and the determinations it carries depend on other parts that make up the arena (Bourdieu, 1984). For that, it requires a strategy and appropriate positioning.

The basic concepts of Bourdieu's theory of the cultural arena of production are used as follows. First, strategy, apart from, of course, habitus and capital. Second, the social structure and social position of the writer influence his literary practice. Third, the construction of the literary arena (Bourdieu, 1993). The strategy is related to three ideas related to agent practice, namely: (1) the idea of struggle as a fundamental dimension of social life, (2) the idea of strategy as knowledge of the rules of the game, and (3) the idea of a logic of practice that depends on place and time (Bourdieu, 2011). The concept of strategy is divided into 1) economic investment strategy, namely strategies related to increasing and maintaining economic capital (Eloire, 2015), 2) symbolic investment strategies, namely strategies to maintain and improve social recognition obtained, 3) biological investment strategies, namely control of the regulation of the number of offspring, 4) inheritance strategies, which are related to economic capital, are seen as significant capital in the arena of power, 5) educational strategies, namely practices that



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lead to the efforts of social actors who have specific expertise (Bourdieu, 1984; Naidoo, 2010).

Based on the description above: first, there has been no research with the object of Wiji Thukul in the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of cultural production arenas. Second, related to this research theme, which is about the writing strategy of a writer who is often misunderstood, not as a strategy. Third, describing and explaining Wiji Thukul also explains the background or construction of the New Order power, which became the social arena for Wiji Thukul practicing literature. Therefore, this research needs to be done.

## 2. METHODS

This descriptive qualitative research was conducted from October 2020 to February 2021. Sources of research data were documents and informants. Documents are the primary data source, while informants are secondary data sources (Sutopo, 2006). The first document is an anthology of *Nyanyian Akar Rumput* and *Aku Ingin Jadi Peluru*. The second document is in the form of books, magazines, and newspapers, which are the historical data sources for constructing the Indonesian literary arena during the New Order era and Wiji Thukul's literary practices. The poetry anthology *Nyanyian Akar Rumput* (NAR) by Wiji Thukul was published by Gramedia in 2017. NAR's poetry collection consists of seven books with a total of 153 poems. The poetry anthology *Aku Ingin Jadi Peluru* (AIJP) was published by Tera in 2004. AIJP's poetry collection consists of five books with a total of 136 poems. The following are details of the two anthologies.

- (1) Book I, entitled *Lingkungan Kita Si Mulut Besar*, consists of 48 poems.
- (2) Book II entitled *Ketika Rakyat Pergi* consists of 18 poems.
- (3) Book III entitled *Darman dan Lain-Lain* consists of 16 poems.
- (4) Book IV entitled *Puisi Pelo* consists of 29 poems.
- (5) Book V entitled *Baju Loak Sobek Pundaknya* consists of 28 poems.
- (6) Book VI entitled *Yang Tersisih* consists of 9 poems.
- (7) Book VII entitled *Para Jenderal Marah-Marah* consists of 5 poems.

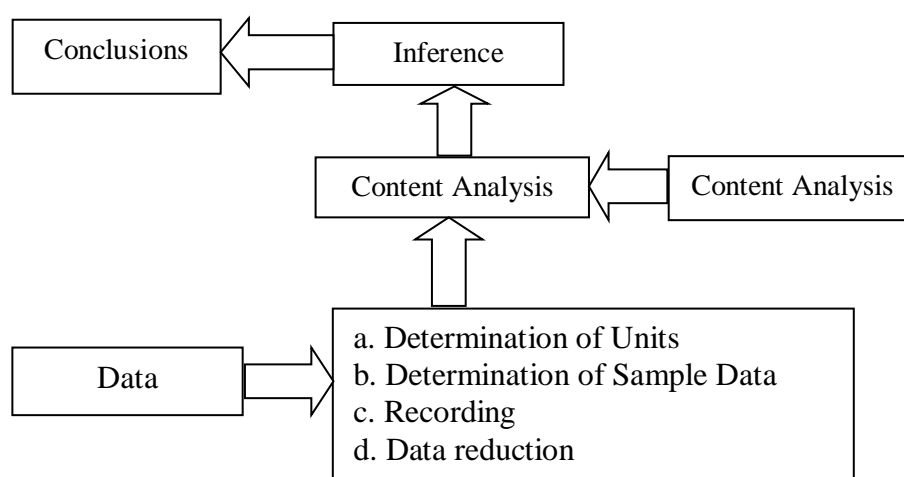
The interviewed informants included: (1) Sipon or Dyah Sujirah (Wiji Thukul's wife); (2) Anas Yusuf (Artist Horison, a friend of Wiji Thukul from Madiun); (3) Sosiawan Leak (Solo Artist) (4) Sapardi Djoko Damono, National writer; (5) Jamal D. Rahman, Chief Editor of the Literary Magazine 'Horizon'; (6) Ariel Heryanto (One of the initiators of Contextual Literature); (7) Dwi S. Budiono (SMID activist); (8) Linda Christanty (PRD Observer, Journalist, and Author); (9) Indonesian Publisher Tera Magelang.

Research data collection techniques use content analysis (Sutopo, 2006), document analysis, and interviews (Faruk, 2012). The reasons for choosing the two data collection techniques: first, the required data related to Wiji Thukul's textual strategy in symbolic contestation; second, the data collected in document analysis were also obtained from the collection of interviews, either directly or indirectly. Interviews with two informants were conducted in person, while the other eight used Twitter.

Data validation uses data source triangulation or data triangulation (Sutopo, 2006). The assumption is that the data obtained from the two data sources are valid and

available. The two data sources can complement each other, reinforce each other, or even collide with each other until the researcher gets accurate information or data relating to this research problem.

The data were analyzed using content analysis techniques that made data inferences regarding the context (Faruk, 2012). The content analysis includes specific procedures for obtaining scientific data as research techniques aim at providing knowledge (Endraswara, 2008), opening new insights, presenting facts, and practical guidance for its implementation (Krippendorf, 1991). Data analysis steps include: (1) creating categories, (2) delivering data with data descriptions. In the first step, existing data are grouped into categories that have been made—the second step, presenting the data with stories. Presentation of data with descriptions is done to clarify existing data. The data analysis steps in this study include: it identifies Wiji Thukul's textual strategy in its symbolic contestation, which is the material for analysis. They are classifying the units of analysis according to the problem in the study: 1) conducting unit analysis to explore the findings that have been identified, and 2) determine aspects of the results to make inferences and draw conclusions. The following is a chart of the research steps.



**Figure 1. Research Steps**

### 3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

#### **Textual Strategy or Wiji Thukul Writing Strategy by Writing Romantic-Religious Poetry (1980-1985 Period)**

Wiji Thukul's first strategy ran from 1980 to 1985. In this first contest, Wiji Thukul wrote poetry by the dominant literary aesthetic. So, Wiji Thukul wrote poetry with themes such as dominant themes, namely romantic-religious themes (Suyono et al., 2017). Far from social criticism themes, let alone protest pieces. Hanindawan's statement, namely the caretaker of the poetry room on Radio Rasitania and the caretaker of Gidag Gidig Solo Theater, as well as Tinuk (Rekan Hanindawan, caretaker of the poetry room at Radio Rasitania) about Wiji Thukul's early poetry, which is still in the subgenre of religious romance. Some of Wiji Thukul's poems were sent to Radio PTPN Rasitania, Surakarta, to be appreciated and read at a poetry room event. The program, which is broadcast every Wednesday night for one hour, is managed by Hanindawan and Tinuk Rosalia. Both of them hosted the poetry appreciation event in 1981-1982.

According to Hanindawan, it was not only the poetry of famous poets that was reviewed. The poetry of beginners like Thukul was also discussed at the event.



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Hanindawan said that Wiji Thukul was one of the young people who was the most diligent in sending poetry. According to Hanindawan as a novice writer, Thukul's poems' quality is more prominent than other young people's. The choice of words is good. The words were clear enough, but not focused. For example, people talk; their speaking style is still meandering. Of all Thukul's poems sent to PTPN Radio, Hanindawan remembers a poem entitled *Senja Tetes-Tetes*. The two-page long poem is religious poetry. The contents are about Thukul's reflection when he saw the drizzle of rain at dusk. In the poem, it is as if the writer is in dialogue with God.

Second, Tinuk's statement, Hanindawan's colleague at PTPN Radio who now lives in Illinois, United States, that at that time, Wiji Thukul's early days of writing poetry were full of religious content. Tinuk also stated that, like most of the young poets of that era, Thukul's poetic views were so engrossed in poetry that was religious. In an interview at the poetry room, Tinuk asked about Thukul's poetic attitude, which was answered that writing poetry is no different from going to church or a mosque to approach God. Writing poetry is a prayer and religious experience. With that attitude, Thukul continued to walk. To Tinuk, Wiji Thukul stated that his poetry tended to be religious at least until that day (when Tinuk interviewed him). Wiji Thukul also said that he did not know whether to continue writing religious poetry or not.

Third, Halim's statement, that initially Wiji Thukul was a romantic writer. When he was with Halim, Thukul was more productive in writing poetry. The themes of his poetry have also shifted. In the early days, when he was a junior, the theme of Thukul's poetry was like that of a teenager, like someone in love. The metaphor is still moon and dew. Her poetry doesn't talk about herself, let alone her environment.

Fourth, Wiji Thukul's statement when interviewed by Koesprihyanto Nanma for the RSP Journal (Revitalisasi Sastra Pedalaman). In his statement, Wiji Thukul mentioned two books of his poetry collection with romantic and religious themes, namely a collection of Pelo's poetry and a group of poetry from *Darman dan Lain-Lain*. Wiji Thukul also stated that the Surakarta Cultural Park recorded his collection of poetry. His poetry is full of good language, full of symbols, and so on.

Following are the results of the analysis of Wiji Thukul's poetry documents on the romantic-religious theme in Pelo's poetry collection and *Darman dan Lain-Lain's* poetry collections. The first poem is entitled *Surat*:

*ye/satu titik bagi situ//perasaan ku seperti membawa gitar/tanpa satu lagu  
pun aku bisa ini nyanyian di dalam aku dipojokkan dalam bingkai sebuah  
lukisan awan besar. sepi terbang melewati kebun pohon pisang samar-samar  
ditetesi bintang kuning jalan ini lain dari biasanya batu besar-besarnya di  
telapak kuakasia yang rimbun, rimbun sekali semua telah berubah ya  
mengapa baru dikenal sekarang justru ketika sendiri ingin berdua ye, aku  
sudah besar bahkan dewasa menjelang duapuluh satu sudah tumbuh kumis  
dan hasrat sex aku tak mengerti sebabnya harus peduli untuk gamelan  
pengantin di pestata dia pahanya hasrat kelamin larut malam semua  
dikelupas tinggal sebuah titik dibawah langit ye, sendiri?*

The first poem above, entitled *Surat*, tells the romance of a young boy who is new to lust or lust. The introduction of his romantic passion through the gamelan at the bridal party. The second poem, entitled *Jam*, is more profound, leads to contemplation. So, Jam's poetry belongs to the types of poetry that are religiously themed:

*jam//tak usah terkejut pun/putar jarum jam akan merajut mu/kisah lama yang selalu bisu/menabur belantara pertanyaan baru/angke,9 maret83.*

In the poetry of the *Jam* there is a philosophical thought with the metaphor of the watch. *Jam* poetry tells the human child's stories who will be immortal in the hour (time). The following is an analysis of Wiji Thukul's poems written in the 1980s to 1985 (romantic-religious period) collected in *Darman dan Lain-Lain's* poetry book and others. The first poem, entitled *Balada Prisma*.

*prisma di dalam cermin yang bercahaya/jangan ditatap lama-lama/nanti bisa gila/sebaiknya ketika bangun tidur/atau di setiap doa/tataplah matahari/lalu pejamkan mata/siapa pencipta alam semesta. Sifat prisma adalah memendarkan cahaya. Apalagi apabila prisma ada di dalam cermin yang bercahaya. Ketika menatap cermin jangan lama-lama sebab bisa gila. Sebaiknya, ketika bangun tidur, berdoalah dan tataplah matahari, pejamkan mata, dan renungkan adanya sang pencipta.*

The poem's meaning above is a "command" or a kind of quotation so that humans also direct their lives to intangible things, not only for the inherent. In the *Balada Prisma* poetry, Wiji Thukul still talks about religiosity.

The second poem, entitled *Seorang Lelaki Kelana di Dunia Batin*. This poem consists of 3 stanzas. The first two stanzas comprised of 4 lines, while the 3rd stanza has five lines:

*seorang lelaki kelana di dunia batin/sudah akrab dengan gelap/yang menuntun kepusat cahaya/hanya kepada nyaia akan menyerah//seorang lelaki kelana di dunia batin/kembali tanya siapa nama dirinya/mata angin mana membimbing pulang/ hanya kepadanya ia akan menyerah//seorang lelaki kelana di dunia batin/merambah gapura hakikat ada dan tiada/menganga menguak tabir nasib/melihat isi alam raya dalam manusia/bebas dan merdeka.85.*

The poem of *Seorang Lelaki Kelana di Dunia Batin* tells of a person's inner journey to reach nature. According to the writer Wiji Thukul, this essence only exists in free and free humans. The poetry of *Seorang Lelaki Kelana di Dunia Batin* clearly illustrates thoughts and questions of religiosity.

### **Textual Strategy or Wiji Thukul Writing Strategy by Writing Social Critical Poetry (1985-1990 Period)**

In 1985, Wiji Thukul changed the roadmap for his poetry theme from romantic-religious to poetry on social criticism. These changes and explained by Siliyanto from the Dwan Kesenian Jawa Tengah (DKJT) and Halim HD. According to Siliyanto, the character of Thukul's poetry in the 1985s was more straightforward than his earlier poems read on PTPN Radio. Wiji Thukul raised social criticism, but there was no practical



political element yet. According to Halim, in the 1985's, the themes of Wiji Thukul's poetry began to change, becoming broader and more profound. It means that Wiji Thukul experienced changes during that time, especially in his reading quality, which was getting better. So that period was the transition phase in Thukul's early poetry to the next (Suyono et al., 2017).

The following is an analysis of Wiji Thukul's poems with the subgenre of social criticism. The first poem, entitled *Bunga dan Tembok*, consists of 5 stanzas. The 1st stanza consists of 5 lines, the 2nd stanza has five lines, the 3rd stanza has three lines, both the 4th and six lines, and the 5th one has two lines. Phrase one:

*seumpama bunga/kami adalah bunga/yang tak kau kehendaki tumbuh/engkau lebih suka/membangun rumah dan merampas tanah. Bait ke-2: seumpama bunga/kami adalah bunga/yang tak kau kehendaki adanya/engkau lebih suka membangun/jalan raya dan pagar besi. Bait ke-3: seumpama bunga/kami adalah bunga/ yang dirontokkan di bumi kami sendiri. Bait ke-4: jika kami bunga/engkau adalah tembok itu/tapi di tubuh tembok itu/telah kami sebarbiji-biji/suatu saat kami akan tumbuh bersama/dengan keyakinan engkau harus hancur. Bait ke-5: dalam keyakinan kami/dimana pun tirani harus tumbang! Solo, 87-88.*

The poem *Bunga dan Tembok* above tells about a small community marginalized by development, as happened during the New Order era. As an artist and intellectual, Wiji Thukul saw this situation and criticized the government. To describe the situation without justice, Wiji Thukul describes and explains starting at verse 1: Wiji Thukul makes a personification and a synecdoche of the word flower, which is the small community's personification. You say to replace the ruler (government) who does not want another society's growth (small/poor people). This impulse is evidenced by "You", who built the house and took the land. The second verse describes and explains that the small community, the lower class society, the marginalized society is a society that is not wanted. It only disturbs the continuity of power. The power (government) gives priority to its development for the urban middle class and upper society. Thus, the power (government) only builds roads and buildings, not really for the lower level. The 3rd stanza describes and explains that the lower class people are not cared for in their homeland. The 4th stanza describes and explains that the rulers (government) will be destroyed by the power of the lower classes one day. The 5th stanza describes and explains that the tyrannical ruler will be killed. They, the more imperfect class people, believe this.

The second poem, entitled *Peringatan*, consists of only one stanza. Thus, this commemorative poem is written in a continuous model, remembering that this poem's contents are deemed essential to be conveyed to the public. Although the target of this poem is the ruler (government).

*jika rakyat pergi/ketika penguasa pidato/kita harus hati-hati/barangkali mereka putus asa/kalau rakyat bersembunyi/dan berbisik-bisik/ketika*

*membicarakan masalahnya sendiri/penguasa harus waspada dan belajar mendengar/bila rakyat berani mengeluh/itu artinya sudah gasat/dan bila omongan penguasa/tidak boleh dibantah/kebenaran pasti terancam/apabila usul ditolak tanpa ditimbang/suara dibungkam kritik dilarang tanpa alasan/dituduh subversif dan mengganggu keamanan/maka hanya ada satu kata:lawan!Solo,86.*

The poem, which has the title of warning, is clear in its content to warn the rulers. The word "we" in line 3 represents the ruler and means the readers whose content is information to be careful. The first content of lines 1 to 4 is when there is a speech from the ruler, and then the people do not want to listen to the ruler's address. The people are in a state of despair. The second content of lines 5 to 8 is that if the people hide and whisper about their poverty, their problems, the authorities must be vigilant. For that, the rules must listen to the complaints of the lower class people.

Wiji Thukul's third poem, *Nyanyian Akar Rumput*, is about social criticism. Poetry *Nyanyian Akar Rumput* is found in the poetry book *Lingkungan Kita si Mulut Besar*. In the poetry collection book, *Aku Ingin Jadi Peluru* (AIJP), published by Indonesia Tera, and the poetry collection book *Nyanyian Akar Rumput* published by Gramedia. The difference is, Indonesia Tera printed the poem in 2 stanzas, while in the book of the collection of poetry, *Nyanyian Akar Rumput*, published by Gramedia, was printed 1 verse. Whether it consists of 2 stanzas or one stanza, the meaning of *Nyanyian Akar Rumput* poetry is about an expression of the lower class's disappointment to the government (the ruler). The poem consisted of 13 lines and was written by Wiji Thukul in 1988. The following is the structure of *Nyanyian Akar Rumput* poem.

*Bait ke-1: jalan raya dilebarkan/kami terusir/mendirikan kampong/digusur/kami pindah-pindah/menempel di tembok-tembok/dicabut/terbuang. Bait ke-2: kami rumput/butuh tanah/dengar!/ayo gabung ke kami/biar jadi mimpi buruk presiden! Juli 1988.*

Poetry opens with a statement that because they widen the road, the small community has become displaced. When they founded the village, they were evicted. Furthermore, those lower-class people are constantly moving, and wherever they live, they will be evicted, exiled. Because they continued to be thrown out and marginalized, they fight. Like they are grass, they need soil. If their land continues to be evicted, they will unite to disturb the ruler of government, namely the president. So, the poem of *Nyanyian Akar Rumput* is straightforward: what causes problems for those of the lower class, the poor is the president, while the context at that time the president during the New Order era was Suharto.

### **Textual Strategy or Wiji Thukul Writing Strategy by Writing Party Poetry (1990-1998 Period)**

Wiji Thukul's textual strategy in symbolic contestation, after writing critical social poetry, is the first: writing poetry based on his internalizations when he entered and was active in the party (PRD). Second: Wiji Thukul wrote the poems before joining the political party. Still, these poems were often recited during his activities at the party so that the poetry became "alive" in the party. Poetry is written for the benefit of the party, mainly written during the time of Wiji Thukul's escape after the Kudatuli incident (July 27, 1996, riots) in Jakarta during the New Order era and after the PRD was declared a





banned party, were collected in a collection of poetry on his *Baju Loak Sobek Pundaknya* and his poetry collection *Para Jenderal Marah-Marah*. The first poetry that will be analyzed is the poem in *Baju Loak Sobek Pundaknya* entitled *Buron*, which was written on September 20, 1996, as follows.

*/baju lain/celana lain/potongan rambut lain/buku yang dibaca lain/bahan percakapan lain/ nama lain/identitas lain/ekspresi lain/menjadi/diri/sendiri/adalah tindakan/subversi/di negeri ini/maka/selalu siaga/polisi/tentara/hukum dan penjara/bagi siapa saja/yang menolak/menjadi orang lain.*

*Buron's* poem consists of 22 unrelated lines. So the visual form is straight down. It is intended to explain and emphasize that the vocabulary is chosen of diction is essential to represent the author's thoughts and feelings, not to be replaced with another terminology. Every line has a minimum of words. There are even some lines consisting of only one story. Poetry *Buron* describes and explains that during the New Order era in Indonesia, just being yourself was considered an act of subversion or against the government (the ruler). If you fight, you have to deal with the police and the army.

The poems that are Wiji Thukul's next textual strategy are those contained in the poetry collection *Para Jenderal Marah-Marah*, whose titles are numbers 10 and 11 enclosed in brackets. So, the poem of *Para Jenderal Marah-Marah* consists of 23 parts or 23 verses. The researcher analyzed poetry sections number 10 and 11. The descriptions and explanations were as follows.

*(10) Bait ke-1: jakarta simpang siur/ ormas-ormas tiarap/tiap dengar berita/pasti ada aktivis ditangkap. Bait ke-2: telepon-telepon disadap/koran-koran disumbat/ rakyat was-was dan pengap/ diam-diam orang cari informasi/dari radio luar negeri. Bait ke-3: jangan percaya/pada berita media massa cetak/ dan elektronika asing/ penguasa berteriak-teriak setiap hari/ nasionalismenya mirip nazi.*

The poem of the *Para Jenderal Marah-Marah* (10) contains three stanzas. The 1st stanza has four lines, the 2nd stanza has five lines, and the 3rd stanza has five lines. Verse 1 describes and explains the atmosphere in Jakarta after the Kudatuli or the 27 July 1996 Incident. Ormas which are opposite to the government (the authorities) are disbanded. Its activists were arrested (kidnapped). The second verse describes and explains the completeness of communication, such as tapped telephones and newspapers or mass media against the government (the authorities) being banned. Finally, people sought information from foreign mass media. The third stanza describes and explains the government's orders and recommendations (ruler) not to trust the foreign mass media.

In the poem *Para Jenderal Marah-Marah section* (11), it looks like prose, consisting of just one stanza consisting of 9 lines. Each line between one word or phrase with another word or phrase is hyphenated. Because the visual form is different from Wiji Thukul's other poetry, it is quoted as saying:

(11) *berhari-hari – ratusan jam – ratusan kilometer – puluhan bus – colt – truk – angkutan – asap rokok - uap sampah - tengikwc – knalpot terminal – embun subuh – baca koran – omongan penguasa –nonton tivi – omongan penipu – presiden marah-marah – jenderal-jenderal marah-marah – intelektual bayaran ikut-ikutan – sekretariat organisasi aktivis diobrak-abrik – penculikan–penggrebakan – pengejaran – pembenaran dibikin kemudian – semua benar karena semua diam.*

This poetry above describes and explains a situation and atmosphere that is not orderly because there is a kind of upheaval in all sectors or fields in a country. There is a struggle between the government. The above poem is represented by an angry president and a mad general followed by terror, raids, chasing, and kidnapping.

Some of the following Wiji Thukul poems were written by Wiji Thukul before joining the political party in PRD. Still, this poem became more "alive" and historical when he joined the political party in PRD. There are two historical poems about political parties (PRD), namely the Poems of *Sajak Suara* dan *Peringatan*. With a loud voice and a whistle, Wiji Thukul recited the two verses in the context of the PRD's declaration at the office of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, Jalan Diponegoro, Jakarta, July 22, 1996. Wiji Thukul read the two poems after the choir sang the Partai Rakyat Demokratik (PRD) march and fighting blood (Suyono et al., 2017).

*Puisi Sajak Suara dan Peringatan* terkumpul dalam buku puisi *Ketika Rakyat Pergi*, bagian buku ke-2 dalam buku kumpulan puisi *Nyanyian Akar Rumput*. Puisi *Sajak Suara* terdiri dari 4 bait. *Bait ke-1: sesungguhnya suara itu tak bisa diredam /mulut bisa dibungkam/namun siapa mampu menghentikan nyanyian bimbang/dan pertanyaan-pertanyaan dari lidah jiwaku/ Bait ke-2: suara-suara itu tak bisa dipenjarakan/di sana bersemayam kemerdekaan/apabila engkau memaksa diam/siapkan untukmu: pemberontakan! Bait ke-3: sesungguhnya suara itu bukan perampok/yang ingin merayah hartamu/Ia ingin bicara/mengapa kau kokang senjata/dan gemetar ketika suara-suara itu/menuntut keadilan? Bait ke-4: sesungguhnya suara itu akan menjadi kata/ialah yang mengajari aku bertanya/dan pada akhirnya tidak bisa tidak/engkau harus menjawabnya/apabila engkau tetap bertahan/aku akan memburu mu seperti kutukan.*

## **Discussion**

### **Textual Strategy or Wiji Thukul Writing Strategy by Writing Romantic-Religious Poetry (1980-1985 Period)**

One does not think about this discourse if one does not read Pierre Bourdieu's theory of production's cultural arena. One would also not believe that the Wiji Thukul phenomenon should be seen or seen as a case either. So this is a case study in Indonesian literature. One will arrive at a way of thinking holistically in understanding Wiji Thukul, namely understanding Wiji Thukul by placing him in a literary case as proposed by Bourdieu. Wiji Thukul did by changing the theme of his poetry was a strategy, namely a textual strategy. A strategy does require a habitus, capital, and arena (Karnanta, 2013). A strategy is to continue confrontation to fight for and gain legitimate status (Ignatow & Robinson, 2017). In the conflict of legitimacy, some literary agents do not want to be shifted or replaced. Because old players or established writers tend to maintain their



status, in such circumstances, a writer takes a strategy, of course, by looking at the conditions of habitus, capital, and its arena. In the position of not having a part, Wiji Thukul needed recognition as a poet or writer. However, the admission was never acknowledged by the author. The same is true of other writers or poets who also never want to admit that what is needed is recognition (Schinkel, 2015).

Thus, Wiji Thukul wrote poetry as other writers at that time (New Order) wrote poetry. In the early days, writing Wiji Thukul's poetry was the habitus of writing poetry or literature or art which became the dominant aesthetic style at that time, namely universal literature. During the New Order era, in the 1980s, Indonesian literature was dominated by a versatile literary aesthetic that resided in almost all academic and art organizers. In that span of years, Indonesian writers' entire writing habitus is universal (Adib, 2012). The beauty of art and literature is universal. A beauty that is considered "heavy". If it is illustrated when reading a literary work with a versatile aesthetic orientation, the reader will frown continuously, thinking continuously, looking for the meaning of the work (Bennet, 2005). The college or university community calls it serious literature.

Seeing the habitus, capital, and construction of the Indonesian literary arena at that time, the textual strategy that Wiji Thukul took was to follow the rules of the game of confronting the wills of his academic arena. In the confrontation of the struggle for legitimate status, Wiji Thukul's position turned out to be unlucky as a newcomer. Wiji Thukul lost the battle and the fight. His strategy as a newcomer that offers dominant or universal aesthetic similarities is not recognized by senior writers who have authority (Barrett, 2015). The theme chosen and provided by Wiji Thukul was related to the big piece of Indonesian literature. However, the language of delivery used by Wiji Thukul was still "far from" the expectations of literary scholars at that time. Wiji Thukul lacked capital. Wiji Thukul experienced a distinction of habitus so that the arena he chose rejected Wiji Thukul's style of language as a newcomer. It is different from the condition of other poets in the same arena, namely Kriapur. In other words, Wiji Thukul's strategy was not supported by habitus and capital that was appropriate to the stadium, so Wiji Thukul experienced a failure or a situation of unacceptability in the national literary arena.

### **Textual Strategy or Wiji Thukul Writing Strategy by Writing Social Critical Poetry (1985-1990 Period)**

Wiji Thukul's unacceptability in the national literary arena or Wiji Thukul's failure to gain legitimacy as a writer is one of his symbolic contestations in the literary arena. Wiji Thukul then shifted his poems' themes to social criticism themes with simple diction, namely, diction easily digested by ordinary readers. Diction is the lower classes' everyday language (Novenia, Taum, & Adji, 2019). The community is the environment in which Wiji Thukul lives. In this condition, Wiji Thukul returned to his class habitus from his universal writing habitus. Now he must be a homologous writer between writing habitus and class habitus (Reay, 2010). It is not the case for most writers. For example, the writer is from the favored class's habitus but writes according to the dominant class's habitus.

From the aspect of the arena, Wiji Thukul did not change the arena. Wiji Thukul just kind of entered the subarea of the large arena. This subarea concept arises based on subgenres' logic in literature or art (Karnanta, 2015). So, if the map is mapped, the poetry genre is divided or formed from social poetry or critical social poetry, romantic poetry, religious poetry, realism poetry, and so on. In practice, these subgenres remain overlapping, not strictly segregated or correlated. For example, several authors or writers wrote several of the above subgenres simultaneously or at different times. An author can write social poetry, romantic poetry, religious poetry, or other forms of poetry (Ping, 2015). An author may only register one subgenre. For example, he wrote social poetry or critical social poetry and did not write poetry with other themes. Thus, the shift of Wiji Thukul to the subarea of social poetry or social criticism poetry means that Wiji Thukul is fighting or wrestling in the poetry arena with social poetry or social criticism subgenres. During the New Order era, the space or hall of social poetry did not receive appreciation like the position of space or other poetry arenas. The New Order government's political power that favored criticism influenced the development of social literature or social criticism. Thus, at that time, many authors or writers did not choose the arena of social poetry or social criticism subgenres because there was a fear of the New Order government supported by military forces (Medvetz & Sallaz, 2018). In such a position in the social poetry or social criticism subgenre arena, Wiji Thukul has more or less no competition as in the big literary arena.

In this situation, Wiji Thukul's competitor, who was already established and even had the authority as a great poet, was Rendra. It is facing Rendra that Wiji Thukul as a newcomer has his distinct mark from Rendra. The sign referred to is the difference in class habitus between Rendra and Wiji Thukul. These differences affect the language used by the author. Wiji Thukul uses the vocabulary of the people with the favored class habitus. Wiji Thukul saw that confrontation and symbolic struggle in the literary arena because social literature is still not as strict as in the art arena for art or pure arts. There are still spaces for possibilities that have not been explored.

### **Textual Strategy or Wiji Thukul Writing Strategy by Writing Party Poetry (1990-1998 Period)**

After the text of Wiji Thukul's poetry on social themes, themes originated from his habitus, strengthening his ideology that literature can be a medium for public awareness, Wiji Thukul "sharpened" his poetry texts to adapt his new habitus, namely practical political habitus or party habitus. In the party habitus, even though the founded party was a party that functioned to match the established parties, there was still an ideology of power within the party (Astika, 2013). In that situation, Wiji Thukul had a strategy of writing party poetry texts. Poetry texts for the benefit of the party. Some people claim that Wiji Thukul's poetry lost its spirit after joining a political party under such conditions. People don't know that changing the text of Wiji Thukul's poetry is a strategy. So what is Wiji Thukul betting on with this strategy? Wiji Thukul intended to gain legitimacy in the political arena. Because one of the media to gain power is to become the leader of a political party.

For this reason, Wiji Thukul took a strategy by moving the arena of his struggle to the political arena. Wiji Thukul did not possess the political habitus, and the game rules in the political arena were different from the literary arena (Lamont, 2012). Wiji Thukul got the symbolic capital to return to the academic arena. Wiji Thukul had been lost or eliminated by the New Order regime. With the disappearance or removal of Wiji Thukul before he returned to the literary arena, Wiji Thukul still gained symbolic capital as an



activist writer. Because of the recognition as a writer from the political arena, activists' appendage continues to accompany the title or status of writers (Wulandari & Susilastuti, 2019). Sometime later, the literary arena followed the mainstream of Wiji Thukul's recognition from the political arena. The political current was in an atmosphere of overthrowing the authoritarian New Order regime by giving birth to the Reform Order. In this new order or the reformation order, was a wave of all activists' ordination in 1998, including Wiji Thukul, who was ordained in a position between activist and writer.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Based on the results of research and discussion, the conclusions of this study, namely the textual strategy of Wiji Thukul in his symbolic contestation in the Indonesian literary arena during the New Order era, include: First, the textual strategy or strategy of writing romantic-religious poetry (1980-1985 period); Second, the textual strategy or strategy of writing critical social poetry (1985-1990 period); Third, the textual strategy or strategy of writing party poetry (1990-1998 period). Wiji Thukul pursued this strategy because the Indonesian literary arena's position and condition during the New Order era were filled with the first universal literary domination. Second, the emergence of contextual literature as resistance to dominant universal literature. Third, Indonesian literature, which consists of 1) literature that is formalized or legalized; 2) literature that is prohibited; 3) belittled literature; 4) separated literature. Based on the above categories, Wiji Thukul occupies a position as banned literature. Fourth, the government's dominance or the power of the New Order in the Indonesian literary arena. Thus, Wiji Thukul's textual strategy of symbolic contestation in the Indonesian academic arena to gain recognition or legitimacy in the national literary arena has failed.

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