

Applying the Theory of Cultural Production: Authorship in the Literary Communities of Yogyakarta, Indonesia

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Abstract: Since the fall of the New Order in 1998, which began an era of political reform in which freedom of speech and association were guaranteed, literary communities have mushroomed in Indonesia; Yogyakarta is no exception. This city has been essential in developing Indonesian literature through its literary communities. Employing a Bourdieuan perspective, in which authors are understood as emerging within the field of cultural production, this paper explores the phenomenon of authorship in the literary communities of Yogyakarta. It finds that the field of cultural production in Yogyakarta has been influenced by the existence of literary communities, including the rise of new writers within said communities.

Keywords: Literary Community, Authority, Cultural Production, Pierre Bourdieu

Abstrak: Sejak jatuhnya Orde Baru pada tahun 1998, yang mengawali era reformasi politik di mana kebebasan berpendapat dan berserikat dijamin, komunitas sastra menjamur di Indonesia tidak terkecuali Yogyakarta. Kota ini sangat penting dalam mengembangkan sastra Indonesia melalui komunitas sastranya. Dengan menggunakan perspektif Bourdieuan, di mana pengarang sastra dipahami sebagai bagian penting dari produksi budaya, artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengeksplorasi fenomena kepengarangan dalam komunitas sastra Yogyakarta. Hasil kajian menemukan bahwa produksi budaya di Yogyakarta telah dipengaruhi oleh keberadaan komunitas sastra, termasuk munculnya penulis baru dalam komunitas tersebut.

Kata Kunci: Komunitas Sastra, Otoritas, Produksi Budaya, Pierre Bourdieu

Introduction

Literary communities are interesting topics of study in Indonesian literature. Since the beginning, Indonesian literature has developed as a communal field, involving diverse associations of artists and litterateurs who shared particular influences and ideals. In 1945, for instance, the Gelanggang Group brought out the letter of Gelanggang Declaration, rejecting the eastern cultural views espoused by earlier generations. This marked the emergence of a literature guided by western (modern) ideals. Yogyakarta, as a place of education and culture, also experienced such communality. Only a few literary communities developed during the thirty-year New Order Regime, when freedom of

speech and association were curtailed. However, following the regime's collapse in 1998, social organisations and literary communities mushroomed as freedom of speech and association became guaranteed.

Literary communities have often been the material object of literary studies. One example includes Soemargono's dissertation "Groupe de Yogya (1945–1960): Les Voies Javanaises Andune Litterature Indonesienne" (1979), which was subsequently published as *Sastrawan Malioboro (1945–1960): Dunia Jawa dalam Kesusasteraan Indonesia* (2004). Soemargono concluded that members of literary communities did not only pursue literature as an art, a means of achieving a career, or an expression of beauty, but instead saw it as a tool for finding meaning in life and achieving harmony with the universe. According to Soemargono, members of these communities continued to present a Javanese cosmology, thereby distinguishing themselves from the Western-oriented authors in Jakarta. These authors were aware of this difference and believed that their approach was correct even as they were positioned as weaker than those in Jakarta. For Soemargono, the concentration of power in Jakarta was seen in all aspects of Yogyakarta literary communities' activities. Authors in Yogyakarta were minorities not only because of their lack of social power, but also by their marginalization in the histories compiled by Jakarta-based critics. Soemargono's research offered an alternative literary history, a different literary history, and therefore offers a necessary means of understanding the background of the literary communities in Yogyakarta (especially in the early period). Although he did not deal with any specific literary community, Soemargono indirectly alluded to the existence of groups such as Sanggar Bambu, a group that was engaged not only in art and theater but also literature. Furthermore, Sumargono did not reveal the power relations within the literary field in Yogyakarta, nor the position of literary communities at the local and national literary field; this opens up opportunities for further research.

Another study of literary communities in Indonesia was conducted by Sungkowati (2010), who mapped the literary communities in East Java by examining the networks between communities using a macro-literary perspective. Based on members' backgrounds, Sungkowati divided communities into four groups: 1) communities that emerged as a form of resistance to central hegemony, 2) communities that emerged as a statement of expression and self-existence, 3) communities that emerged as a forum for creativity and communication, and 4) communities that emerged as a literacy motion.

Sungkowati further divided communities based on their scope of operation, identifying three types: 1) campus-based, 2) non-campus-based, and 3) boarding school-based. According to Sungkowati, the network built by the East Java literary community includes community networks in East Java and outside East Java. Sungkowati's research provides an overview of the goals to be achieved by the literary community, especially in East Java and the basis of the existence of the literary community there. Sungkowati's research focuses more on mapping the literary community, so it has theoretical weaknesses in exploring the relationships between individuals within the community and the relationship between the community and the authors in it, as well as the position and function of the community itself in the literary arena. Fundamental issues that became the weakness of Sungkowati's research opened up opportunities for further research, especially the position of the literary community in the literary arena.

Another study of a literary community in Yogyakarta was conducted by Anwar (2013), who investigated the activities of Persada Studi Klub (PSK), a literary community active between 1969 and 1977. Anwar's research provides an overview of the position of one of the literary communities that emerged during the New Order era. As conditions changed from the New Order era to the reformation period, which affected the structure of the literary and cultural arena, it is necessary to examine the condition of the literary arena in the post-reform era, especially those related to the literary community. In his research, Anwar saw that PSK would not have a big name just by relying on the works of its members. Employing Bourdieu's field theory, Anwar found that PSK's position in the national literary field was supported by the newspaper *Peloppor Yogya*, edited by the poet Umbu Landu Paranggi. According to Anwar, the centrality of Jakarta-based authors was due to the centralistic policies of the New Order regime. PSK thus employed two positions.

On the one hand, it fought directly and symbolically; on the other hand, it strengthened the central literary field by submitting works and sending aesthetic bearers to the center. As noted by Anwar, members of PSK and the works they produced contributed to the development of the Indonesian literary field. Anwar's study provided an overview of a literary community, but only one community; it could not understand the relationships between communities, which is essential because literary climates are shaped by diverse elements, including the interactions between literary communities. Accordingly, it is necessary to understand the relationships between literary

communities, as struggles for legitimacy in the literary field occur not only within specific literary communities, but also between literary communities. There is therefore space for investigating the dynamic relationship and interactions between communities.

Manuaba (2019) explain community of literature, production, and character building. There are four conclusion in Manuaba research. *First*, the literary community that exists in Indonesia tends to regenerate writers. On the other hand, the tendency of regeneration does not occur in literary communities that do not exist. *Second*, the existing literary community does not only produce literary works, but also produces literature other works, as well as other creative arts and cultural activities. On the record, all activities other than literature, still correlate with literature. *Third*, the existing literary community tends to produce writers. The born writers have the potential to produce quality literary works full of local wisdom. *Fourth*, each local wisdom is revitalized in literary works produced by writers literary community. The style of literary works has the potential to be used in character building. This research focuses more on the role of literary communities in various cities in producing writers without looking at how the writers themselves are formed in the literary community.

Despite their shortcomings, these previous studies provide a valuable basis for research into literary communities and their position within the literary field. The research objectives can be achieved by (1) explaining the structure of the literary culture production arena in Yogyakarta; (2) The struggle of writers and the literary community in the literary arena. This research is essential to bridge readers' understanding, expansion, and knowledge, especially those interested in studying the literary community. This is due to the fact that the existence of the literary community in Yogyakarta is one of the drivers of the dynamics of literature, especially in Yogyakarta. With this research, it is hoped that it can generate interest in other research in the literary community or the works produced by the growing literary community. To obtain significant results, this study focuses on literary community in Yogyakarta that emerged after the reformation period.

Literature and the Field of Cultural Production

Literary works are inseparable from the various problems of the people who "feed" their authors (Swingwood, 1972: 12; Eagleton, 1983: 14–16). The sociology of literature tries to answer questions about literature's relationship with authors, readers,

and their complex social influences and issues. The theory of literary sociology best suited to productively analyzing literary communities, including their material and symbolic products, is that of Pierre Bourdieu. Better known as genetic structuralism, it holds that the field of cultural production (including literary production) is shaped by a dialectical relationship between objective structures and subjective phenomena. This theory offers a means of understanding the genesis of the social structure of the literary field as well as the genesis of the habitus disposition of the agents involved therein (Bourdieu, 2010: 213).

Bourdieu offers a concept of literary sociology that enables scholars to understand the symbolic production of works, including the production of values and beliefs within works. According to Bourdieu (2010: 15–16), literary sociology should not only take material production as its object of study, but also symbolic production, i.e. the production of values or beliefs through a work. For Bourdieu, the sociology of literature must consider the social conditions in which objects are produced.

Bourdieu developed his theory based on a review of French art, which at that time was subject to religious and economic power. In the mid-19th century, French art was appreciated if it could realize economic profit without violating the moral boundaries outlined by religion. As a result, artists were positioned as individuals who created goods by order. Artists were subject to economic power, thus stagnating their creative and imaginative power. Ultimately, artists grew disillusioned, and demanded the freedom and autonomy to determine their art forms and subjects.

As seen from this overview, Bourdieu's theory attempts to understand the structure of society and the changes and developments that occur within it. Social analysis, he argues, always aims to dismantle the structures of economic and symbolic domination in society, as these structures mask ongoing injustices. For this reason, Bourdieu developed several influential concepts based on his analysis of sociological data and his study of philosophy, particularly the works of Emile Zola and Jean-Paul Sartre. Among the most critical concepts advanced by Bourdieu (1990: 53) is that of habitus, a product of the generative structures of social practices that produce social structures. Habitus is a disposition system, and may be enduring or inconsistent. It produces and regulates practices, and may be adjusted objectively to obtain results without requiring awareness of the final destination or exceptional control over the operations necessary to achieve said goal.

The concept of habitus is best understood in conjunction with the concept of field and capital. According to Bourdieu, the field refers to the social arena wherein people (agents) struggle to obtain desired resources. This concept is closely interrelated with habitus, existing within a reciprocal relationship: the field is an objective structure, and the habitus is a subjective structure integrated within the agent (actor). The field is a system of internally structured social positions, which exist within the framework of power relations. Field facilitates analysis of groups' positions, relationships, and tendency to reproduce social orders and practices (Haryatmoko, 2003: 14). Habitus shapes the field, while field forms the habitus. Both, thus, are simultaneously structuring.

Method

This study uses a qualitative descriptive method with a sociology of literature approach. The research population is a group of subjects who want to be subject to generalization of research results (Azwar, 2004:77). The population in this research are writers in the Yogyakarta literary community. The research sample is part of the population. Because it is part of the population, of course it must have the characteristics possessed by the population (Azwar, 2004:79). The sample of this study was determined by using a purposive sample technique, namely the researcher determines the object of research based on a specific purpose (Arikunto, 2002: 109). The use of a purposive sample refers to the purpose of the sociology of literature research.

The data collection method used by the researcher in this research is the literature study, observation, and interviews. The literature study was carried out by reading a number of articles related to the literary community in Yogyakarta, both in books and mass media such as newspapers, magazines, bulletins, and the internet. Observations were made by looking at a number of events related to the literary community, either directly or in the form of video documentation, photos, and posters. Interviews were conducted with a number of writers involved in the literary community, literary observers/critics, publishers, journalists, and people associated with the literary community. Interviews were conducted using an interview guide that contained the main issues to be asked in the interview. Interviews are not limited to the questions

provided but can develop if new things are found as long as they are related to the research problem.

The data obtained in the three ways above are then described by identifying the units, classifying them by sorting the data into patterns, categories, and description units so that the basic assumptions can be found. The classification is adjusted to the concepts of Bourdieu's theory such as habitus, arena, capital, strategy, trajectory, and so on. The organized data is then analyzed based on Bourdieu's theory. The analysis, as suggested by Bourdieu (1955; 214), is divided into three parts: first, an analysis of the position of the literary arena in the arena of power and its evolution over time; second, analyzing the internal structure of the literary arena; and third, analyzing the origins of the habitus, system, disposition, and social trajectory of the literary arena in question. The three parts are described relationally for later conclusions.

Result and Discussion

Literary Community

The phenomenon of literary communities has been discussed in mass media, public discourse, and books.¹ Literary communities are also mentioned in the biographies and directories of authors. Works such as *Apa dan Siapa Penyair Indonesia* (Mahayana, 2017), *Ensiklopedi Sastrawan Indonesia* (Astuti, 2008), *Ensiklopedi Sastra Indonesia* (Hasanuddin, 2014), and *Lintang Panjer Wengi Di Langit Yogya* (Santosa, 2013) discuss both literary communities and authors involved therein. As of 2018, there is no definitive data about the number of literary communities in Indonesia, especially active communities. Nonetheless, there is some information about literary communities in major Indonesian cities and universities' literature faculties. In 2013, Santosa found that 128 literary communities had been active since 2000. Komunitas Sastra Indonesia (the Indonesian Literary Community) found that at least 20 provinces had literary communities as of 2008 (Herfanda, 2008).

¹ Take, for example, a discussion held at the Studio Pertunjukan Sastra of the Cultural Office of Yogyakarta on July 26, 2018 (theme: "The Dynamics of Literature and Literary Communities in Yogyakarta") and a discussion held by the Congress of Indonesian Literary Communities between January 19–21, 1998, in Kudus, Central Java. Numerous seminars have discussed the development of literary communities in Indonesia, as have books such as *Komunitas Sastra Indonesia*, *Catatan Perjalanan* (2008), *Membaca Sastra Yogya* (2012), *Orang-orang Malioboro: Refleksi dan Pemaknaan Kiprah Persada Studi Klub 1969-1977 di Yogyakarta* (2010), and *Tigabelas, Catatan Perjalanan Studio Pertunjukan Sastra* (2013).

In Indonesia, the term literary community is a new one,² replacing the traditional terms *sanggar* and *paguyuban* (both of which have the same meaning, referring to communal organizations or groups). Although the term community is widely understood as referring to the activity of gathering and interacting, Hillary (in Bradshaw, 2008) notes that sociologists have advanced 94 definition of the term.

According to Bhattacharyya (in Bradshaw, 2008: 9), community constructs solidarity, which implies common identity and shared norms and values. Similarly, the *Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language* (KBBI, 2008) defines a community as a group of organisms in a specific area whose members live and interact. According to such a definition, communities are not mere gatherings, but can choose who they will support. As explained by Soekanto (1982: 162–164), communities involve individuals with similar social standings and identities in certain areas. Communities are social groups, with specific ideological limits and areas, that share sentiments and elements.³

As technology has developed, human civilization has experienced extraordinary leaps of knowledge. It has become increasingly clear that 'space and time' are not constraints, and communities can involve individuals with shared values even when they do not live in the same area or region. Consequently, Bradshaw (2008) has argued that existing notions of community are no longer relevant. Communities have become post-place, existing in virtual and global spaces and gaining new dynamics. Members need not communicate directly; they may also communicate through virtual media, cyber media, and other multimedia platforms.

With specific reference to literary communities, the term 'literature' limits membership to literary activists and others involved in the production of literature.⁴ In this study, literary communities were identified based on the following criteria: (1)

² The term "literary community" has been used widely in the mass media, including in articles titled "Answering Needs through Literary Communities" (*Republika*, January 20, 2006), "Collective Literature Communities" (*Media Indonesia*, January 27, 2008), and "Behind the Progress of Indonesian Literature" (*Kompas*, February 5, 2008). A literary group in Jakarta has even branded itself the Indonesian Literature Community (KSI; Herfanda, et al: 2008). The term is also a term that is often used in the Indonesian Literature Community Congress (KSI) 19-21 January 1998 in Kudus, Central Java. However, the phenomenon of individuals uniting to carry out literary activities has its roots in the colonial era, when most people had difficulty owning books. The term community began to gain currency in the late 1980s, and various literary community activities began to be seen in the early 1990s (Sawai: 2008).

³ Elements of communality include (1) feeling, which is as a result of individuals trying to identify themselves with as many people as possible so that they can all refer to themselves as "one group"; (2) continuation, that is, each individual is aware of their role in the group, and the condition of the community itself allows individuals to maintain a position within it; (3) Need each other, that is, individuals who join the community feel a physical and psychological dependency on their "community" (Soekanto, 1982)

⁴ Ahmadun Yosi Herfanda (2008:14).

establishment by people with the same desires/ideals/interests in the field of literature; (2) organization of activities related to literature, including discussions, performances, and publication; (3) exchange of ideas or interactions; (4) orientation towards literature, rather than profit. The term literary community thus also refers to studios or other places where individuals hone their literary abilities, as well as groups of literature lovers founded by activists to advance their interests and voice their concerns (Budianta in Gunadi, 2004). The questions of liquidity and dynamicity, both central in Bradshaw's definition of community, are not used as criteria but may be part of the research findings.

Despite the significant number of literary communities in the Indonesian Archipelago and writers' involvement in the national literary establishment, there has been little serious discussion of communities and their histories. Until the early 2000s, literary communities had yet to receive adequate discussion, as scholars tended to focus more on significant events, authors, and works. Books such as *Sumber Terpilih Sejarah Sastra Indonesia Abad XX*,⁵ *Ikhtisar Sejarah Sastra Indonesia*,⁶ *Sejarah Sastra Indonesia Modern*,⁷ *Angkatan 2000 dalam Sastra Indonesia*,⁸ and *Kitab Sejarah Sastra Indonesia*⁹ do not allude to issues related to literary communities. Instead, discussion of literary communities is concentrated in collections of essays and in newspaper/magazine articles. For example, *Tigabelas, Catatan Perjalanan Studio Pertunjukan Sastra* (2013) includes testimonials from writers who have been involved in the activities of Studio Pertunjukan Sastra; *Komunitas Sastra Indonesia: Catatan Perjalanan* (2008) describes the history and activities of Komunitas Sastra Indonesia (KSI); and *Orang-orang Malioboro: Refleksi dan Pemaknaan Kiprah Persada Studi Klub 1969–1977 di Yogyakarta* (2010) contains testimonials from people involved in Persada Studi Klub (PSK).

Although discussion of writers has seemingly negated their involvement in literary communities, the trajectories of many poets and writers are closely linked with those of communities. Literary communities are mentioned in multiple author biographies. For instance, 143 of the 1526 Indonesian poets in *Apa dan Siapa Penyair Indonesia* (2017)

⁵ E. Ulrich Kratz (2000) summarized the development of literature in Indonesia between the Youth Pledge of 1928 to the polemics regarding the 1995 Magsaysay literary award.

⁶ Ajip Rosidi (1991) discussed the development of Indonesian literature since the early 1900s.

⁷ Sarwadi (2004) examined the development of modern Indonesian literature from its inception until 1945.

⁸ Korrie Layun Rampan (2002) summarized the works and biographies of writers from 1980 through 2000.

⁹ Yant Mujiyanto (2014), explained the history of literature as a sub-science of literature and periodization in the history of Indonesian literature.

are identified as involved in literary communities; *Direktori Penulis Indonesia* (1997) identifies 31 writers; *Ensiklopedi Sastra Indonesia* (2014) identifies 26 writers; and *Ensiklopedi Sastrawan Indonesia* (2008) identifies 14 writers. Similarly, according to *Lintang Panjer Wengi di Langit Yogya* (2013), 28 of 90 poets in Yogyakarta are involved in literary communities. 'Living' literary communities can be found in various mass media, discussions, seminars, and books. Herfanda (2008: 1) argues that literary communities have emerged due to changing perspectives, especially since the 1980s. Today, Jakarta-based institutions such as Taman Ismail Marzuki (TIM) and *Horison* magazine are no longer seen as the sole rulers of art development, including literature. Small communities have emerged in urban areas and small towns, are shaping the future development of literature in Indonesia. Herfanda argues that such literary communities have emerged in Indonesia as a form of resistance against the centers of literary power.

Literary Communities and Writers in Yogyakarta

Yogyakarta's significant contribution to literature in Indonesia, especially in the present, is undeniable. Numerous famous literary figures are from Yogyakarta or have been active in the city. As a center of education, Yogyakarta has developed mass media, universities, publishers, and cultural institutions that have fostered an atmosphere conducive to the development of literature. Literary communities and their various activities have played a central role in the continuation of literary life in Yogyakarta, cultivating new writers and recognizing established writers. Anwar (2013) and Nugraha (2015), for example, show that Persada Studi Klub (a literary community in Yogyakarta) has successfully guided new writers through what has become known as the Yogyakarta literary field.

These communities have not only offered authors a means of proving their legitimacy, but also a strategy for gaining legitimacy. At the national level, many writers are not involved in communities, but are still enjoy legitimacy. The creation of literature is perceived as a solitary activity; thus, persons outside communities can still gain legitimacy in the field. However, in Yogyakarta, many writers still use the literary community as their field.

It is thus to examine the role of literary communities, which may be done through three questions: whether literary communities are alternatives where authors gain

legitimacy from their communities and cultivate communal awareness; whether literary communities offer authors a means of achieving legitimacy in the literary field, and thus are positioned as mere transit points; or whether literary communities are places where outside legitimacies are reproduced. If, as has previously been argued, the literary communities in Yogyakarta offer an alternative means of achieving legitimacy in the literary world, said communities must automatically have their own trends and rules; if literary communities function to reproduce other discourses, the agents in power have certain doxa that develop in their communities; finally, if literary communities are places of transit, agents have specific levels of interest in success and failure.

The Development of Literary Communities

As of 2018, there is no definitive data about the number of literary communities in Indonesia, especially active communities. Nonetheless, there is some information about literary communities in major Indonesian cities and universities' literature faculties. In 2013, Santosa found that 128 literary communities had been active since 2000. Komunitas Sastra Indonesia (the Indonesian Literary Community) found that at least 20 provinces had literary communities as of 2008 (Herfanda, 2008). Literary communities are also mentioned in the biographies and directories of authors, as seen in the following table.

Table 1. Number of Literary Communities in Indonesia and Authors Involved

No	Book	Communities	Writers
1.	<i>What and Who are Indonesian Poets</i> (2017)	136	182
2.	<i>Indonesia Literary Writer Encyclopedia</i> (2008)	12	14
3.	<i>Encyclopedia of Indonesia Literature</i> (2014)	24	26
4.	<i>Morning Star in the Yogya Sky</i> (2013)	25	28
5.	<i>Indonesian Writers Directory</i> (1997)	5	31

The lack of data on literary communities may be attributed to inadequate documentation systems, whereby communities often appear and then disappear without being recorded. Indonesian literary documentation centers such as the HB Jassin Library lack information regarding these communities. Similarly, in Yogyakarta, where the Yogyakarta Language Center has conducted partial tracking, it was found that some 50 literary communities have existed in the city since 1959. This development

cannot be separated from the history and situation of art in Yogyakarta,¹⁰ as past conditions inexorably influence current situations.¹¹ Since before Indonesia's independence, communal art groups have existed in the fields of visual art, theatrical arts, and traditional arts, influencing subsequent communities. Farida Soemargono (1979, in Rizal: 2006) was among the first to reveal that regional writers' existence was denied, and that authors were excluded from incomprehensive and subjective descriptions of Indonesian literature. She also found that, although Malioboro was commonly perceived as having become a gathering place for artists in the 1970s, such gatherings had existed since the second half of the 1940s.

Art groups, known as *sanggar* (gathering and meeting places), were used to bring together diverse peoples with a shared interest. As noted by Soemargono (1979), until the end of the 1960s, the literary scene in Yogyakarta was inevitably related to the visual and theatrical arts. One such group, Sanggar Bambu (founded in 1959) was involved not only in the visual arts but also in literature and theater. Its members, including Kirdjomuljo, Nasjah Jamin, and Danarto, not only painted and staged plays, but also wrote poetry and novels, which led to them becoming known as writers. The influence of the group can be felt even today, for example in the Sanggar Bambu poetry/music group led by Untung Basuki.

Contemporary writers were also members of art galleries and theater groups, and thus were involved in more than authorship activities; no art groups (studios or communities) specialized in the field of literature. To publish their works, writers relied predominantly on magazines such as *Minggu Pagi*,¹² *Seriosa*, *Sastra*, and *Budaya* magazines.

At the end of the 1960s, after more than a decade of clashing ideologies culminated in a failed *coup d'état* on September 30, 1965, Persada Studi Club (PSK) was established; it was followed shortly afterwards by similar groups, such as National Youth (Renas) and Insani.. Decades after it was disbanded in 1977, PSK remains discussed (see, for example, Anwar: 2013). Members of the community who became well-established in the

¹⁰ According to Widati (2008), the roots of Indonesian literature in Yogyakarta can be traced back to the publication of poems by Mahatmanto (born Kulonprogo, August 13, 1924) in 1947. He was followed by Kirdjomuljo (born 1930), a poet and playwright active with Sanggar Bambu.

¹¹ Herfanda (2008) argues that the development of literary communities was a continuation of trends from previous decades. No community is entirely new. Innovative forms may be used to convey common ideas, and new ideas may be presented through common forms.

¹² *Minggu Pagi* has been published by the daily *Kedaulatan Rakyat* since 1948. Until 1950, *Minggu Pagi* was the most important magazine in Indonesia (Soemargono, 1979: 83)

national field of literature included Linus Suryadi AG, Korrie Layun Rampan, and Emha Ainun Nadjib. According to Widati (2007), between 1970 and 1977, more than 1,000 people were registered as members of PSK, while according to Rampan (1984) 1,555 writers joined the group. Although these communities began to fade in the late 1970s, their members later established such groups as Sanggar Yoga Sastra Pers (SYS), Lingkar Kreatif Sastra Yogya, Sanggar Solidaritas, Studi Sastra, Teater Sila, and Komunitas Perwatin (Ahmad, 2006).

In the early 1980s, literary activity in Yogyakarta shifted away from the editorial offices of the mass media (mainly in Malioboro) to campuses (Widati, 2007). These communities were focused predominantly on campuses with their own literature programs, such as Gadjah Mada University (UGM), ASRI (now the Indonesian Institute of Art Yogyakarta), IAIN (now Islamic State University), IKIP Negeri (now Yogyakarta State University), IKIP Muhammadiyah (now Ahmad Dahlan University), IKIP Sanata Dharma (now Sanata Dharma University), and IKIP Sarjanawiyata (now Taman Siswa University). These groups motored literary activities in Yogyakarta until the early 1990s.¹³

After political reform began in 1998, off-campus literary communities again began to emerge in Yogyakarta. First was Studio Pertunjukan Sastra (SPS), which was then followed by Komunitas Puisi Pro (KPP), Mari Membaca Puisi Indonesia (MMPI), Komunitas Goeboek Indonesia (KGI), Paguyuban Sastrawan Mataram, Rumah Poetika, Sanggar Kreatifitas Manusia (Sarkem), Komunitas Kutub, Sastra Kampung Halaman, Sanggar Jepit (UIN), Malam Perjamuan Sastra (UNY), Ruang Selasa Sastra (RSS), Kajian Rabu Sore (UNY), Komunitas Bawah Pohon (UIN), Komunitas Rudal, Rumah Lebah, Kutub, Rumah Poetika, Komunitas Sastra Pendapa (UST), Lingkar Budaya Sleman, Sarkem/As Sarkem, Komunitas Kopinyastro, Komunitas Pintu, Kinara (Teater Dokumen-Universitas Widya Mataram), Rumah Peran Whani Darmawan, Sanggar Suto, Komunitas Gress (UAD), Sobaya (Musik Puisi), Urban Musik Kustik (Musik Puisi), Komunitas Sastra Pintu, Komunitas Tang Lebur, Komunitas Rawarawa, Jejak Imaji, and Klub Buku Jogja. Literary communities that emerged in this period were not only oriented towards creative writing, but also literary performances. As a result, writers were not only required to produce good literary texts, but also to be able to perform them. As such, for

¹³ In the 1990s, the Indonesian literary world declined, allegedly due to the ongoing Southeast Asian economic crisis. The number of works published reduced drastically (Widati, 2007: 157).

these writers, non-literary abilities helped determine their recognition and position in the literary field.

The literary dynamics in Yogyakarta in this period were also marked by routine literary activities organized by institutions engaged in the arts/culture, including Festival Kesenian Yogyakarta (FKY-DISBUD DIY), Forum Apresiasi Sastra (FAS) Lembaga Seni Budaya dan Olahraga (LSBO; UAD), Sastra Bulan Purnama (Tembi Cultural Center), PKKH Literary Discussions, Yogyakarta Cultural Park (Taman Budaya Yogyakarta, TBY), Balai Bahasa Yogyakarta (BBY), and Indonesia Boekoe. One-off activities were also organized by institutions such as Yayasan Sastra Yogya, Lembaga Reboeng (previously Ernawati Literacy Foundation), Rumah Budaya EAN (publisher of the *Sabana* literary magazine), Bentara Budaya, universities, publishers, bookstores, and mass media outlets.

For some authors in Yogyakarta, these communities were of paramount importance. This can be seen in biographical data regarding authors and their involvement in such communities. At the same time, a number of books anthologized works by Yogyakarta authors, including authors involved in literary communities. These include *Tonggak* (1987), edited by Linus Suryadi AG; *Tugu* (1986), edited by Linus Suryadi AG; *Malioboro* (2007), edited by Sri Widati et al.; *Tongue In Your Ear* (2007), edited by Saut Situmorang and Raudal Tanjung Banua; *Rumah Lebah (Poetry Room, 2012)*, edited by Raudal Tanjung Banua; *Satu Istimewa* (2012), edited by Sitoresmi and Wahyudi Djaja; *Lintang Panjer Wengi Di Langit Yogya* (2013), edited by Iman Budhi Santosa and Mustofa W. Hasyim; *In the Lap of Yogya* (2013), edited by Mustofa W. Hasyim; *Rindu Maestro Yogya* (2014); *Jalan Remang Kesaksian* (2015), edited by Iman Budhi Santosa; and *Yogya Halaman Indonesia* (2016), edited by Latief S. Nugraha. A review of the data shows that many writers have been closely involved with literary communities, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Authors and Communities in Yogyakarta

No	Community	Writers in Community	Year
1.	Sanggar Bambu	Kirdjomulyo, Danarto, Untung Basuki, Putu Wijaya, Arifin C. Noer	1959
2.	Persada Studi Klub (PSK)	Umbu Landu Paranggi, Iman Budhi Santosa, Emha Ainun Nadjib, Linus Suryadi AG, Korrie Layun Rampan, Ahmad Munif, Mustofa W Hasyim, Bambang Darto, Joko Passandaran,	1969

		Budi Sarjono, Teguh Ranusastra Asmara, Sutirman Eka Ardhana, Fauzi Absal, Arwan Tuti Artha, RS Rudhatan, AY Suharyono, Suryanto Sastroatmojo, Soeparno S Adhy	
3.	Studi Apresiasi Sastra (SAS)	Zainal Arifin Thoha, Hamdy Salad, Ulfatin Ch, Abidah El Khaelq	1980
4.	Akademi Kesenian Yogyakarta	Satmoko, Puthut EA, Hasta Indriana, Eka Kurniawan	1990
5.	Rumah Poetika	Indrian Koto, Komang Ira Puspita, Mutia Sukma, Kedung Darma Romansya	2007
6.	Studio Pertunjukan Sastra	Hari Leo AER, Mustofa W. Hasyim, Latief S. Nugraha, S. Arimba	2004
7.	Kutub	Mahwi Air Tawar, Bernando J. Sujibto, Muhammad Ali Fakihi, Salman Rusdi Anwar, Ahmad Muchlis Amrin, Daruz Armedian	2000
8.	Puisi Pro	Wahyana Giri, Evi Idawati, Indrian Koto, Mutia Sukma	2005
9.	Masyarakat Bawah Pohon	Mohammad Aswar, Shohifur Ridho Ilahi	2012
10.	Ngopi Nyastro	M. Akid A. H. , Rabu Pagisyahbana	2012
11.	Jejak Imaji	Iqbal H. Saputa, Sule Subaweh	2014

Of the numerous literary communities that have existed in Yogyakarta, several communities continue to organize activities and hold events consistently: Sanggar Bambu, Studio Pertunjukan Sastra, Kutub, Komunitas Puisi Pro, and Ngopinyastro. Each of these five communities has its own unique characteristics and has shaped the development of literature in Yogyakarta in its own way. The following profiles of these communities show their unique characteristics.

Sanggar Bambu is one of the oldest literary communities in Yogyakarta. Established on April 1, 1959, by artists from diverse backgrounds, including Soenarto Pr, Kirdjomulyo, Heru Sutopo, Mulyadi W, Danarto, Soeharto Pr, Syahwil, Handogo, Soemardi, and Wardoyo, this community continues to house artists in diverse fields, including visual art, music, theater, and literature. Authors involved in this community remain well known and appreciated, with writers such as Kirdjomulyo, Danarto, and Putu Wijaya being famous in Yogyakarta and throughout Indonesia. Sanggar Bambu continues to hold literary and theatrical performances, with Untung Basuki continuing

to promote the community through these activities. He has even introduced a genre of literary performance that he deems "poetry songs".

Younger literary communities, particularly those established after the beginning of Political Reform, deal specifically with the field of literature. Take, for instance, Studio Pertunjukan Sastra, which was founded in Yogyakarta in 2002 by Leo AER Day (1960–2013) and includes such poets as Mustofa W. Hasyim, Latief S. Nugraha, and S. Arimba. This community has held numerous literary presentations and discussions, totalling 170 as of the beginning of 2020. Studio Pertunjukan Sastra is not designed to develop or support literacy but as a forum for authors to share their work. Thus, this community is more of a tool used to gain new legitimacy or strengthen existing legitimacy. Studio Pertunjukan Sastra often holds its activities in Yogyakarta Cultural Park, an icon and center of art activities in the city.

Lingkar Studi Kutub Yogyakarta (LSKY), better known as Kutub, is a *pesantren*-based literary community established by Zaenal Arifin Thaha, the caretaker of Hasyim Asy'ari Islamic Boarding School, in 1998. Literary studies are the most prominent of this community's activities, and as such Hasyim Asy'ari Islamic Boarding School is often identified as a 'literary boarding school'. Members of Kutub are predominantly *pesantren* students, mostly from Jombang and Madura. Most came to Yogyakarta to study at local universities such as UIN Sunan Kalijaga, Ahmad Dahlan University, Muhammadiyah University Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta State University, and the Indonesian Institute of Arts, Yogyakarta. Kutub alumni who remain productive poets and essayists today include Mahwi Air Tawar, Salman Rusdi Anwar, Ahmad Muchlis Amrin, Syaeful Amin Ghafur, Slamet Riyadi, Muhammadun AS, and Yusri Elga.

Unlike the previous three communities, Komunitas Puisi Pro is a radio-based community. This community holds activities once a week, reading poems on Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) Yogyakarta directly in the study or by telephone. Authors must submit their own works, and as such, this community can encourage members to work and provide a forum for their work appreciated. This community developed rapidly, and had many members in 2007. In addition to radio broadcasts with poetry readings or discussions, this community also held competitions to encourage creativity. Motored predominantly by poets such as Wahyana Giri, Hari Leo, and Evi Idawati, this community has produced such authors as Indrian Koto, Mutia Sukma, Agus Manaji, and Cak Kandar.

One long-lived community that holds unique activities is Ngopinyastro. As implied by its name, Ngopinyastro (from the words *ngopi* 'to drink coffee' and *nyastro* 'to make literature') meets in coffee shops and cafés. Its academic performances include readings of poetry and short stories and other types of literary performances. Because it meets in coffee shops and cafés, its activities are more relaxed and intended to bring literature closer to the people. Nevertheless, this community has produced several writers, including M. Akid A. H. and Rabu Pagisyahbana.

The literary communities in Yogyakarta, aside from being places where writers could grow and develop, were also places where various literary activities could be organized. These activities gave color to the Yogyakarta literary arena. Likewise, communities and community members published literary works on their own or through publishers.

Of course, not all literary communities can achieve success. The literary arena in Yogyakarta is ever-changing, and as of 2017 few communities have deep historical roots. Those that have endured for several years include Studio Pertunjukan Sastra (SPS), Komunitas Puisi Pro (KPP), Kopinyastro, Sanggar Bambu, and Kutub, all of which have been discussed above. Of these, Sanggar Bambu has existed longest. Meanwhile, although it has since been disbanded, Persada Studi Klub produced the most "graduates" who influenced Indonesian literature and contested the national literary arena. Finally, Studio Pertunjukan Sastra has produced the most literary works and held the most activities. Other measures of success, such as material wealth (as evidenced through royalties, the ability to provide honorariums, and the ability to organize luxurious events) are not discussed here.

Conclusion

Based on the above discussion, it may be concluded that the development of the literary arena in Yogyakarta is influenced by the literary communities active in the city. These communities have continually produced new authors who have gained local and national renown. These communities, thus, have been precious for aspiring writers. The recognition of these communities in authors' profiles further proves these literary communities' importance in giving birth to new writers. Literary communities in Yogyakarta have thus directly or indirectly influenced the rise of new authors in the city.

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