

# SINKING UNDER THE AUTHORITY: COMPARISON BETWEEN WIJI THUKUL'S NYANYIAN AKAR RUMPUT AND LAJIMAN JANOORY'S THE DEATH OF INNOCENCE AS A REVELATION OF CLASS DISTINCTION

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#### **DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY**

I, Adinda Kusuma Wardani hereby declare that this final project entitled Sinking Under the Authority; Comparison Between Wiji Thukul's Nyanyian Akar Rumput And Lajiman Janoory's The Death Of Innocence As A Revelation Of Class Distinction is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institutes. Information derived from the published and unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given in the references.

Semarang, 29 January, 2019

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# MOTTO AND DEDICATION

DON'T WAIT.

LIFE GOES FASTER

THAN YOU THINK.

This final project is dedicated to: My beloved Mama and Bapak My beloved Sister My partner Mr. Ican My English Literature 2014 friends

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I would like to present my greatest gratitude to the almighty Allah SWT, the most gracious and the most merciful, for giving me strength and blessing to the completion of this final project.

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## ABSTRACT

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Keywords: Class division, Marxism, Governmental system, Political issues, Social Critiques This final project entitled Sinking Under The Authority: Comparative Study Of Indonesian And Malaysian Poem By Widji Thukul And Lajiman Janoory. In this study, I examine politics, economy, and social problems which prevail in two poems from Malaysia and Indonesia. This study is focused on two problems; they are first, how do Wiji Thukul's A Song of The Grassroots and Lajiman Janoory's The Death of Innocence reflect the social and political condition of Indonesia and Malaysia, second how do these two poems reveals a class distinction, and what do the poets want from their poems. The data were obtained by reading the poems intensively, understanding, inventorying, and analyzing the data. This study will use Marxism approach to identify the class division which occurs in the society. It will discuss the social and political differences between Indonesia and Malaysia which are revealed in the poems. Moreover, the reaction of the poets which is influenced by their social class is also being discussed. From the data analysis it can be concluded that first, Indonesia and Malaysia are in the same political condition where the government takes control over the citizen, hence they are lacking in managing their job as the authority party. Second, each poet has a different spirit of fighting toward he condition occurring in their own country. The last, both poems are different in the way they are reacting and criticizing based on their background, class, and intention on how they are affected and influenced by their scale of "suffering" in their lives.

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# **CHAPTER I**

## **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter consists of six subchapters; the first subchapter is the background of study. The second subchapter talks about the reason of choosing the topic. The next subchapters are research questions and research objectives. The fifth subchapter talks about the significance of the study; and the last subchapter is the outline of the study.

#### **1.1 Background of the Study**

Literary work is mirror of life written in the form such as poetry, novel, and drama. It is an expression of author's mind and a reflection of society. Even though literary works are imaginative, they are related to reality in human world. Moreover, it is also a reflection of something that happened in the society. It covers critique, truth, and problem of human's life.

According to Griffith (2006), Literature is like a magic which transports us from "real" world to a seemly remote and enjoyable place, because it reflects the real world and helps us be located in our places. Literary work can also be considered as the seismograph because it is based on real incident which had happened in the society where the author lives. According to Shahnon (1994), literature is viewed as life's seismograph. Literary works have the characteristics of a seismograph, an instrument for geological studies which records about earthquakes. A seismograph only records earthquakes as a natural disaster whereas literary works register and analyze "earthquakes" of life. The *earthquake* refers to all types of obstacles and challenges in man's life such as poverty (p.3). Literary work is also a reflection of society which reveals some essential values in the society such as economic, politic, and other social aspects. These values are important because in order to run a nation life well, each country has to apply these principles.

Practically, these principles in the society lead to the existing of class division. There is a class distinction in the recent society even until now. It is known that there are always the ones who come from as the upper class, middle class, and the lower class in the society. According to Karl Marx, a German social historian, there are two types of social classes the Capitalist and the Proletariat (Castle, 2007). These classes are determined by the economic and politic status which divided people into some groups of classes. Economic and politic aspects will turn into such a power in the society. The one who gain more power and wealth will dominate all sectors of the nation. They can consciously oppress the lower or even the middle class to gain more wealth. In this modern world, people might get the oppression from the ones who have more authority, such as the government. Government actually has the right to do anything to gives welfare to the citizen. However, there are some groups who make use of the citizen for their personal interest. The misuse of power makes the nation have an unhealthy system. The lower class people who dislike being oppressed usually resist against the oppression from the higher class. The resistance of lower class can be in the form of critiques, protests, and even brutal demonstrations. In literary world, a critique to the government is also a popular theme of a poem, especially in terms of social classes in a nation.

The form of critic and protest for the upper class can be seen from these two poems which are going to be analyzed. The first is "The Song of The Grass Roots" by Wiji Thukul, an activist who went against New Regime era (Orde Baru), and joined the Indonesian Youth Movement. The second poem is "The Death of Innocence" by Lajiman Janoory, a Senior Lecturer at the English language and Literature Department, Faculty of Languages and Communication, Sultan Idris University of Education in Tanjong Malim, Perak. Both poems were chosen because they share the same theme regarding their feelings toward the government or the dominant group. However, they differ in some aspects such as the political outlook and the time situation. This research will be concerned about comparative study of Indonesian and Malaysian poems which written by Malaysian and Indonesian poets from different social backgrounds.

In order to get a better view of how the two nations are different and similar, this study requires the method of analyzing. Marxist theory will be used in this research to reveal the social class in both countries. The approach of Marxism has a big role dealing with representing and helping me to differentiate the political issue from social distinction which happened in the society. The writer comprehends the method of investigation by understanding the whole content of those poems. Moreover, the capitalists who are represented by a certain group and underestimating the lower class will be the focus of discussion in this study.

### 1.2 Reason of Choosing the Topic

There are some reasons why I was interested in analyzing political issue in Indonesia and Malaysia which are reflected in the two poems. The reasons are stated as follows:

Firstly, Indonesia and Malaysia are neighbors which share similarities in many aspects. As we all know that Indonesia and Malaysia are in one clump. It makes both countries have a lot of similarities especially in literature. Moreover, besides similarities, they have difference in some aspects as well since both countries were colonized by European country. Secondly, both poems are suitable for this research because I found the poems contain and reflect the same ideas about people reactions of their dissatisfaction with the powerful authority of the government.

#### **1.3 Research Questions**

- How do Wiji Thukul's A Song of The Grassroots and Lajiman Janoory's The Death of Innocence reflect the social and political condition of Indonesia and Malaysia?
- 2. How do these two poems reveals a class distinction?
- 3. What do the poets want from their poems?

## **1.4 Research Objectives**

- 1. To get information about the condition of Indonesia and Malaysia in social, and political aspect.
- To know how do these poems reveal a class distinction happened in both countries.
- 3. To see what the poet wants from their poem regarding with class distinction in their country.

#### 1.5 Significance of the Study

By conducting a research about political issue in certain country, I hope that the result can give a useful contribution to readers and society. The result of this study is expected to be able to give some benefits. Firstly, I hope that this study can enrich the reader's knowledge; it is generally a study related to any kind of literary works. From this comparative study, the readers will get to know that Indonesia and Malaysia are neighbor countries which have some similarities, but they are also different. The aim of this study is helping people to find out the similarities and differences between Indonesia and Malaysia seen from its literary work.

## 1.6 Outline of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction which contains background of the study, reasons for choosing the topic, research questions, research objectives, significance of the study and outline of the study. Chapter two is review of related literature. It discusses previous studies about the topic chosen and the theoretical background. The review of theoretical study provides theory supporting this research.

Chapter three provides research methodology. It presents research design, object of the study, data and sources, roles of the researcher, procedures of collecting data and procedures of analyzing data.

Chapter four deals with the findings and discussion. This chapter is the answers of the problems in the research. It consists of a general description and detailed results.

Chapter five contains conclusions and suggestions dealing with the subject matter based on the analysis of this research.

## **CHAPTER II**

## **REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

The second chapter presents some theories that underlie the topic of the study. This chapter consists of three subchapters. They are review of the previous studies, theoretical background, and theoretical framework of analysis.

#### **2.1 Previous Related Studies**

As the reference for my research, I present review of some related studies as references of comparative analyses to the one of this project. The first is Julianti's (2006) research entitled *Common People in Carl Sandburg's Poems and Wiji Thukul: A Comparative Study*. This research focuses on the similarities and distinctions as well as the social-historical experiences of the poet. Both Sandburg and Wiji's poem are mostly dealing with the lives and struggles of common people. Due to this reason, Julianti made a comparison to dig out the similarities and the distinctions due to the different as well as similar social-historical experiences of the poet. Julianti vision of common people, they also have different attitude due to their own social-historical experiences. Sandburg tends to incorporate his admiration as well as pride of being common people in his poem while Wiji Thukul does not.

The second study is research by Herlambang Wijaya (2005) from The University of Queensland entitled *Exposing State Terror: Violence in Contemporary Indonesian literature*. Wijaya speaks out about Indonesian poets who are "outspoken" Indonesian literary figures. They are Wiji Thukul, Seno Gumira Ajidarma and Ratna Sarumpaet. The obvious reason why they are considered outspoken is because these writers expose the practice of state violence in the New Order era in their works. It is generally understood that the practice of state violence in Indonesia is a sensitive and complex problem. Wijaya discusses the practice of state violence which is exposed in the works of Wiji Thukul, Seno Gumira Ajidarma and Ratna Sarumpaet in this research. The research argues that the works of these three authors are not merely works of art but also a medium of resistance towards the practice of state violence in Indonesia.

The third is study by Iswati (2011) from Gadjah Mada University entitled *Perlawanan Wiji Thukul Terhadap Hegemoni Rezim Orde Baru Tahun 1986-1997.* This final project examines about Wiji's resistance against the hegemony of the New Order regime through political poem and social activities. This research was conducted because the process of creating Wiji Thukul Poems and learning process (socio-historical factors) to be able to record the reality of grassroots social and political activities have not been written. In addition, Wiji's resistance to hegemony of the New Order regime both through poetry and sociopolitical activities had not got a place in the historiography of Indonesia. Iswati use of primary and secondary sources, such as: a collection of Wiji's poems, video recordings Wiji's staging poem, newspapers, magazines, journals, interviews, and review of relevant references to get the idea of the research. Iswati found that the background of life, the experience of living with the poor and the oppressed and the policy of the repressive New Order regime are factors that encourage Wiji resistance against the hegemony of the New Order regime through poem and sociopolitical activities in 1986-1997. Poetry for Wiji not only serves as a means to convey the problems of the oppressed, but also a tool to counter the hegemony of the New Order regime. Wiji's Poems experiencing significant growth in 1986 is starting to show resistance againts the New Order regime. Wiji's Poems breakout the year in the period 1996-1997 grew louder and confrontational. Wiji's poems reflect the realities of political, social and economic community, especially the small people who are oppressed under the hegemony of the New Order regime.

The last is an article conducted by Mohammad Sidik Arifin (2010) entitled All The Trees Are Falling Down: Environmental Concern in Malaysia which focuses on a number of poems with environmental and ecological concern in Malaysia. He said that Literary works written in Malaysia are related to relevant issues of the particular era. This Malaysian issue also occurs in Lajiman's poem which talks about the class division and his desperation toward the nation. Moreover, Sidik stated that in Rajendra's poem which he analyzed is a ridicule of the government's development policies which have sidelined nature. The poem is a cynical and satirizes the whole scenario of materialistic development without moral and aesthetical value. From those studies, some of them is represented about the violence and hegemony in the era of New Regime which represented by Wiji Thukul's poem, and the other talk about a common Malaysian's poem which concerned with environmental issues. It means, that there is no study which investigates Indonesian and Malaysian poems in particular issue such as Class Social. So, I decided to compare *Indonesian and Malaysian poems* as the main point of my final project and I use Marxist approach and the concept of Social Class.

#### 2.2 Theoretical Background

In order to get further information, idea, and others dealing with the analysis and better understanding about the term, I used some articles and books related to the subject matter.

#### 2.2.1 Poetry

Literary work has some genres, one of which is poetry. Poetry is an ancient form that has gone through numerous and drastic reinvention over time.

> Poetry (from the Greek " $\pi o i \eta \sigma \iota \varsigma$ ", poiesis, a "making" or "creating") is a form of literary art in which language is used for its aesthetic and evocative qualities in addition to, or in lieu of, its ostensible meaning. Poetry may be written independently, as discrete poems, or may occur in conjunction with other arts, as in poetic drama, hymns or lyrics. (Risdianto, 2014: 31)

According to Ollila and Jantas (2006), Poetry is any kind of verbal or written language that is structured rhythmically and is meant to tell a story, or expresses any kind of emotion, idea, or state of being. The idea of poetry contains in lines that may or may not be sentences and those lines are arranged in stanzas. Some forms of poetry are specific to particular cultures and genres, responding to the characteristics of the language in which the poet writes (p.1).

#### 2.2.2 The Element of Poetry

Based on Fauziah (2010), Laurence Perrine in her book An Introduction to Literature: fiction, poetry, drama (1956), there are two kinds of elements in poetry, Intrinsic and Extrinsic which described as:

1. Intrinsic element

Intrinsic element of poetry is an element contained in a poem, which is used by analysts in studying and understanding the meaning of a poem. There are several intrinsic elements in poetry;

- a. Imagery
  - 1) Visual Imagery

Visual imagery is the imagery that can be gained from the experience of the senses of sight (eyes).

2) Kinesthetic Imagery

Kinesthetic imagery is the imagery produced from an experience that form of movement.

3) Auditory Imagery

Auditory imagery is the element of imagery associated with the sense of hearing.

4) Organic Imagery

Organic imagery is the imagery that emerged from our minds. Organic imagery can be seen in the disclosure of feelings such as hunger, thirst, fatigue, drunkenness, etc.

5) Tactile Imagery

Imagery is directly related to our sense of touch. Tactile imagery can be seen from the description of feelings such as feeling hot, cold, smooth, rough, and anything that can be felt to be touched.

6) Gustatory Imagery

Gustatory imagery is imagery that portrayed the experience of our sense of taste, a taste of thing. Things like sweet, bitter, sour, tasteless are some examples of words that indicate gustatory imagery.

7) Olfactory Imagery

Olfactory imagery is the imagery associated with our sense of smell, a smell of thing. Things that can be described based on the experience of smell from your nose is an example of olfactory imagery, such as for example: the smell fragrant, smells fishy, etc.

b. Style of language (figure of speech)

There are several kinds of figure of speech that are commonly seen in a poem, namely:

1) Simile

Simile is a figure of speech which is formed from which we make comparisons between a thing with another thing which is basically similar. The author uses words such comparison: like, as, etc, to compare these two things.

2) Metaphor

Such as simile, metaphor is formed from a comparison of two things have in common, so one thing can take the place of something else. What distinguishes metaphor with a simile is not the use of comparison words such as: like, as, etc.

3) Paradox

Paradox is a figure of speech that shows the contradiction between two things. Paradox is a picture of contradiction will be a thing (as distinct from reality, with real meaning.) As Perrine said in his literature, structure, sounds and sense that the paradox is an apparent contradiction that is nevertheless somehow true (1987-604).

4) Irony

Irony is a figure of speech which features an Opposition of the meaning of the word. There are three forms of irony "there remains, namely: verbal irony" there remains, dramatic irony "there remains and the Irony of situation. 5) Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a figure of speech that works by giving meaning or describe a thing as excessive.

6) Antithesis

Antithesis is a figure of speech that is visible from two words placed in the opposite sense in one place.

7) Symbol

Symbol intended for a matter that is used to replace other things a broader meaning.

c. Rhyme

Rhyme is defined as a form of repetition of sounds in these lines of poetry. Rhyme is divided into three types, namely: End Rhyme, median and front rhyme.

d. Rhythm

Rhythm is an intrinsic element of poetry that only comes when a poem was read. Rhythm is a tone that appears when poetry was sung.

e. Meter

Size of tone in the rhythm called the meter. Meters can be shaped monometer, dimeter, trimeter, tetrameter, and pentameter.

f. Allusion

Allusion is a style that uses words or names in the bible that is inserted in the poem with a specific purpose and reason.

2. Extrinsic Elements of poetry

Extrinsic Elements of poetry is a supporting element of poetry that comes from outside the work of poetry created. Extrinsic Elements of poetry was instrumental in the analysis of a poem. Without using the approach on the extrinsic elements of the poem, analysts will have difficulty in determining the reason and purpose of a poem is created. Even understanding the meaning of a poem can be shifted from what was intended by the author, if the poem is analyzed in the extrinsic elements only. Some elements of extrinsic poem are like: author biography, social background, religion, and education of the author, and social circumstances at the time the poem was made. In essence, extrinsic element in poetry is no different with extrinsic elements contained in the other literary works such as prose and drama.

## 2.2.3 Marxism

The theoretical framework for this study would be taken from the theory of Marxism. The theory is suitable with the issue found in both poems about the struggle of social classes. Marxism is a theory which is concerned with the conflict between the "rich" and the "poor."

Bressler (1998) stated that, Marxist had already flourished in the nineteenth century as a pragmatic view of history that offered the working classes of society an opportunity to change their world and therefore their lives. Marxist literary theory has its roots in the nineteenth century writing of German social critic and philosopher Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-83). Moreover, the core principles of Marxist is that reality can be defined and understood, society shapes our consciousness, social and economic conditions directly influence how and what we believe and value, and Marxism details a plan for changing the world from a place of bigotry, hatred, conflict due to class struggle to classless society where wealth, opportunity, and education are accessible for all people. (Bressler, 1998, p. 211)

In broad terms, society has been composed of various identifiable classes. According to Webster (1996), these classes are a "natural" division of society which has unequal economic class. The classes consist of the capitalist and the proletariat who are working under the capitalist authority (p. 59).

> Capitalist society is divided into classes that are defined by the place. Each class occupies in relation to the production of goods for sale For Marx, all human is a creative active being. However, under capitalism, worker's life energy, their creative power, is alienated from them in the course of labor process. In such alienation, their life energy is taken out of them and turned into a thing, a manufactured good or value that is then sold on the market as a commodity. (Michael Ryan, 2012: 59)

In other words, the working class as the one who are being discriminated will only

give their services without getting their rights. Marxist is based on Karl Marx's

ideology which believe that literature is a product of social force and ideology.

Thus works of literature is to invite the readers to criticize the current class conflict or to reinforce the ideology of the people. Marxist theory helps the readers to know the important of social classes in the society. Marxist criticism highlighted division of class, class struggle, politics and economic oppression, as well as the political background of the story and the author. In other words, this criticism focuses more on the social and political elements of a work than its aesthetic value. (Hasa, 2016)

Based on Lashari (2008)'s article, there are some aspects of Marxism.

Marxism seeks;

- 1) Classless society in which proletariat dictatorship be observed,
- 2) Underclass must own the means of production,
- 3) Every type of property must be state owned,
- 4) No private enterprises be allowed,
- 5) Natural political evolution involving (and would in future involve) "feudalism" leading to "bourgeois capitalism" leading to "socialism" and finally to "utopian communism",
- To look concrete, scientific, logical explanation of the world of observable facts. Its opposite is idealist philosophy which does believe in 'spiritual world',
- The belief about culture, known as economic determinism, is a central part of traditional Marxist thinking,
- 8) Man is a social being-an anti-modernist approach,
- 9) Line of demarcation between the bourgeois (superstructure) and the proletariat (base structure),
- 10) It is matter that shapes the conscious not the vice-versa,
- 11) Where you stand depends on where you sit,
- 12) Thought is subservient to, and "follows" the material conditions under which it develops.

Marxism critics examine practice a text in its historical context and by analyzing the author's view of life named as *ideology*. The interest of these critics is how the ideology of his fiction world interacts with the reader personal ideology. The core principle of Marxist thought is that reality itself can be defined and understood. Society shapes our consciousness, social, and economic conditions directly. It influences how and what we believe and value.

> Marxism details a plan for changing the world from a place of bigotry, hatred, and conflict due to class struggle to a classes society where wealth, opportunity, and education area accessible for all people. (Charles Bressler, 1998)

Dealing with Marxism theory which will be applied in this research, the two poems are likely to represent the voice of the working class in both countries, Malaysia and Indonesia. Though both of them are written in two different times, they actually speak out against the capitalist. In Marxism, a literary work will be seen not only from the text but also beyond that. The information about the situation when the poem was written will be very helpful to know the fact about the poems. The author's life is also taken as a tool to identify the intention on what is he going to criticize through his poem.

## 2.2.4 Class Struggle

A class is defined by the ownership of property. Such ownership vests a person with the power to exclude others from the property and to use it for personal purposes. In relation to property there are three great classes of society;

1. The bourgeoisie (who own the means of production such as machinery and factory buildings, and whose source of income is profit).

- 2. Landowners (whose income is rent).
- The proletariat (who own their labor and sell it for a wage). (Rummel, 1977: Para 4)

Class thus is determined by property, not by income or status. These are determined by distribution and consumption, which itself ultimately reflect the production and power relations of classes. The social conditions of bourgeoisie production are defined by bourgeois property.

Moreover, Rummel (1997) stated that Marx saw the development of class conflict, the struggle between classes was initially confined to individual factories. Eventually, given the maturing of capitalism, the growing disparity between life conditions of bourgeoisie and proletariat, and the increasing homogenization within each class, individual struggles become generalized to coalitions across factories. Increasingly class conflict is manifested at the societal level. Class consciousness is increased; common interests and policies are organized; and the use of and struggle for political power occurs. Classes become political forces.

The distribution of political power is determined by power over production (i.e., capital). Capital confers political power, which the bourgeois class uses to legitimatize and protect their property and consequent social relations. Class relations are political, and in the mature capitalist society, the state's business is that of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the intellectual basis of state rule, the ideas justifying the use of state power and its distribution, are those of the ruling class. The intellectual-social culture is merely a superstructure resting on the relation of production, on ownership of the means of production. (Rummel, 1997)

Finally, the division between classes will widen and the condition of the exploited worker will deteriorate so badly that social structure collapses; the class struggle is transformed into a proletarian revolution. The workers' triumph will eliminate the basis of class division in property through public ownership of the means of production. With the basis of classes thus wiped away, a classless society will ensue (by definition), and since political power to protect the bourgeoisie against the workers is unnecessary, political authority and the state will wither away. Overall, there are six elements in Marx's view of class conflict according to Rummel (1977: Para 10);

- 1. Classes are authority relationships based on property ownership.
- 2. A class defines groupings of individuals with shared life situations, thus interests.
- 3. Classes are naturally antagonistic by virtue of their interests.
- 4. Imminent within modern society is the growth of two antagonistic classes and their struggle, which eventually absorbs all social relations.
- 5. Political organization and Power is an instrumentality of class struggle, and reigning ideas are its reflection.
- 6. Structural change is a consequence of the class struggle.

#### 2.2.5 Hegemony

Hegemony is used in literary and cultural studies to denote how power is used to construct and maintain the consent of those governed. In this sense, it has recently been associated with questions of identity politics and the politics of culture. This dominant power in hegemony is used in one system to taking control over the other.

> Greek "hegemonia" literally expresses the dominant and oppressive status of one element in the system over the others. The concept of hegemony greatly contributes to a better understanding of current international relations and power relations. (Yilmaz, 2010: 194)

Webster (1996) stated that under hegemony control, people actively work towards their own subordination, which coincides with the continuation of the dominant power groups: as with Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses, people becoming unwitting conspirators in their own exploitation and subordination (p. 63). In Lajiman's poem we can see that the capitalist maintain their position by taking control of every aspect of life with falsity. This falsity leads to impurity country which is full of capitalist offence.

## 2.2.6 Indonesia in Soeharto's Era

Wiji Thukul's *A Song of the Grassroots* was written in 1998 when Indonesian was demanding a reformation against the New Order Era. Based on Wikipedia (2018), The New Order Regime was coined by former Indonesia president Soeharto to characterize his regime as he came to power from 1966 to 1998.

The reformation movement was born as the result to the crises that occurred in various areas of life. The political, economic, and social crisises are the factors that cause the emergence of the reformation movement. Furthermore, the crisis of trust has become a decisive indicator. Reformation is seen as a nonnegotiable movement, therefore, all Indonesians fully support the reformation movement. The New Order government was deemed incapable of creating a just society life in prosperity in justice based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Therefore, the aim of the reformation movement was to improve the life style of society, nation and state. The New Order Era government led by President Soeharto for 32 years, was not consistent in implementing the ideals of the New Order Era. At the beginning of its birth in 1966, the New Order Era was determined to organize the life of society, nation and state based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. But in its implementation, the New Order Era government did many deviations on the values of Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution. Even Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution only made legitimacy to maintain power. These irregularities created a multidimensional crisis that was the common cause of the birth of the reformation movement. (Kosasih, 2010)

Continuing the argumentation Kosasih (2010), one of the causes of New Order Regime's failure was the social class distinction between the cities and village. The Indonesian people are experiencing difficult times because the government prioritizes development in cities compared to that in villages. The government did a lot of development in the city while it did not in the village, so it caused a social distinction between the city and the village. For example, the distinction happened in education aspect. Providing learning opportunities and high education for the villagers is something that has to be done, so that people can manage the natural resources of their respective regions. However, in reality, rural community development has not been successfully carried out by the government, in fact, many education budgets and some local budgets for the welfare of many people are corrupted.

However, the New Order Era government that was well-known for its development programs, in reality could not build the village well. The villagers who did not receive high education were not experts in managing their area. As a result, the villagers were left-behind because there was no soft skill to manage their area of residence. Hence, those who manage the natural resources of Indonesia such as gold, nickel, copper, etc are managed by foreign.

Natural resources such as mines in Papua are managed by foreign investor because the people cannot manage the existing natural resources because of having no adequate education and knowledge to manage and utilize the natural resources in their home regions. As a result, many people in the village moved to the city (urbanization). Villagers still think that by living in big cities like Jakarta, they will get a decent life. However, after living in the city many people find a difficulty to find a decent job because their education is usually only elementary school level or junior high level. So that in big cities like in Jakarta, they can only work as laborers or any easy job with very little income. Ria (2014) explains that, during the New Order Era, many children dropped out of school. The difficulty of finding jobs drove them to work as coolies, touts, buskers, beggars, and parking-man. As a result, they could not afford to buy land to build houses. Hence, that many people build houses on the edge of the railway or river banks like the Ciliwung River. The urban poor live in patches, roadsides, riverbanks, and under bridges, many of which build houses made of cardboard. They used cardboard pieces and sometimes iron boards, even they are forced to move because evicted by local governments, military officers, or police officers because they were illegally established.

Indonesia has a wealth of extraordinary natural resources that can be utilized to increase the population in each region with the potential resources that exists in the region. Whereas if the village implements a strong system of cultures and is again revitalized culturally, urbanization may be reversed from city to village. Mr. Kazuhisa Matsui, the Inter-Contemporary Japanese Interdisciplinary Lecture at the FIB Japan Studies Center, said that to make the villagers prosperous, local and central government can implement the revitalization program. Revitalization means something which can utilize outsiders and then mobilize (volunteer) community lovers of the village, make a product of pride, and strive to attract outside attention more with promotion through social media. Therefore, the need for cooperation among various elements, government, private, foreign parties, and the public is needed to raise foreign exchange, especially in that place, in harmony with unity in diversity towards Prosperous and Independent Society.

#### 2.2.7 Malaysia in Najib Razak's Era

Najib Razak is a Malaysian Politican leader who served as the 6th Prime Minister of Malaysia from 2009 to 2018. The Malaysian government, led by Prime Minister Najib Razak, had a difficult job managing public calls for transparency over the 1 Malaysia Development Berhad (1MDB) issue and upholding its credibility in an increasingly critical public domain.

People call for more transparency over allegations that tarnish Najib's credibility has largely not been met. Instead, the government has responded to the increased public scrutiny with the temporary suspension of printing permits in Malaysia of two print publications by The Edge and an online blocking of Sarawak Report. Civil society groups in Malaysia have criticized the government for trying to curb public debate via social media, instead of being more transparent in its investigation. Ironically, the attempt to remove the messenger without rebutting the message with a clear and unambiguous response may be counterproductive, as it could trigger unnecessary public attention on the content of Sarawak Report. Public displeasure against the government has grown, not abated. The opposition and civil activists will continue to mount their criticism of Najib and his government. (Saleem and David, 2015)

An opinion came from one of Chinese citizen, Liew Chin Tong, in Malaysia in his article (2018);

Since the election in 2013, problems began to arise with the implementation of the GST on 1 April 2015, the depreciation of the ringgit since October 2014 and the abolition of subsidies on an ongoing basis has caused prices to rise. Income of the people is affected and it worsened the domestic consumption sector. This means that the monthly payment bills are increasing. The cost of living rose while wages and salaries were still not as high as the rising living costs. A group of students are in the pressure of the raising of goods and needs while their parents are suffering toil for extra income. This means that higher education in Malaysia has become a luxury that cannot be afforded and enjoyed by all Malaysians. He thinks that the government does not understand the lives of ordinary people and not willing to admit that the management of the economy failed to meet the needs of Malaysians. When people raise their problems, people are to blame. They are accused of lazy or not good at finding opportunities. This is the arrogance of power.

When the economy of Malaysia is bad, people are forced to migrate in search of work. In less than five years, the number of Malaysians who commute daily to Singapore via the Causeway was raising from 200,000 to 300,000. Most of them had to work in a difficult, dirty, and dangerous place underpaid. In fact, there are Malaysians who are forced to work illegally in the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia and South Korea. All this happened because of Najib's Government did not deliver on its promises in the GE13. Instead, mega 1MDB scandal and Felda and Mara cause severe financial burden on states to become a mess. All of those events are giving a burden to the society. (Liew Chin Tong, 2018)

Furthermore, based on Malaysia Corruption Report (2018) natural resources scandal is being one of issues happened in Malaysia. Malaysia's logging industry has been the subject of a number of recent allegations of corruption, and the government has done little to tackle the problem. In one case, Chief Minister of Sarawak Taib and his family allegedly received kickbacks from private companies in return for logging and plantation permits as well as purchasing land for a small fraction of its commercial value through directives from the Ministry of Resource Planning and Environment (which is headed by Taib).

#### **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

To answer the statements of the problem by analyzing the differences between Indonesian and Malaysian poems, I used Marxist theory as approach to support my analysis by examines the class distinction revealed in the two poems. To answer the problem of statements, I used Karl Max theory about the class division which occurs in the society to identify the social and political issue in the poems. Also the reaction of the poet sees as the representative form of changing world which is equal for all people. In analyzing the differences between the poems of Indonesia and Malaysia, I used Comparative literature method by examining the history of Indonesia and Malaysia and the life of the poets. By using those references, I identified the comparison of Indonesian and Malaysian poems, so the statement of the problems is able to be answer.

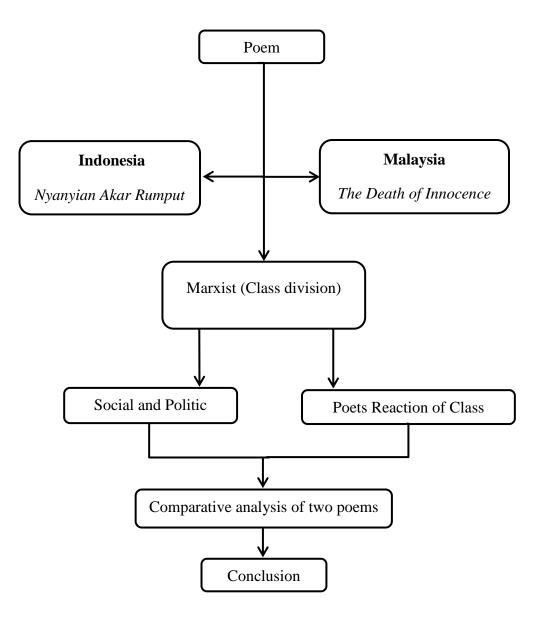


Figure 2.1 Theoretical Framework

## **CHAPTER V**

## **CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS**

Chapter 5 presents the conclusions from findings and suggestions of this study. First, I try to make a summary as the result of investigation and provide some suggestions for the readers who want to conduct a literature research.

## 5.1 Conclusions

There are some conclusions drawn after analyzing the comparative between Indonesia and Malaysia poem:

First, Indonesia and Malaysia are in the same political condition where the government taking control over the citizen, hence they are lacking in managing their job as the authority party. Indonesia and Malaysia are neighbor country which share some common similarities and was found to have same political problems such as; corruption, social inequality, and trust issues. These problems were, in the poem, bother the low society of both countries.

Second, the poet giving their reaction from the bad political condition happened which they pictured in their poem. It is seen that each poet has different spirit of fighting toward he condition happened in their own country. Indonesian poet, Wiji Thukul, shows his rebellious spirit by calling the people to fight against the government and fight for their right in his lines. Meanwhile, Lajima Janoory shows a clam spirit by not calling the people to fight. Instead, he calls the people to restrain themselves over the problem they faced in their country.

The last, the comparison are the two poets show different ways in reacting and criticizing social problems in their social milieu. They are reacting and criticizing based on their background, class, and intention on how they are affected and influenced by their scale of "suffer" in their lives. There are more factors in the way their works portray the phenomena of social condition, society, and job in the two countries.

### **5.2 Suggestions**

Based on the analyses of the two poems, I propose some suggestions to give contribution to the readers, especially for students in English program.

First, I expect next researchers to do further comparison between two different poems from two or more countries, by highlighting other aspects of the works. By analyzing the different features it can enrich our knowledge in analyzing literary works.

Second, I hope that this final project will encourage readers to read, interpret, and analyzed poetic works to increase their prose literacy and critical thinking.

Third, reading and doing a research about literary work whose topic is related to social and political issues are recommended since it will open their mind about certain issues. By understanding the topic, it makes the readers care about social and political issues in their respective region.

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