

## AGAINST THE POLICY THROUGH *GEGURITAN* (JAVANESE POEM)

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**Abstract:** Along with the development of literature, *geguritan* is not just as the entertainment. It has a development change in the function and role. Means, to concern more on the form of aspiration than just as an aesthetics, ethics, meaning, and expression. These aspiration, thus, is able to lead to a resistance form. Nowadays, *geguritan* has an active role in emerging public's power criticism on their awareness of current social, politic, and economic situations. This study was to analyze and investigate the resistance form of Turiyo Ragilputra through his *geguritan* literature work about the phenomena of populace's affliction as the effect of government's policy. *Bledheg Segara Kidul* anthology by Turiyo Ragilputra was used as the object of this study. The discourse analysis approach of Fairclough was applied, it consists three steps: description, interpretation, and explanation. The result showed that many *geguritan* on Turio Ragilputra's anthology named *Bledheg Segara Kidul* have the obvious reaction contents about his resistance on many government's policies which have bad effects to the populace.

**Keywords:** resistance, policy, *Geguritan*, *Bledheg Segara Kidul* anthology, critical discourse analysis.

### INTRODUCTION

In this globalization era, all life aspects from social, economy, politic, and culture are started to develop. It then inspires the study of science including literature. The problem complexity development of society encourages those in the literature. This is because literature may appear from an individu or group's feeling of pleasure, calm, or worry in the society. Then, it is as known that the development era is always responded by the development of knowledge, these development, thus, is contributed to the literature's.

The advancement of era, namely modernization, does not always show the advancement on societies' prosperity. It might be a boomerang for the people living there, and as one of the factors to 'destroy' their condition. This should be noted that the development of era may go along with the problem development as encountered by the society. In detail, the higher demand of life is as the difficulty for particular group of society to fulfill it. This kind of group, thus, is known to be a marginalized group.

The condition above has a relation to a term 'poverty'. Based on *Undang-Undang No. 24 Tahun 2004*, "poverty is a social economy condition of individu or group of people who are not fulfilled by their basic rights to maintain and develop the prestige of life." Poverty is in the more serious condition with the modernization development. It is

as the main factor in arising the poverty to the society. Poverty itself, moreover, is influenced by some factors. *World Bank* states that it is due to the inability of voice exposing, and the non-existing of power in front of institution state and society. Nurwati (2008: 2) has an idea about poverty that is viewed as the multi-dimensional problem about the inability of economy, social, culture, and politic access to participate in the society. This relates to the society's inability in responding and criticizing the government's policies which affect a burden in their life. It also is supported by the inability of society to voice and against these problem.

Based on its characteristic, poverty is divided into two: natural poverty, and synthetic poverty (Jarnasy, 2004: 8). Synthetic poverty is kind of poverty as the effect of modernization or establishment by which it affects the society to not have an opportunity in dominating the sources, tool, and economy facilitation equally. Government's policies in social-politic aspect, whether it is intentional or not, partly affect the poverty to occur (Suryawati, 2005: 127). Nasikun as cited by Suryawati (2005: 123) conveys that poverty is one influenced by policy induces processes, refers to the poverty that is continued, and reproduced through a policy implementation (induced of policy) including anti-poverty policy, by which in reality it is continued instead.

In Indonesia, poverty problem is not just about the inability income, thus, it extends to the aspect of social, politic, and economy. This shows that poverty has already spread on some elements life of the society. As one example of economy aspect, it is shown by the inability of populace to criticize the government's policies which lead to liberalist and capitalist, and in the end it affects the suffer for the society. Many phenomenas to occur are the high increase of food cost, the difficulty of employment finding, the high number of termination of employment (*PHK*), the injustice for low level of society, etc. Another is about the export and import policy for the sake of comission and high retain. The conditions as mentioned before incur the populace to lost more and more of their prestige.

It can be sensed by the society that the government's policies which relate to them are not into populace's importance and prosperity, some examples that exist are: 1) the increase cost of *BBM* (fuel oil), affecting the populace to reduce the purchase as it also affects the increase of electricity cost, transportation, education cost, health, and the increase price of many products; 2) the never ending invitation of abroad investor, this leads to another policies such as: free foreign citizens' visa when they are coming to Indonesia, foreign citizens who are allowed to have property in Indonesia, foreign parties who are allowed to 100% dominate sugar and rubber industry, 100% dominate restaurant investment and on going business, 85% dominate ventura investment, 100% dominate the power plant, be allowed to dominate 7 tourism projects, dominate in the majority of toll organization, airport, and harbor. By looking at these policies, the local industrialists will be difficult to do the competition, then tend to be eliminated. Thus, it can be concluded that the domination and monopoly from foreign party as the economy regulator occur; (3) the big opportunity given for foreign employer which will affect the local ones in their competition. The low quality of local employer will give an effect for them to lost their job.

By taking a look at the conditions and situations as described above, Turiyo Ragilputra's *geguritan* literature work is considered to be appropriate for the interpretation. He is known to be in the side of populace with their life burden and affliction. Through his work, he conveys the society's voice with allusion, critique, and high resistance capability towards government's policies which are viewed to damage and suffer them.

For Turiyo Ragilputra, *geguritan* is not just about attractive words completed with the figure of speeches. Thus, he prefers to make it be beneficial to the society. This refers to the exposition about the problems as experienced by them such as the imbalance policy, and the lost of justice. Through his works, the emotional could often be seen clearly and obviously. This is as the representative for the society to against the government's policies that is viewed to damage them. At the end, many Turiyo Ragilputra's *geguritan* can be used as a tool to the government to observe, so that any betterments could be later implemented.

According to the previous study conducted by Ilham (2015) entitled "Arabic Poems and Social Protest: Structural Study – Poem Content 'SHA'ALIK Pra-Islam'", he emphasized on the explanation of Sha'alik poem as a tool to protest the ethnic and social discrimination of Arab society. In 2013, Tjahjono through his study "A Dominance Resistance Through Poem" showed a literature work in the form of poem as the resistance of dictatorship and authoritative from a current dominant regime. Considering at the two studies before, with an addition reinforcement from the reality and phenomena occur nowadays, it is then important for the writer to conduct this study. Ethnic, social discrimination, and the dictatorship of a rezim are considered to not be that strong in this era. Thus, the title and content of this study emphasized more on *geguritan* as a resistance tool towards the government's policies which is viewed to damage the society. In other words, this study is relevant with the phenomena and situation occurring nowadays.

## THEORITICAL REVIEW

Policy is an arrangement concept and principle as a broad line and plan in order to implement a project, leadership, and way of behaving (refers to the government, organization, etc); a declaration of ambition, goal, principle, and guideline from the certain management to reach the target. Fedderick defines policy as an arrangement of act or activity as proposed by the individu, group, or government in a certain environment where at the same time there are obstacles, also opportunities towards the implementation of policy as proposed before, to reach the certain goal (Agustino, 2008: 7). An understanding of policy as stated before is ideally held by the government as a holder power that formulates, plans, and decides the policy by prioritizing to the society's beneficence and prosperity. It would be better for the government to use their authority for creating the policy with society as their first priority. "Populace and farmer keeps on being poor due to the government's policy orientation to do the corruption, do something to 'fee', and finally get their benefit for them and their groups. The acts of corruptive and covetous will keep our nation to be less developed." As stated by Hamdi

Muluk, a lecturer from Indonesia University, at *Rizal Ramli Strategic Center (RRSC)* launching in Jakarta, Thursday (13/2/2013) as covered by *Tribunnews.com*.

Furthermore, there are many flawed government's policies which are in contrast to the expectation from the society. It is as if they are eliminated and ignored by the government while formulating and determining a policy. Populace's aspiration is no longer heard, although the government defends themselves that their policy is for the sake of society's prosperity. As the illustration, the increase cost of *BBM* (fuel oil) which has an effect to the increase price for the basic need, food, and clothing. This affects the populace to reduce the purchase. At the same time, this policy decreases the populace economy power, affects them to be more into the poor condition. In sum, the government's policy can give an impact on the poverty to occur. Poverty is not a cause, thus, it is an effect (Usman & Moeis, 2006: 136).

Each time the government's policy which harms the society exists, the reaction will be given as the response since they are aware that bad effect may later occur. Unfortunately, their voices are seemed to be weak and never be heard by the government. This is lack of power to prevent these policies, as if populace always become the affliction object for each government's policy. They are always be the victim without being able to turn and hide against the government.

Literature is discourse. Fairclough posits that each discourse is a form of social practice expressed through the use of language (Saddono, 2009: 16). What is written by a litterateur can also be categorized as a social practice (Tjahjono, 2012: 51). As a social practice, there will always be a dialectic relationship among discursive phenomena (*geguritan*, in this case) with the situation, institution, and social structure which forms it. Literature, including *geguritan*, as a discourse practice is able to show a form of resistance.

By taking a look at the current condition of social, economy, and politic, it is sensed to be a bit inappropriate if *geguritan* is just viewed as an entertainment tool. Thus, instead to just focus on its language, figure of speech, or other language aspects, nowadays *geguritan* is emphasized more to express its content as a critique form towards social, economy, and politic which currently occur. It is then clearly showed that *geguritan* literature work can be a persuasive discourse or to persuade the society. Liamzon groups this as a hortatoric discourse, means, it has a characteristic in persuading or giving an advice which sometimes it has a reinforcement to convince the readers more (Saddono, 2009: 26).

*Geguritan* as a form of resistance encourages the power of aspiration, and establishes the awareness of society. Salad (2014: xviii) categorizes this as poem/ pamphlet *geguritan*, or equal to poem/social *geguritan*. This kind of *geguritan* contains of dominant elements about the critique towards social-politic reality which had occurred or is occurring in the local society, whether in the national or international level.

A litterateur should be sensitive, adept, and perceptive to the conditions of society. One important thing that should be done by a current litterateur is to be serious in paying his/her attention to the problem of society (Damono, 1999: 102). A litterateur is demanded to pay attention on the condition of society before finally making the

realization of it through his/her work/s. A condition where domination, power, inequality, injustice, and unconsciousness always affect to the problems for the society. This also is where *geguritan* literature work appears as a critique tool dealing with the conditions written before. Although *geguritan* is physically just words that are arranged briefly, but, it has a function as a controller of the situation. Poem/*geguritan* is strong and brief, but on the certain situation, it can be a power of provocation-reflection (Wellbery, 2006: 4). To conclude, *geguritan* literature work has a power to criticize. Thus, there is a need to conduct a study about critique discourse from *geguritan* literature work as a bridge to establish and create the better social, economy, and politic conditions.

## METHOD OF STUDY

Norman Fairclough proposes that discourse is a social practice and he divides discourse analysis into three dimensions: text, discourse practice, and social practice (Badara, 2012: 26). Based on what was proposed, an understanding is created, it is critical discourse which has a goal to deeply investigate the activity, view, and identity based on the language as used in the discourse. An analysis of discourse by using the critical approach shows the cohesiveness of 1) text analysis, 2) process analysis, productive, text consumption and distribution, 3) socio-cultural analyzing which develops around these discourse.

## DISCUSSION

*Bledheg Segara Kidul* anthology is a *geguritan* compilation by Turiyo Ragilputra which had appeared since 1987-2007 in Javanese magazines such as: *Jaya Baya*, *Jaka Lodhang*, *Panjebar Semangat*, etc. Two *Geguritan* as the focus in this study are entitled *Kanca Lawas* and *Ironi Kamardikan*. They were chosen based on the high level of critique appropriate to the issue raised in this study.

In analyzing this *geguritan* critical discourse, the writer used a sequence step based on the method of study above. It contains of: a) text analysis, b) process analysis, productive, text consumption and distribution, c) socio-cultural analyzing which develops around these discourse.

### *Turiyo Ragilputra Criticizes Economy Policy*

Economy policy is determined and decided by the government. Each policy has their own effects, whether it is good or bad. This can either be beneficial or disadvantageous for any parties. Ideally, the policy decided by the government should really consider the importance of their society, since the government is exist and formed to take care and guarantee their society's life. It then is obvious that a stability is needed. Stability is not a static condition, thus, it is dynamic.

Through the statement above, the conclusion that can be drawn is about the importance of stability. Any things as the contributions in creating these stability should be really protected as good as possible. There should be parts of intentions which have a role to create these stability in a literature work. A litterateur's duty, is, then, to criticize

all operations in the society, whether those which is secularly or spiritually, affect it to be in an awareness life (Rendra, 2001: 6).

Alongside to what was written by Rendra, as a litterateur, Turiyo Ragilputra supports it by offering his contribution to create the stability in order to form the resistance towards government's authority in determining the policy. He conveys it through *geguritan* literature work. Turiyo Ragilputra is known to be one of "critic" litterateurs. In other words, what was conducted by him through his literature work has a main goal to express populace's aspiration and as a link for the populace who are oppressed.

In *geguritan* entitled *Kanca lawas*, the readers will find an impressive feeling of character of story as shown by Turiyo Ragilputra. This feeling comes from the populace's misery as oppressed by their condition. This condition is as the result and effect of government's policy in economy aspect. Food price was getting expensive, all prices increased highly, affected the populace to be difficult in fulfilling the needs to their life. *Kanca Lawas* text described Turiyo Ragilputra's worry and anxiety towards his old friend who was not able to follow the plot, and the demand of era in order to fulfill his life needs. This condition was as the implication of government's policies. It is as seen in the part of the bait below.

- *kanca lawas sing dakpethuki ing prapatan* (an old friend that I met on the crossroads)
- *awake kuru pundhake mikul buntelan* (he is thin, his shoulder carries a bond)
- *arep menyang endi mitraku?* (where will you go, my friend?)
- *nggoleki roda ekonomi sing mrucut saka porose* (find an 'economy wheel' which is far from its 'axis')
- *lan tatanan sing mung bisa ngerut wong kere?* (and the rules which can only bend over poor people?)
- *godhong-godhong gogrog saka pang* (leaves are scaled off of the branch)
- *awakmu kabur kaya kapuk kumleyang* (your body is crashed like a fly cotton)

After reading the part of *geguritan* above, it is clearly stated that we are met by the use of connotative sentences and several figure of speeches which are described a worry and suffering conditions as experienced by the populace. The physical condition of the character story is obviously and deeply described his suffering condition.

The blend of language is so creative, as if the readers are invited to the certain dimension and experience the affliction as described by the character in the story directly. From these part of *geguritan*, Turiyo Ragilputra mixed two aspects solidly. First, figurative language had been fulfilled the attractive of language in a literature work. Second, it could attract the readers as if they are having an experience as the character who was in the tragic conditions as described through this *geguritan*.

From the part of *geguritan* above, it is clearly seen that there is a focus on economy aspect. It described through the character and physical conditioned as experienced by him, like, thin body, weak, and did not have any jobs to depend to. He then tried to find any luckiness and source of incomes. This could also represent other poor populace.

The description was substantively to offer the message of populaces' real conditions to their leaders, and at the same time to remind them of their policies created before.

The explicitness of language appears in the next part of *geguritan* as written below.

- *yen pingin bukti aja takon marang manungsa-manungsa* (do not ask people while looking for the proof)
- *aja takon mentri bupati camat apa maneh sing paling kuwasa* (do not ask for the ministry, regent, subdistrict head, or especially those who is leading)
- *luwih becik takonna marang bocah angon kae* (it may be better to ask to those herdsman)
- *kaya ngapa urip dadi kaya ngene rekasane* (like what is felt to have the difficulty in the life like this)
- *rega-rega dadi rante wesi* (prices to be an iron chain)
- *pranatan mujud dadi memedi* (rules to be ghost)

Through a part of *geguritan* above, the explicit language applied by Turiyo Ragilputra can be seen clearly, it is as a form of resistance with the simple language. Turiyo's braveness while doing a resistance is seen when he mentioned the figures who affect the affliction on the society. But, Turiyo was not that brave as he attempted to apply the language in a more soft way. He did not directly mentioned the names involved there in detail and openly. It is presumed that the government lead in this era was so secured and tended to not approve any critiques. Due to this factor, the self protection of litterateur should really be protected. Turiyo was aware that the leaders at that time were dictator and authoritative, or frightened. He was given a warning about any abductions tragedy and the lost of a populace's litterateur namely Wiji Thukul. He is a litterateur who bravely conveyed a hard critique towards government's leadership in that era. He lost while a riot occurred in 1996. Many speculated that Wiji Thukul lost as he was kidnapped and intentionally lost by the government.

*Kanca Lawas geguritan* by Turiyo Ragilputra describes the irony condition of Indonesian in 1998, where the economy condition was getting worried. The crisis occurred in all life aspects and all regions equally. People in this era lost their prosperity.

What was written by Turiyo through this *geguritan* was a description of the real condition occur in the society. To specify, the description of society who lost their prosperity. This due to the disclosure of government, also other interests in each policy created. *Rega-rega dadi rante wesi, pranatan mujud dadi memedi* (prices to be an iron chain, rules to be ghost), this part of *geguritan* was obvious in describing the economy and social condition occurred that time. It was about the high increase of basic needs' price, by which these policies made the populace to be frightened. Turiyo has proven that a *geguritan* is able to against the policy. These level of resistance depends on each litterateur. *Kanca Lawas geguritan* shows that literature is able to criticize, correct, and oppose the government, with any figure of speeches or delivery strategies. Language is not a language, thus, it can also have double roles to aid and escape from the government's clutch and oppression. Word is not a word, it can influence, and frighten the government. Word is also as the suggestion in establishing populace's awareness to construct themselves and arising their braveness against the policies which

are damaged them. Falcoult explains that words can also produce other things such as concept, idea, or effect. Through words, Turiyo criticizes and againsts the policies which affect to the frightened and affliction circle.

### ***Turiyo Ragilputra Againsts Poverty***

In *Ironi Kamardikan geguritan*, Turiyo Ragilputra conveyed a message by using a rough language which was based on his concerned towards the poverty in this country. The language applied by Turiyo in this part of *geguritan* is sensed to be direct and explicit. He conveyed it through the description of human senses and other parts of body explicitly and lead to be rough. It is as seen below.

- *Sejatine bangsa iki wis ora duwe pangrasa* (to be real, this nation is no longer having a feeling)
- *Sing mbungkem dhewe cangkeme* (those who close their own mouths)
- *lan bisa omong nanging bisu* (those who can speak but choose to be 'dumb')
- *Sing nutup dhewe mripate* (those who close their own eyes)
- *lan bisa mandheng nanging wuta* (those who can see but choose to be 'blind')
- *Sing mbanda dhewe tangane* (those who bind their own hands)
- *lan sing ngranggeh nanging bunting* (and those who get it but lopped off)
- *Sing ngerut dhewe sikile* (those who fold their own feets)
- *lan bisa tumindhak nanging lumpuh* (those who can do something but choose to be 'paralyzed')
- *Sing nyumpel dhewe kupinge* (those who close their own ears)
- *lan bisa krungu nanging budheg* (and those who can hear but choose to be 'deaf')

This *geguritan* was created in 1999, based on Turiyo's concerns on politic and economic aspect in this country. In the part of *Ironi Kamardikan geguritan* above, Turiyo obviously described the ignorance of government to their populace's conditions. Many parties were aware about this phenomena but chose to be in silent without even paid a bit attention to it. There were some possibilities for them to help these poor populace but they chose to not to. Part of this *geguritan* clearly existed to convey the allusion and critiques towards the government, although they were not explicitly mentioned and showed for not only the leaders existed that time. Thus, these *geguritan* was also referred to other populace. Turiyo conveyed his message for them to help each other and to be care on the poor economy conditions of others. The language full of parables as applied by Turiyo was very exact to its aim or target. It is known that the 'ignorance' theme was directed both for government or other populace. The use of parable of human sense and part of body are viewed to ease the readers or the direct target. Thus, the goal of these critiques were expected to reach.

Turiyo emphasized more on his care and feeling towards his fellow creature. It is appropriate to Rendra's statement saying that what should be developed is "the awareness of collective common sense" (2001: 24). Turiyo then emphasized it for the



human to open their eyes, emotion, mind in order to develop and establish their sympathy towards others, including government and their populace, as in this context.

A dominant direction for Turiyo is government. Their ignorance, untruth, and authority were as the main focus of this *Ironi Kamardikan geguritan*. Turiyo was very understand that the poor economy condition of populace at that time was pure due to the leaders' act. To be clearer, it was proven through part of this *geguritan*.

- *nanging sapa wae uninga* (but everyone knows)
- *kandele garis ireng kemiskinan* (the serious condition of poverty)
- *ora bisa mung nganggo janji lan slogan* (it can not be only through the promise and slogan)
- *sapa wae bisa dadi saksi* (everyone can be the witness)
- *tumrap oyod-oyod kolusi lan korupsi* (like the roots of collusion and corruption)
- *sing tumanjem kukuh ing bumi pertiwi?* (that strongly stand over in this country)
- *tikus babi* (rat, pig)
- *ama lan durjana* (pest and evil)
- *terus wae rebutan bandhane negara* (just continuously taking away state's property and wealth)

Part of this *geguritan* was more dominated by the direct language which lead to the use of rough's. This due to Turiyo's anger towards the leaders' act and its effect to the poor economy condition in this country. In this part of *geguritan*, it was explained that the poverty as experienced by the populace is due to the act of their leaders. This referred to the collusion and corruption done by them. Collusion is a cooperation between the official with another parties illegally, in order to obtain the material benefit for themselves. Collusion is one of the factors for the arising of government's policies which is not in one side with the populace. When a collusion is started into the leader/s 'life' and their function aspect in the governmental, then all policies can be controlled by certain people who only direct the benefits to themselves. The effect of collusion is that it creates the poor economy condition of populace. Another bad act is corruption, which can easily be defined as a leaders who adopt what is/are being the populace's right/s. Thus, it also affects the misery for them.

In this part of *Ironi Kamardikan geguritan*, Turiyo applied the different language compared to the two *geguritan* described before. The difference was that the language being applied was more rough and contained of sarcasm. The factor to influence this was due to the high level of nauseate and anger as experienced by Turiyo. He was not afraid and worry towards the rezim who was in command that time. Since in 1999, the authoritarian of the rezim had destroyed so that any forms of self protection was not really dangerous compared to the previous years. This sarcasm can be seen through the last bait, when Turiyo wrote some dirty words. He described the officials as 'rat' and 'pig'.

It can then be understood that *Ironi Kamardikan geguritan* literature work explicitly againsts the reality of social, economy, politic, and ruler's act which affected to

populace's poverty and affliction. Turiyo and his *geguritan* literature work conveyed a resistance through the allusion languages and sarcasm words. Thus, aside to be used in expressing self emotion, words are also able to use as a critique tool to against the government and many of their 'badnesses'. In criticizing or describing the nerves, a litterateur is able to much or less convey the oppression towards the government.

## CONCLUSION

Turiyo Ragilputra through his *geguritan* literature work shows the resistance towards the government's policies which are considered to damage the society. As known that these kind of policies are as the main factors for the problem on populace's poverty.

*Geguritan* literature work is no longer applied for its function in the entertainment. Moreover, these literature work is oftenly applied as a resistance tool dealing with the current condition of social, economy, and politic.

The main elements of literature work are language and its words, thus, two of them can be the main tool while allusion and critique against the authority are created.

It can also be applied in Turiyo Ragilputra's literature work in the form of *geguritan*. Aside of its main idea, language and the words are used as the tool for effect giver. For the society, language and words chosen by Turiyo can establish their awareness of social, economy, and politic conditions that currently occur. For the government, language and words chosen by Turiyo are for the critique and resistance towards injustice and untruth.

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