

HEGEMONY ANALYSIS IN SENO GUMIRA AJIDARMA'S *PENEMBAK MISTERIUS* SHORT STORIES

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Abstract: This study aims to explain the ideological confrontation, the role of intellectual figures, and the formative role text of *Penembak Misterius* by Seno Gumira Ajidarma uses sociology of literature as the approach of the study with the specialized implementation of hegemony theory by Antonio Gramsci. The results of this study are as follows. *First*, the ideological confrontation in *Penembak Misterius* aims at denying the absolute authority of the New Order's formal ideology, namely militarism, development, capitalism, authoritarianism, hedonism, and radicalism. *Second*, the role of intellectual figures in *Penembak Misterius* is played to criticize capitalism, materialism, hedonism, developments, national urbanization, also criticizing New Order government officials, the mysterious shooting policy, and at the same time criticizes violence and human rights violations for children. *Third*, the formative role of the *Penembak Misterius* text acts as an interrogative text based on the practice of critical memory. It does not only serve as a documentation of historical events but also intends to link the historical events as an emancipation effort.

Keywords: hegemony, intellectual role, ideological confrontation, formative text

INTRODUCTION

Fukuoka (2013: 54) concluded that Suharto's New Order government showed a sultanistic tendency. The Sultanate government is based on personal rules but does not have a positive ideology. An attitude of fear and terror motivates loyalty to the authorities. While the authorities tend to operate their power in an authoritarian way. One example of the government's tendency towards authoritarianism is evidenced by the application of the Mysterious Shooting operation in the 1980s.

The Mysterious Shooting was aimed to protect the power of the New Order at the expense of human, civil, and political rights (Muradi, 2017: 124-125). LBH Director Mulya Lubis told *Agence France Presse* correspondent in Jakarta that the Mysterious Shooting operation had killed an estimated total of 4,000 at the end of October 1983.

President Suharto (in Elson, 2001: 237) acknowledged that the Mysterious Shootings were aimed at giving fear and terror to criminals. In other words, Suharto has legitimized the act of murder as a form of representation of state terrorism against civil society.

Such state terrorism is supported by tight control over publishing activities, communication media activities, and art activities, such as book publishing, television, radio, press, and theater performance, which later operated as state ideology apparatus (Gazali, 2002: 122; Herriman, 2015: 45-46). The function shift of the mass media as a state ideology apparatus in the New Order government further led to an ideological reproduction function. Ideological reproduction indicates that there is a likelihood of mass media to create hyperreality.

Consequently, social realities such as violence and human rights violations of the Mysterious Shootings are then distorted by ideological imaging. Borrowing the Nachman Ben-Yehuda's term, the New Order can be called a government that treats the mass media as a means of control. At the same time, the transmits culture aims to mobilize national and local issues, such as political, state of emergency, economic, and military mobilization (Judah in Rifa'ie and Setiawan, 2019: 232).

When the mass media functioned as a state ideology apparatus, the question then: was the anthology of the *Penembak Misterius* by Seno Gumia Ajidarma included?

Nurhadi (2004: 243) views that Seno Gumira Ajidarma's literary works are categorized as hegemonic literary works. In other words, they can operate as tools to dominate or even show resistance. The literary works that resisted the government in the New Order era were prohibited from being circulated, published, stored, owned, and read. Therefore, Haryanto (1998: 5) further argued that, during the New Order government, literary works were depoliticized as they threatened the status quo of the government.

Suroso (2015: 1, 3) notes that literary works prohibited from being circulated, read and published include, among others, the *Manusia Bumi* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer, poems by Wiji Thukul, poems by Emha Ainun Najib, poems by Linus Suryadi AG, and poems by KH Mustofa Bisri. In this connection, the anthology of the *Penembak Misterius* by Seno Gumira Ajidarma is not included in the category of literary works that are prohibited from being published, read, stored, or circulated. It is, therefore, possible that the anthology of the *Penembak Misterius* is an integral part of the New Order's dominating operations. However, it could also be the other way round that the *Penembak Misterius* is a subversive text category to the power of the New Order.

Based on the problems that have been described, research on the anthology of the *Penembak Misterius* by Seno Gumira Ajidarma is of significance. First, instead of the anthology of the *Penembak Misterius* as a literary work that supports the New Order government or certain dominant class ideologies, therefore the elements of hegemony in the text need to

be described as learning for present and future generations. Second, if it turns out that the text applies otherwise, the concept of alternative hegemony offered by Seno Gumira Ajidarma needs to be used as a guideline for a theoretical or practical comparison. This guideline may be used to deal with increasingly complex political changes in terms of geographical, mystical, physical, or psychological aspects that the literary values in the *Penembak Misterius* texts to bring forward an ontological distance between humans and them.

Such distance is vital in terms of understanding and self-realization. Without the distance between them, humans tend to be predominant; they already feel they can understand it well, and at the same time, humans also lose sensitivity called conscious place (Sayuti, 2014: 21). Therefore hegemony analysis in the anthology of the *Penembak Misterius* plays a vital role in constructing the reader's identity as an integral part of Indonesian history. Thus this study uses the Antonio Gramsci hegemony approach to explain 1) the ideological confrontation in the *Penembak Misterius*, 2) the role of intellectual figures in the *Penembak Misterius*, and 3) the formative role of the *Penembak Misterius* text by Seno Gumira Ajidarma.

Literature and Hegemony

Literary texts cannot detach from the historical, political, and cultural influences. Through literary texts, far and the past event becomes close, restructured into tangible entities whose meanings may not be defined as an aesthetic form anymore, but also as elements parallel to the functions of politics (Faruk, 2016: 154). Alternatively, it can surpass into an accumulative entity of various archeology of knowledge, because "Most of the knowledge of something enters into texts according to history, socio-economic forces, and situations and conditions grounded ones who form important and urgent studies" (Said, 2017: 38).

It implies that the literary text no longer stands alone as a passive text, but instead actively accepts and is accepted by a variety of possible texts referring to and exceeding structures that exist outside. It is at this stage that the text is referred to by Ted Nelson (via Chen & Li, 2011: 347) as hypertext is a category

of text that provides access to unlimited possibilities of space through nodes and links.

Such a text is based on Julia Kristeva's conception of intertextuality (via Fairclough, 1995: 102) able to restructure the history of society into text and from text into the history of society so that literary texts eventually determine the history of society through mediating the author's ideology (Eagleton, 1996: 309). Therefore, the discourse of literary texts "only a fictitious imagination" is no longer relevant, and it is at this stage that literary texts are no longer the second power after politics but as the main force.

The literary texts become a field for the author to persuade the public with a variety of memories, terror, and ultimatums, which allow them to become a material structure of a hegemonic group's power. In this case, reminiscent of Putu Wijaya's statement stating that: "Writing is cutting one's neck without hurting him/her, even secretly" (in Rampan, 2000: 784).

This characteristic of conquest in literature is synonymous with hegemonic literature that is manifested into material structures by authors who carry out intellectual and moral leadership. Ultimately it is aimed to carry out ideological diffusion to the reader through literary texts.

The concrete distribution of intellectual and moral activities through literary texts will create cultural entities such as beliefs and or ideologies that can produce practical forms of the individual in society. Finally, practical activities that are believed to be true will become a necessity for the community, and they will have influences such as in religion and medicine (Gramsci, 2013: 472).

As a result, society is framed by intellectual and moral leadership; historical blocks begin to build up. It later will form the culmination of norms, collective actions, and become a complete, integral, concrete history. At this point, hegemony takes place as Nurhadi (2008: 14) concludes that the work literature, as believed by Gramsci, is not only reflective of people's lives but also formative towards society.

That is, the literary texts are located as superstructures that have functions similar to faith and religion, recruiting subjects and forming a collective awareness of the subjects

(readers) so that in the end will create a historical block to achieve hegemony.

Hegemony is the boundary of reality that defines every context that appears in the literary text. It is the field of meaning; localization of the emergence of texts which at the endpoint have reference to meaning in historical reality. As a result, various relations of power, intellectual and moral leadership, ideological coordination, and various traces of hegemony allow it to be included in the text and then incorporated into all life processes.

The *Penembak Misterius* Text as a material structure of hegemony illustrates the relationship of domination and subordination in the system of cultural exchange. It is represented through the formal form of language in the *Penembak Misterius* text, and through the historical moment as a codification of the hegemony process. In other words, the *Penembak Misterius* text is seen as a hegemonic social artifact, spread through the role of Seno Gumira Ajidarma as intellectuals.

The *Penembak Misterius* Text is the culmination of Seno Gumira Ajidarma's thought, experience, knowledge, and imagination, which are manifested in language signs that can coherently resonate with real life. Therefore in this study, the researcher views that the *Penembak Misterius* text captures and simultaneously carries out hegemony from and against public awareness; Seno Gumira Ajidarma organized texts, arranged, reconstructed history into texts. On that basis, the *Penembak Misterius* text is a starting point for hegemony research to see the extent to which the work maps political, social, and historical ideas and positions itself as a persuasive text to get consensus.

Therefore the categorization of researchers based on ideological confrontation, the role of intellectual figures, and the formative role of the text are assumed to be able to explain the hegemony of Seno Gumira Ajidarma through the *Penembak Misterius* text.

Ideological Confrontation in *Penembak Misterius*

There is a confrontation of the ideology of authoritarianism versus the ideology of humanism in the short story "Keroncong Pembunuhan," the ideology of radicalism versus humanism in the short story "Bunyi

Hujan di Atas Genting," ideology of militarism versus humanism in the short story "Grhhh!", Ideology of capitalism versus nihilism in the short story "Sarman," developmentalism versus conservatism in the short story "Becak Terakhir di Dunia (or Rambo)," capitalism and hedonism versus Javanism in the short story "Tragedi Asih Istrinya Sukab," developmentalism versus the ideology of liberalism in the story "*Semangkin* (formerly *semakin*)," capitalism and hedonism versus the ideology of puritanism in the short story "Helikopter."

The ideological confrontation is a binary opposition between a superconscious dominant force and a subordinate opposition force. The dominant ideology is the ideology of authoritarianism, radicalism, militarism, capitalism, hedonism, and developmentalism. The ideology of opposition is represented in the ideology of humanism, nihilism, conservatism, Javanism, liberalism, and puritanism.

The dominant ideology in the *Penembak Misterius* is circumvented, avoided, or even criticized by figures who adhere to the ideological characteristics of the subordinate opposition. For example, the *Aku* character rejects the command to kill a dominant figure of a woman and a boss through his humanism ideology. Sawitri's figures did not support the radicalism of neighbors and shooters because Sawitri was sympathetic to human values. Detective Sarman rejected the command of the commander, who adheres to the ideology of militarism and even reminded the commander that the murder was a big mistake. Sarman, through his nihilism, even refused a salary so he would no longer work in a company headed by a capitalist boss. Rambo's avoidance of police and army violence who want to capture his *becak* is a reflection of Rambo's conservativeness to reject the ideology of development supported by military power.

In contrast, Asih's figure who embraces the ideology of capitalism and hedonism has a tragic fate. However, Sukab's Javanism is contrary to the fate of Asih (Asih went to the city, while Sukab went to the village). Sukab's figure does not want to follow the style of "Pembangunan yang serba semangkin" officials by embracing the ideology of liberalism. Saleh's ideology of capitalism and hedonism is problematic but ironic, in the

sense that even though Saleh had a capitalist and hedonist lifestyle, yet another part of Saleh's figure wanted to replicate the simplicity of *Nenek Saleh's* Puritanism.

Therefore, through the confrontation of the ideological figures in the *Penembak Misterius* short story, Ajidarma criticized the ideology of authoritarianism, radicalism, militarism, capitalism, hedonism, and developmentalism. Alternatively, Ajidarma tends to persuade the ideology of humanism, nihilism, conservatism, Javanese, liberalism, and puritanism. Humanism to criticize the Mysterious Shooting operation supported by the military power and radicalism sponsored by the state.

Liberalism and conservatism to criticize the development, while nihilism, Javanism and puritanism to criticize capitalism and hedonism, as Sarman said in the short story "Sarman":

"Hari ini saya menolak gaji, menolak bekerja, menolak menuruti Bapak. Pokoknya menolak apa saja yang harusnya terjadi! Saya tidak suka keadaan ini! Saya benci! (Ajidarma, 2007: 42, 46).

Sarman's figure rejected the ideology of capitalism by a resistance act. Sarman's resistance seems to be his understanding of the relationship between utopia and the city as the imaginative urban landscape of life around Sarman's sphere continues to sketch out some of the main differences between capitalism and individual alienation. Alienation also gave Sarman an existential awareness, which then dreamed of a world of utopian totality with a tendency to be skeptical towards the symptom of capitalism.

Dewanto (2017: ix-x) asserted that the ideological confrontation of the *Penembak Misterius* is small fields that deny the extensive narrative aimed at denying the official state's ideology.

The Role of Intellectual Figures in *Penembak Misterius*

There are four types of intellectual figures in the *Penembak Misterius* short stories, among others are organic intellectual figures of state officials, organic intellectuals of civil society, industrial organic intellectuals, and subordinate figures.

The collection of *Penembak Misterius* short stories is dominated by the emergence of organic intellectuals of state officials. However, the emergence of these intellectuals is emphasized as a representation of the coercive power of the state so that it can provide an antagonistic character to the organic intellectuals of state officials (except in the short story "*Semangkin* (formerly *Semakin*)"). In contrast, the organic intellectual-figures are portrayed as a figure who tendentially positions himself as a representative or agent of the company to influence employees with a materialistic lifestyle.

It is different with the organic intellectuals of civil society who serve as organic intellectual agents affiliated with civil society forces such as reporters and Ji figures who are structured to convey the violence of state officials. They also criticize the dominant power of coercive organic-intellectual state officials. However, the emergence of these intellectuals is less significant in the collection of *Penembak Misterius* short stories. Instead, Ajidarma is more likely to bring the power of subordinate classes as a representation of civil power, even though its emergence does not play a role in opposing the organic intellectual figures of state officials and industrial organic intellectuals. However, figures from the subordinate class can appear dominantly in various *Penembak Misterius* short stories. They portray marginalization that marginal class undergoes in the social, economic, and political realities of the country.

Ajidarma plays the dominant organic intellectual of the state in the *Penembak Misterius* short story as a figure who acts repressively and coercively, such as enforcing rules, committing violence, and killing. It is represented by a female figure and a boss in the short story "*Keroncong Pembunuhan*," shooters in the short story "*Bunyi Hujan di Atas Genting*," commander figures and Sarman in the short story "*Grhhh!*," army and police figures in the short story "*Becak Terakhir di Dunia* (or *Rambo*)," and the Junior Deputy Minister for Acronyms and Standard Terms, and the sub-district leader in the short story "*Semangkin* (formerly *Semakin*)."

These figures are portrayed as anatomical figures who carry out coercive dominance. Through the coercive role of the country's organic intellectual figure, Ajidarma

tries to display the violence and identity of state officials to the reader, through which an antagonist character is constructed on the identity of the state apparatus in order to get a negative impression.

Therefore, Ajidarma does not only deny the coercivity of state officials, but also obsessively displays the label of state officials, for instance, as the murderer, authoritarian, coercive, and repressive. For example, as a character plotting a mysterious shoot on the short story "*Keroncong Pembunuhan*," killing a small villain tattooed on the short story "*Bunyi Hujan di Atas Genting*," carrying out mysterious shootings on the short story "*Grhhh!*," catching pedicab drivers on the short story "*Becak Terakhir di Dunia*" (or *Rambo*), "creating arbitrary rules on the short story "*Semangkin* (d/h *semakin*)."

In the *Penembak Misterius* short stories, Ajidarma plays organic intellectuals in the industry as hegemonic figures who persuade employees and employees with a materialistic lifestyle. These figures predominantly affiliated with a company that became a liaison for the industrial working class to attract employee figures to a part of the capitalistic corporate work system.

The characters are played by the department head in the short story "*Sarman*," and Saleh in the short story "*Helikopter*." The department head acts as an antagonist, while Saleh has a character that shifts from the protagonist to the antagonist, both of whom play a role in promoting a materialistic lifestyle.

The role of the head of the department is to persuade workers with materialistic lifestyles such as lure workers with luxurious lifestyles such as the provision of houses, villas, commissions, holidays, extended leave, and many salaries. While the role of Saleh is more inclined to persuade employees to live a materialist-hedonic lifestyle such as buying luxury cars and helicopters, Ajidarma attempts to depict the identity of company officials as a greedy and antagonistic-capitalistic power system.

As the organic intellectuals of civil society in the *Penembak Misterius* short stories, Ajidarma reveals the organic intellectual's coercivity of state officials, through which they position the organic intellectual figures of civil society as the power of opposition to the state.

The reporter represents such a figure in the short story "Grhhhh!", the television reporter figure in the short story "*Becak Terakhir di Dunia* (or Rambo)," and the character Ji (an academic psychologist) on the short story "*Semangkin* (formerly *semakin*)." These figures are portrayed as protagonists to convey violence and violations of human rights committed by state officials and, at the same time, acted to criticize the repression of the authoritarianism of the state apparatus.

Ajidarma's analysis of the power of the opposition to the power of the state, in this case, has exceeded Gramsci's analysis of intellectual functions. It implies that the subordinate class, which is unable to convey "the voice of self-determination," yet in Ajidarma's short stories, subordinate classes play an essential role as figures who fight, avoid, and accept.

Resistance to dominant power is shown by the character *Aku* (contract killer) in the short story "Keroncong Pembunuhan," Sarman in the short story "Sarman." The role of the figure to avoid dominant power is shown by Sawitri in the short story "Bunyi Hujan di Atas Genting," Rambo in the short story "*Becak Terakhir di Dunia* (or Rambo)," Naro and Isti in the short story "Dua Anak Kecil," the Satpam figure in short story "Loket," and the role of the figure to accept dominant power is shown by the figures Paidi, Sukab and Asih in the short story "Tragedi Asih Istrinya Sukab," traveling merchant figures and female characters in the short story "Seorang Wanita di Halte Bis," the greengrocer figure, the Sayur, *Becak* drivers, traders in the short story "Srengenge," and *Aku* character in the short story "Bayi Siapa Menangis di Semak-semak?"

These figures are among others played as protagonists to: a) oppose the Mysterious Shooting policy, b) resist the domination of capitalism, c) avoid violence perpetrated by state officials, d) avoid violence and human rights violations against children, e) criticize violence perpetrated by civil society, and f) accept symptoms of mega-metropolis.

For example, this last category is represented by the character *Aku* and the female character in the short story "Seorang Wanita di Halte Bis," Sukab, Paidi, and Asih in the short story "Tragedi Asih Istrinya Sukab" played as the protagonist to receive the symptom of a mega-metropolis, such as

national urbanization, job competition, individualism and alienation as a result of increasingly dominating city pressures.

The attitude of accepting *Aku* character is represented by the attitude of *Aku* character to make the city only as a stopover place (not settled), the attitude of accepting a female character is represented from the submission of a female character while waiting for an empty seat for ten years at a bus stop in the city of Jakarta, while the attitude of accepting a Sukab figure, Paidi and Asih were represented by the attitudes of these figures to participate directly in the working system of mega-metropolis capitalism, for example, Sukab and Paidi went to Jakarta to make a living; is a marker of urbanization from rural area to the city.

This attitude of acceptance is a critical elaboration of reflective thinking about the adverse effects of the mega-metropolis system, that through the attitude of "accepting" (passive) Ajidarma wants to bring up discourse spaces about the symptom of the mega-metropolis to the reader, the symptom in question is referred to as alienation for example as it happens to Asih figures who wanted to find Sukab in Jakarta but arrived in Jakarta Asih was raped and or to female figures and characters in the short story "Seorang Wanita di Halte Bis" who was unable to compete in life in the city of Jakarta.

"Di dalam bis kota yang kosong, dalam siraman cahaya yang berganti-ganti warna, aku berpikir tentang sekian juta orang yang tertidur pulas setelah didera kerja yang keras. Betapa hidup begitu berharga direnggut. Aku melihat diriku terpuruk di bangku paling belakang. Di kaca jendela yang kotor aku melihat diriku yang asing" (Ajidarma, 2007: 99).

It is Ajidarma's attempt to present the mega-metropolis symptom as a terrible symptom for the reader, and the symptom includes alienation, marginalization, and national urbanization.

Specifically, what Ajidarma wants to criticize through the role of intellectual figures include mysterious shooting, capitalism, hedonism, materialism, militarism, developmentalism, national urbanization, capitalistic mega-metropolis, the violence of

social groups, and violations of human rights against children.

The Formative Role of Text *Penembak Misterius*

The formative role in the collection of *Penembak Misterius* short stories is divided into four categories according to the level of characteristics of the short story formative reflection with the underlying socio-political conditions. The four categories include:

First, the short stories "*Penembak Misterius Trilogy*": ["Keroncong Pembunuhan," "Bunyi Hujan di Atas Genting," and "Grhhh!"] Are motivated by historical events of *Penembak Misterius*. Second, the short stories "*Semangkin* (formerly *semakin*)" and "Becak Terakhir di Dunia (or Rambo)" are motivated by the national development conditions of the New Order. Third, the short stories "Sarman" and "Helikopter" are motivated by the socio-economic conditions of capitalism and hedonism in the New Order era. Fourth, short stories "Tragedi Asih Istrinya Sukab," "Seorang Wanita di Halte Bis," "Srengenge," and "Loket" are motivated by the conditions of national urbanization and the conditions of the urban poor in the era of the New Order government.

Mainly, the "*Penembak Misterius Trilogy*" is motivated by: a) Mysterious shooting of people accused of being minor criminals, b) state intervention in Mysterious Shooting operations against tattooed thugs considered as criminals, c) disposal of bodies of victims of mysterious shootings in public places, d) positive public support for the Mysterious Shooting policy.

"The *Penembak Misterius Trilogy*" seeks to display violence and human rights violations sponsored by the New Order government to be able to read, considering that at that time, the role of the press was limited to reporting on the Mysterious Shooting issues. At the same time, the "*Penembak Misterius Trilogy*" then appeared to the public as an alternative to restructure the terrible state terrorism.

The short stories "*Semangkin* (formerly *semakin*)" and "Becak Terakhir di Dunia (or Rambo)" are motivated by the socio-political-economic conditions of the national development in the New Order era. It has posed some questions; First, whether the short story "*Semangkin* (formerly *semakin*)" is a formative reflection on the condition of the language

diversity of state officials in the New Order era. Second, whether the short stories "*Semangkin* (formerly *semakin*)" and "Becak Terakhir di Dunia (or Rambo)" are set against the discourse of political stabilization and New Order's development. Third, whether the existence of military repression of the urban poor, such as *becak* drivers and prostitutes as a way of the state to prepare a modern city.

Text short stories "Sarman" and "Helikopter" are motivated by the socio-economic conditions of the New Order era, which are dominated by canonical ideologies such as capitalism, materialism, and hedonism. Both short stories attempt to bring the capitalistic, materialistic and hedonistic attitudes through the character of the department head in the short story "Sarman" and the figure of Saleh in the short story "Helikopter". Those attitudes are expected to provoke the reader's emotions and get a negative impression of the characters. The greedy attitude emphasizes luxury goods rather than the relationship between humans and the simplicity of ancestral heritage.

"Tragedi Asih Istrinya Sukab," "Seorang Wanita di Halte Bis," "Srengenge" dan "Loket" are short stories that have a formative reflection with a social background in the era of the New Order government around 1986-1987s. The formative reflection is in the form of national urbanization and alienation of the lives of Jakarta's impoverished communities. It is marked by the appearance of Asih and female figures who suffered a tragic fate when living in the city of Jakarta.

Jakarta is the capital of Indonesia most drastically reshaped in the national imagination by presidents Sukarno and Suharto. Salim and Kombaitan (2009: 121) write that *Jakartanya* Sukarno was a city that looked like the big cities of the world, while Jakarta's Suharto was marked by broad roads, highways and electric railways, hundreds of tall buildings, golf courses and residential areas luxury.

Sukarno wanted Jakarta to be an inspiration and leader for all struggling humanity, and all emerging forces and Indonesia must proudly present Jakarta as a state portal (Sukarno in Kusno, 2000: 54). Kusno (2000: 55) argues that in Sukarno's vision, "Jakarta, like other cities throughout the world, must convey a central image with traces

and signs of decolonization parallel to other world cities."

Cultural architectural heritages, such as the National Monument and Istiqlal Mosque, are a symbol of Jakarta's centrality for Indonesia's national life and the modernity of its architectural practices. Mrázek (2004: 436) writes that throughout the Sukarno era and after it ended, Roosseno designed and dreamed of the actual appearance of the city of Jakarta as a modern metropolitan city.

While in the Suharto New Order era the national development policy was a continuation of the idea of a world city map from Sukarno's policy that placed Jakarta as an exploitative object of the mega-metropolis concept which ultimately had an impact on improving the economy on the one hand and increasing population on the other. As a result, what happened was called by Kusno (2004: 2377) as national urbanization, namely the efforts to restructure the physical space of the city based on the interests of the political elite while the concept of "*kampung*" was destroyed in the interests of mega-metropolis development.

The consequence is that the mega-metropolis development concept can produce the development of the city's formal and informal physical space. The two physical characteristics of the city substantially overlap each other; street vendors sell their wares outside the new multi-stores market buildings, and scavengers are on prosperous suburban streets. People involved in informal trade are pressured by the threat of policies issued by the government (Abeyasekere in Fuller, 2010: 54).

The government pays special attention to formal urban planning such as modern shopping (malls and supermarkets), but, on the other hand, planning for the informal part does not get adequate attention (Cybriwsky & Ford, 2001: 200-201).

Tiwari (2007: 348) argues that the rapid growth of large urban areas does not allow formal planning techniques to respond to the needs of the urban population. Therefore binary differences can be found between officially planned shopping centers that sell global brand products and traditional street merchant shopping areas outside the mall, which sells local food, cell phone cards, and cigarettes (Tiwari, 2007: 348). Informal

traders also sell their wares in planned spaces and transportation networks such as on trains that run from north Jakarta to Bogor.

The living conditions of the Jakarta suburbs (informal) are documented in Ajidarma's short stories entitled "Srengenge" and "Loket" as shown in the following data.

"Langit masih gelap. Namun seperti biasa, pasar itu mulai hidup. Cahaya lentera, obor, maupun petromaks, menerangi kegiatan pasar di perempatan jalan itu, bercampur cahaya lampu neon dari tiang listrik dan toko-toko Tionghoa yang masih tutup. Tanah yang becek dan genangan air sisa hujan kemarin malam memantulkan cahaya" (Ajidarma, 2007: 118).

It might be seen as an effort to document Ajidarma on the urban life of Jakarta and his imagery that Jakarta is a "dangerous" city, an unfriendly city for living. It is a city that places human relations based on individual interests, and this individual feels alienated and marginalized called "The lonely crowd" (Ajidarma, 2015: 142).

The possible Ajidarma objectives, especially since Indonesia's development of the New Order, was decentralization as Ajidarma (2008: 242) affirmed that the centralized tendency to define Jakarta as X was failed. It implies that it was time for people to clean up and work towards regional autonomy (Ajidarma, 2015: 98).

The formative role of the *Penembak Misterius* when referring to Belsey's perspective (via Nurhadi, 2008: 28), then the *Penembak Misterius* text satisfies the category of interrogative discourse. The interrogative text makes the reader nervous and puts the reader's sense of security into doubt. The sense of security and doubt in question is that the reader is invited to explore historical facts in the text. However, the text is not intended to invite the reader to challenge nonfictional historical facts or invite the reader to establish a dominant entity but instead acts as a kind of collective memory based on practice critical memory produced by Ajidarma. It focuses on human rights, minority, and gender issues to reassess various national pasts and connect the process of democratization and the struggle for human rights with the expansion and strengthening of the public space of civil

society (Hussey 2001: 74). That practical memory effort is what Ajidarma did through the text of the *Penembak Misterius*; it not only treats the text as documentation of historical events (facts to fiction, or news to stories) but also intends to link the conditions of historical events as an effort of emancipation.

CONCLUSION

First, the ideological confrontation with the *Penembak Misterius* was constructed to deny the totalization of official state ideologies such as the ideology of militarism, development, capitalism-authoritarianism, hedonism, and radicalism.

Second, the role of intellectual figures in the *Penembak Misterius* was constructed by Ajidarma to display the status of state officials, among others, as slaughterers, authoritarian, coercive and repressive so that the status and identity of state officials were then labeled as negative entities. The role of intellectuals can also display the characteristics of capitalism,

materialism, and hedonism. Therefore, the readers can identify the limits of the possibility of recognizing human tendencies towards negative symptoms of capitalism, materialism, and hedonism. Besides, it may serve as a reminder to readers that the symptom can produce alienation and position humanity as commodity objects. Even on other occasions, the role of intellectual figures seeks to criticize the Mysterious Shooting policy, criticize national development, criticize the symptoms of national urbanization, and at the same time, criticize violence and violations of human rights against children.

Third, the formative role of the *Penembak Misterius* texts fulfills the category of interrogative discourse based on *critical memory practice*. Finally, the text does not only act as a documentation of historical events (facts to fiction, or news to stories) but also intends to link the conditions of historical events as an emancipatory effort.

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