

**STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE PORTRAYED ON CHUDORI'S
THE SEA SPEAKS HIS NAME: A NEW HISTORICISM
ANALYSIS**



**DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM NEGERI MAULANA MALIK
IBRAHIM MALANG**

2021

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THESIS

By:
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THESIS

Presented to
Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.)

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I state that the thesis entitled "*Structural Violence Portrayed On Chudori's The Sea Speaks His Name: A New Historicism Analysis*" is my original work. I do not include any materials previously written or published by another person, except those cited as references and written in the bibliography. Hereby, if there is any objection or claim, I am the only person who is responsible for that.

Malang, August 10th, 2021

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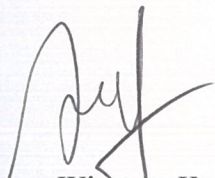
This is to certify that Muhammad Muhibbuddin's thesis entitled **Structural Violence Portrayed On Chudori's The Sea Speaks His Name: A New Historicism Analysis** has been approved for thesis examination at the Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibarahim Malang, as one of the requirements for the degree of *Sarjana Sastra* (S.S.).

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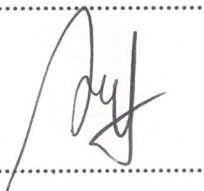
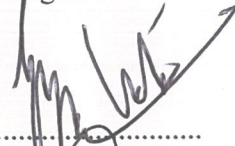
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MOTTO

”The Past is a Memory that Guides Future Life”

- Muhammad Muhibbuddin -

DEDICATION

I proudly dedicate this thesis to my father, Muhammad Jufri, S.Pd; my mother, Mujiasih; my young sister, Mahfuzhah Dwi Priasih; my self, Muhammad Muhibbuddin; and to whom will be my life partner in the future.

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All praises and thanks to Allah SWT who always gives me His blessing and His best opportunities so that I can finish this thesis entitled *Structural Violence Portrayed On Chudori's The Sea Speaks His Name: A New Historicism Analysis*. My sholawat and salam always be given to our prophet Muhammad SAW from whom I can learn Islam as my right choice.

Therefore, I would like to give a special thanks to Dr. Syamsudin, M.Hum. as the main examiner, Miss Asni Furaida, S.S., M.A. as the chair, and Mr. Agung Wiranata Kusuma, M.A. as my advisor for giving me a lot of advice and feedback. Thank you for taking the time to read all my drafts and direct this thesis to be better.

Moreover, my gratitude to all lecturers in Department of English Literature who has given me valuable knowledge and advice both in academic and personal levels. Thank you to my beloved family; my father, Muhammad Jufri, S.Pd; my mother, Mujiasih; my young sister, Mahfuzhah Dwi Priasih; and all of my family members. The Solo Player Group and The Fake Squad Group. Thank you for being ready to catch my back as always. Afterwards, I thank to Ulfa Azizah who become my best supporter and motivator along the process of completing my thesis.

Finally, I hope this thesis will be useful for all the readers and may give us the lesson to love each other. This study may not be perfect. Hence, any comment, correction, and criticism will be gently welcome.

Malang, August 10th, 2021

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ABSTRACT

Muhibbuddin, Muhammad. (2020). “*Structural Violence Portrayed On Chudori’s The Sea Speaks His Name: A New Historicism Analysis*”. Thesis. Department of English Literature. Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Advisor : Agung Wiranata Kusuma, M.A

Keywords : Structural Violence, New Historicism, New Order Regime.

This study aims to analyze structural violence portrayed on the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* by Leila S. Chudori. This study uses a New Historicism approach and the theory of structural violence by Johan Galtung is used to reveal the research problem. This study focuses on analyzing structural violence experienced by Indonesian citizen, and the socio-political condition of the novel and in Indonesia. The type of this research is literary criticism.

The findings show structural violence experienced by several element of Indonesian society, those are college student, lower-class society, and people related to the organization banned by the government. This study shows the linkage between the events presented in the novel with the actual historical facts; there are many similarities in socio-political condition of the novel and in Indonesia. The socio-political conditions depicted in the novel and in Indonesia show the struggle of the students in demanding the rights of the oppressed lower class people and the problem of the monetary crisis that experienced by Indonesia.

ABSTRAK

Muhibbuddin, Muhammad. (2020). “*Kekerasan Struktural yang digambarkan dalam Novel The Sea Speaks His Name Karya Leila S. Chudori: Sebuah Kajian New Historicism*”. Skripsi. Jurusan Sastra Inggris. Fakultas Humaniora. Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim Malang.

Dosen Pembimbing : Agung Wiranata Kusuma, M.A.

Kata Kunci : Kekerasan Struktural, New Historicism, Rezim Orde Baru.

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis kekerasan struktural yang tergambar dalam novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* karya Leila S. Chudori. Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan New Historicism dan teori kekerasan struktural Johan Galtung digunakan untuk mengungkap masalah penelitian. Kajian ini berfokus pada analisis kekerasan struktural yang dialami oleh warga negara Indonesia, serta kondisi sosial politik dalam novel dan di Indonesia. Jenis penelitian ini adalah kritik sastra.

Hasil temuan menunjukkan kekerasan struktural yang dialami oleh beberapa elemen masyarakat Indonesia, yaitu mahasiswa, masyarakat kelas bawah, dan orang-orang yang terkait dengan organisasi yang dilarang oleh pemerintah. Studi ini menunjukkan keterkaitan antara peristiwa-peristiwa yang disajikan dalam novel dengan fakta sejarah yang sebenarnya, terdapat banyak kesamaan kondisi sosial politik novel dan di Indonesia. Kondisi sosial politik yang tergambar dalam novel dan Indonesia menunjukkan perjuangan mahasiswa dalam menuntut hak-hak rakyat kelas bawah yang tertindas serta masalah krisis moneter yang dialami Indonesia.

مستخلص البحث

يرودوشى ليل ملقب بمساجد ملكتير رحبلا تياور في فوصوم يوينبلا فنعلما" (٢٠٢٠). دمحم، نيدلا بحم
تديج تختيارات تسارد". البحث الجامعي. قسم الأدب الإنجليزي. كلية العلوم الإنسانية.
جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانج.
مشرف : اموسوك اتاناريو جنوجا، الماجستير
الكلمات الرئيسية : ديدجلا ماظنلا ماظن، تديجلا تختياراتلا، يوينبلا فنعلما.

يهدف هذا البحث إلى تحليل الصلابة الهيكلية المصورة في رواية *The Sea Speaks His Name* لليلى س. حضاري. يستخدم هذا البحث المقاربة التاريخية الجديدة والصلابة الهيكلية لجوهان جالتونج في كشف أسئلة البحث. يركز هذا البحث إلى تحليل الصلابة الهيكلية يلاقيها الشعب الإندونيسي، والأحوال الاجتماعية والسياسية في الرواية وفي إندونيسيا. نوع هذا البحث هو النقد الأدبي.

تدلّ نتيجة هذا البحث إلى الصلابة الهيكلية يلاقيها بعض عناصر الشعب الإندونيسي، وهم طلبة الجامعة، مجتمع الطبقة السفلى، والأشخاص المتعلقة بالحزب الشيوعي الإندونيسي. توضح هذه الدراسة الترابط بين الحادثة المقدمة في الرواية بالواقعة التاريخية الحقيقية، وفيها عدة المساواة للأحوال الاجتماعية والسياسية في الرواية وفي إندونيسيا. تدلّ الأحوال الاجتماعية والسياسية المصورة في الرواية وإندونيسيا إلى جهود طلبة الجامع في طلب حقوق مجتمع الطبقة السفلى المضطهدين وإشكال الأزمة المالية التي مرت بها إندونيسيا.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background of the Study

A nation will never be separated from history in the past. History, we can know and learn from various sources, such as films, books, research, and literary works in the form of drama, prose, and novels. Based on historical background, there are some authors who raise historical events into literary works. History and literature are related to one another. This is consistent with the opinion of Wellek and Warren (1995, p.38) which states that a literary work can be seen as a series of works that are arranged chronologically and are part of the historical process. Therefore, the creation of a literary work is influenced by historical processes.

History and literature can be linked in languages. History is an event that only happened once in the past and cannot be repeated. However, history can be reconstructed again both in writing and orally. Literature is one component that can reconstruct history. The authors who created their work will not be separated from all aspects that surround their life. Allan H. Pasco (2004, p.378) stated that using literature as a means of reading the heart and minds of individuals of long ago. So, by reading literature we can find out what the author really wants to convey.

The Sea Speaks His Name is one of the literary novels written by Leila S. Chudori which reveal a history of Indonesia in New Order regime. *The Sea Speaks His Name* is a novel that tells the story of the character Biru Laut and his

fellow students and activists who are involved in the defense of cases of human rights violations (Diana, 2019). Students fought back because they sued the New Order government, which was almost without democracy, by taking real action with the community. Various kinds of violence experienced by college students and lower class society.

Violence is all forms of action, intentional and due to neglect and indifference, which causes humans to experience injury, pain, destruction, not only in a physical sense (Poerwandari, 2004: 13-14). According to Galtung (in Windhu, 1992: 65), violence occurs when humans are influenced so that their actual physical and mental relations are under their potential. Galtung's understanding of violence is more determined in terms of its consequences or effects.

According to Galtung (in Windhu, 1992: 64) violence is divided into two, namely structural violence or indirect violence and personal violence or direct violence. Personal violence or direct violence is violence that involves physical, for example hitting, kicking, shooting, and choking, while structural violence or indirect violence is violence that occurs because of inequality, especially in the distribution of power. Misuse of resources, insights, and progress results for other purposes or being monopolized by only a few people is also included in structural violence. This novel shows the personal violence experienced by students and structural violence experienced by the Indonesian people, especially the lower class people.

The novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* is not just a fictional story, but the plot and setting of the story are based on a true story about the tragedy of riots in Indonesia in 1998. Diana (2019) said that Leila S. Chudori raised history, the issues surrounding the events of 1998, and the problematic and complex New Order, especially the violence experienced by student activists.

In analyzing literary works that contain history, I used New Historicism by Stephen Greenblatt. The word New Historicism was first used by Stephen Greenblatt in an introduction to the edition of the journal *Genre* in 1982, to offer a new perspective in the study of the Renaissance, namely by emphasizing the linkage of literary texts to the various social, economic, and political forces that surround them (Budianta, 2006). Barry (2010) defines New Historicism as a method of study based on parallel reading of literary and non-literary texts, usually from the same historical period. Based on Barry's opinion, New Historicism does not grant privileges to literary texts, but gives equal rights to non-literary texts. This study will examine the history contained in the novel and then paired with historical texts containing facts similar to those found in the novel. The non-literary texts which will be paired with the facts found Chudori's *The Sea Speaks His Name* are taken from various sources, such as historical texts, scientific journals, and other supporting documents which have close relation with the purpose of the study.

In this research, the researcher chooses the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* by Leili S. Chudori because of some reasons. First, this novel won the South-east Asia Write Award for this novel, which was published in 2017 in

Indonesia as *Laut Bercerita* (Olivia, 2020). Second, some media have labeled Leila S. Chudori as "Golden Girl of Indonesian Literature", who had "disappeared" from Indonesian literary circles (Risangdaru, 2020). Third, Olivia (2020) states that the main character, Laut, can be categorized as the fictional protagonist of Indonesian author Leila S. Chudori's novel *The Sea Speaks His Name*, but her family experienced is based on the real-life accounts of those whose children vanished into political detention in the 1990s. Those are some reasons which make me interested to choose the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* by Leila Salikha Chudori.

This novel is suitable for researched with a study of New Historicism because in the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* contains history, social, political, and culture which can reflect the condition which happened in Indonesia in 1998 according to the study of New Historicism. Novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* by Leila S. Chudori tells social issues, especially problems of personal violence and structural in Indonesia. Diana (2019) tells that this novel presents the background of the life of student activists in the 1990s who were struggling for change. In *The Sea Speaks His Name* the main character, Biru Laut, is the main character who positions himself as the person behind the 1998 tragedy.

This topic had been analyzed by some researchers which are going to help researcher in researching this novel. These previous studies below have the same theory but different object. These previous studies are the first is Rahman (2016). This research aims to investigate Arthur Miller's greatest tragedy, *Death of a Salesman*, by using a New Historicism approach and cultural approach. This study

examines external contexts regarding the context of biography, history, politics, social and culture, making specific references to the characters, themes and events of the play. The findings show that Miller's *Death of a Salesman* is a product of the time, place, circumstances and playwright's biography.

Second is Rahayu (2013). This research is intended to reveal Muslim American discrimination in the movie *My Name is Khan*. The method of this research is library research. From the analysis, the result shows that the authors found several types of discrimination in Muslim Americans. There are five kinds of discrimination cases found in the film *My Name Is Khan*. The first is discrimination in public with four cases; Second, child discrimination in education in two cases; Third, discrimination in employment with one case; Fourth child violence discrimination with one case and discrimination regarding the absence of a legal equalization with the two cases.

Third is Rochmawati (2015). This study focuses on the portrayal of hot-springs Geisha in Kawabata *Snow Country* and whether it reflects the values of women in Japanese society by using New Historicism and Feminist Philosophy as theoretical lenses. This study uses descriptive qualitative research methods. The results showed that geisha figures are an important part of Japanese civilization and traditions. The geisha tradition has been glorified in turn by Japanese society and is prohibited by Japanese law as a form of prostitution due to the duality that geisha developed as artists and prostitutes. Also, the geisha tradition involves force, fraud, and deception.

Fourth is Mustafi (2016). This study selected three poems by Maya Angelou written in the 1970s as research objects to find out how *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, Alone, and Still I Rise* describe racial discrimination. This research uses a qualitative research method. The results of this study show that in the level of discussion of racial discrimination, Maya Angelou is in a position that shows the mental experience of black people as victims of racism.

Fifth is Mashudi (2018). This study aims to analyze discrimination phenomena against Ahmadiyah congregation in West Nusa Tenggara, in the novel *The Outcast* by Okky Madasari. This study uses a New Historicism approach. The findings show that there are several forms of discrimination in the novel those are: verbal violence, exclusion, avoidance, and physical violence. Also, there are two levels of discrimination those are: individual and institutional discrimination.

Based on several previous studies that have been described above, this study absolutely differs from those previous studies. This study will analyze the Structural Violence in the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* by using Johan Galtung's theory. Then this study also reveal the condition of socio-political aspect in *The Sea Speaks His Name* novel and in Indonesia by using New Historicism by Stephen Greenblatt, where the analysis does not only focus on the structure of the novel, but also the elements that are outside (external context) of the novel.

B. Research Questions

Based on the background of the study, this study is intended to answer the

question of:

1. What are the structural violence portrayed on the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* by Leila S. Chudori?
2. How is the condition of socio-political aspect in *The Sea Speaks His Name* by Leila S. Chudori and in Indonesia?

C. Research Objective

Based on the research questions above, the research is provided with the purpose to discover the objectives as follows:

1. To explain structural violence portrayed on the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* by Leila S. Chudori.
2. To reveal the condition of socio-political aspect in *The Sea Speaks His Name* by Leila S. Chudori and socio-political aspect in Indonesia.

D. Significance of the Study

Based on the topic, this research is conducted with theoretical and practical contributions especially to the interdisciplinary area of the literary work.

1. Theoretically

The results of this research is expected to contribute in developing New Historicism approach which concern in the study of Structural Violence by Johan Galtung, it also can be reference for the next researchers who wants to do research with the same topic and object.

2. Practically

The results of this research is expected to increase people awareness about the importance of learning history and people who read this study more understand about the form of Structural Violence by Johan Galtung and how to connect it with New Historicism by Stephen Greenblatt.

E. Scope and Limitation

This research analyzes the Structural Violence based on Johan Galtung Theory portrayed on the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* and describes the condition of socio-political aspect in *The Sea Speaks His Name* and socio-political aspect in Indonesia in 1991 to 2007 based on New Historicism by Stephen Greenblatt.

F. Definitions of Key Terms

The definition of key terms is provided to avoid misunderstanding and ambiguity. There are some terms used in this study which needed to be defined.

1. **New Historicism:** A method of literary criticism that emphasizes the historicity of a text by relating it to the culture, society, or ideology in a given time (Merriam-Webster Dictionary).
2. ***The Sea Speaks His Name* Novel:** Leila S. Chudori's novel which published by Gramedia Jakarta in 2017, then this novel was translated by John H. McGlynn and published by Penguin Random House in 2020.

3. **Structural Violence:** Structural violence is violence that does not harm or kill through weapons or bombs but through social structures that cause poverty, economic imbalance, or social and political injustice (Herlambang, 2013: 36)
4. **New Order Regime:** The New Order replaced the Old Order, which referred to the Sukarno era. The birth of the New Order began with the issuance of the Order of March 11, 1966. The New Order lasted from 1966 to 1998 which lead by Suharto as the Indonesia president.

G. Previous Studies

In conducting this research, several studies have discussed New Historicism approach with different theories. The first conducted by Rahman (2016), This research aims to investigate Arthur Miller's greatest tragedy, *Death of a Salesman*, using a New Historicism approach as the main methodology and a cultural approach as a secondary methodology. This study examines external contexts regarding the context of biography, history, politics, social and culture, making specific references to the characters, themes and events of the play. The methodology used in this study is descriptive analysis. It seeks to explore the outside context behind the development of characters, themes, and other elements of Arthur Miller's *Death of Salesman*. The findings of the discussion show that the play is a product of Miller's biographical life. It is a product of the circumstances Miller witnessed including the Depression, World War II, economic boom and Cold War. It can be concluded that the play is a context of the cultural aspects of

the American society, and it is a reflection of the effects and circumstances in which it was written. Furthermore, relating *Death of a Salesman* to new historicist principles shows that reading the play is a path to understand the politics, class and power of the country in which the events take place.

Second is conducted by Rahayu (2013), this research is intended to reveal Muslim American discrimination in the movie *My Name is Khan*. The method of this research is library research. From the analysis, the result shows that the authors found several types of discrimination in Muslim Americans. As a result of the 9/11 accident, Muslims were attacked as terrorists. This case eventually led to discrimination against American Muslims. There are some discrimination presented in *My Name is Khan*. The types of discrimination are divided into five, Muslim public discrimination, Muslim education discrimination, Muslim employment discrimination, Muslim child violence discrimination, and Muslim legal discrimination. There were four cases of public discrimination including harassment at airports, shops, streets, and hatred or strange stares in public spaces. There were three cases of child education discrimination perpetrated by teachers, classmates, or school officials and one case each for labor discrimination and child abuse. Finally, two cases of legal discrimination are presented in this film.

Third is conducted by Rochmawati (2015), this study focuses on the portrayal of hot-springs Geisha in Kawabata *Snow Country* and whether it reflects the values of women in Japanese society by using New Historism and Feminist Philosophy as theoretical lenses. This study examines the life of Geisha and its socio-political aspect. This study uses descriptive qualitative research methods.

Hot springs geisha and their world as vividly depicted in the novel continue to fascinate people around the world as part of their image of the mysterious and timeless Japan. Yasunari Kawabata's 1947 *Snow Country* novel revives interest in aspects of Japan that are so intrinsic to Western stereotypes and not so far from the reality of everyday life here. This is what Komako represented in the novel. Yasunari Kawabata chose geisha hot springs for female heroes and dark snow country for the setting of this novel. Geisha still exist and cover their trade. But the role they play in modern society is small, except for the attention they get from tourists using cameras, is largely invisible.

Fourth is conducted by Mustafi (2016), this study selected three poems by Maya Angelou written in the 1970s as research objects to find out how *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, *Alone*, and *Still I Rise* describe racial discrimination. This research uses a qualitative research method. The data collected in the study are in the form of facts and information relating to racial discrimination in America in the 1970s and all matters relating to the three poems of Maya Angelou. The discussion begins with a description of the condition of America in the 1970s and then leads to an analysis of racial discrimination in three poems by Maya Angelou which are summarized in three main points; white societies as power controllers, weak black societies as victims of racial discrimination, and freedom negotiations. At this stage, New Historicism from Stephen Greenblatt is used. The discussion continues by analyzing the relationship between American social conditions in the 1970s and racial discrimination in the three poems to determine the position of the poems against racial discrimination. The results of

this study indicate that in the level of discussion of racial discrimination, Maya Angelou is in a position that shows the mental experience of black people as victims of racism. The study also concluded that Maya Angelou described America in the 1970s as being in the midst of social unrest due to the discomfort of white and black people over their position in society.

Fifth is conducted by Mashudi (2018), this study aims to analyze the phenomenon of discrimination against the Ahmadiyah congregation in West Nusa Tenggara in the novel *The Outcast* by Okky Madasari. This study uses a new historicism approach. The theory of the level of discrimination according to Pincus and the form of discrimination according to Miharso is used to reveal research problems. This study focuses on analyzing the levels and forms of discrimination experienced by Ahmadi, as well as how the author describes his views on the phenomenon of discrimination. Primary data from this study were collected from the novel *The Outcast* by Okky Madasari. Because this research is a new historicism study, it uses secondary data collected from books, scientific journals, and news which are closely related to the research. The findings show that there are several forms of discrimination in the novel, namely: verbal abuse, exclusion, avoidance, and physical violence. In addition, there are two levels of discrimination: individual and institutional discrimination. Discrimination is given by individuals and groups around Ahmadi itself. This study shows the relationship between the events presented in the novel with actual historical facts. The novel represents the writer's view of the confiscation of Ahmadiyah as citizens and humans. This is one of the historical records of the story of injustice that has been

forgotten by society. The author defends Ahmadiyah as an oppressed party. This novel can also be analyzed using Feminism theory because the female character Maryam has a significant influence on the whole story.

H. Research Method

1. Research Design

The researcher uses literary criticism as the research design. Literary criticism is considered as the analysis, interpretation and evaluation of literary works: it does not mean 'finding fault with' (Peck and Coyle, 1984, p.149). Meanwhile, according to Saaed Fard (2016) literary criticism is a discipline to interpret, analyse, and evaluate the literary work. The author uses New Historicism to analyse. New Historicism deals with the linkage between literary texts and non-literary texts (Budianta, 2006). This study uses New Historicism to analyse this novel by juxtaposing supporting documents with the data obtained from the novel. It is caused the novel adapts the historical facts about socio-political condition of Indonesia during 1991 to 2007 and also the existence of some documents which also discuss historical facts.

This study also uses Structural Violence theory by Johan Galtung. Structural Violence is an act that takes advantage of the values of certain groups who hold power that affect other groups (Alawiyah, 2018). In the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* researcher will reveal the structural violence which shown by the government toward their society. This novel takes place in Indonesia during

1991 to 2007, but the story will talk so much about the events which happen in 1998 where at that time Indonesia experienced major change in the government.

2. Data Sources

This study about New Historicism which means it needs primary and secondary data as the supporting. The primary data of this study is a novel entitled *The Sea Speaks His Name* by Leila S. Chudori translated by John H. McGlynn which published by Penguin Random House in 2020. Secondary data is taken from the history books, news, scientific journal and other documents which have close relation with this study. All the data are in the form of written words, sentences, and phrases which described the structural violence and the condition of socio-political aspect in the novel and in Indonesia.

3. Research Instrument

The main instrument for this research is human instrument that is the researcher himself. Lincoln and Guba (in Scott, 2009: 189) argue that non-human instruments can only tap into the dimensions built into the instrument, while human instruments are shaped by experience and can respond and adapt to the research encounter. The use of human instrument as the main instrument in conducting the research was aimed at gaining the depth analyses for the research.

4. Data Collection

The methods used in collecting the data is firstly reading the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* then reading all references in depth and objectively using the researcher's expertise and awareness based on a New Historicism approach. The objective is to understand and obtain data sources. Second, the researcher selects the data found in the novel that related to the structural violence and socio-political condition which shown in the novel. The data selection from Chudori's *The Sea Speaks His Name* text is considered to be appropriate data related to research issues in order to reveal research objectives while reading. Third, after reading, the researcher reported the marked observation results. Eventually, the researcher systematically collected the data on the research issue by classifying the data.

5. Data Analysis

After collecting and classifying the data from Chudori's *The Sea Speaks His Name*. The data which obtained from the novel are categorized the data based on the results of structural violence to answer the first question about what is the structural violence which shown in the novel. The next analysis is done by matching data obtained from secondary data with data obtained from the novel to answer the second question about the condition of socio-political aspect in the novel and in Indonesia. This is done to find out how the novel or author narrates the issue of structural violence and the condition of socio-political aspect in the

story of the novel and Indonesian history. Finally, after all those analyses done the researcher presents the conclusion as the final result of data.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW ON RELATED LITERATURE

A. New Historicism Stephen Greenblatt

New Historicism is one of the many approaches in the science of literature that emerged in the last two decades of the 20th century. The word New Historicism was first used by Stephen Greenblatt in an introduction to the edition of the journal *Genre* in 1982, to offer a new perspective in the study of the Renaissance (Budianta, 2006). New Historicism emphasizes the relationship of literary texts with various social, economic, and political aspect that surround them.

New Historicism is not a doctrine, but rather a working model. In simple terms, New Historicism is a method of research about the past based on the placement of historical documents and non-histories (literary works), between written and non-written sources (pictures, anecdotes) as equally important sources (Ardhianti, 2016). Because studies are conducted across disciplines, New Historicism is better known as part of cultural studies.

By emphasizing the link between text and history, Greenblatt breaks down the tendency of formalist textual studies in the tradition of ahistorical New Criticism, which sees literature as an autonomous aesthetic area, separated from aspects that are considered to be "outside" the work (Rasya, & Sartuni, 2014). Through the new perspective it offers, New Historicism, Greenblatt gives the view that literature is an inseparable part of aspects outside it, such as social,

economic, and political because it was born and became part of a society that is covered by these aspects.

Literature, according to the perspective offered by New Historicism, cannot be separated from social, economic, and political praxis because it takes part in it. Thus, the separation between outside and inside, extrinsic-intrinsic, can no longer be maintained. Because all texts, both literary and non-literary, are products of the same era with various power and ideological battles (Budianta, 2006). Different from New Criticism which only examines literary works, New Historicism links between literary and non-literary texts.

In contrast to the New Criticism which distinguishes between valuable literary works and poetry with an aesthetic standard that is considered universal and standard, New Historicism sees such differentiation as an example of how social forces play in aesthetic space (Budianta, 2006). In this case, New Historicism revises the assumptions of New Criticism by showing that is considered universal, untouched, and natural are local, formed by history, and social formations.

In addition, Greenblatt also offers an update on the historical approach which at that time was still dominant in literary criticism in America, namely the tendency to see literature as a mirror that transparently and passively reflects its culture and society. In a new perspective, literary works build, articulate, and produce cultural conventions, norms, and values through verbal action and creative imagination (Budianta, 2006). Text is indeed a product of the historical social forces of its time, but at the same time, it also produces social impacts.

Furthermore, according to Greenblatt, the text in a discourse is a product and functional component of social and political formation. Literary text as a material product of certain historical conditions, as a written text, both literature and history is the result of the interpretation of the author or the writer that cannot be separated from the conditions that surround it. Brannigan (1998: 3-6) states that a text, both literary and historical text, becomes an agent in the construction of an understanding of cultural reality, or in other words as a vehicle that piggybacks on the potential for power and at the same time against it.

Likewise, the reading (both by the author and the reader) about the past is informed by historical circumstances that contain values and politics (power). Readings that emphasize self-awareness (or the existence of the subject) in the search for the meaning of the past will face difficulties, except through glasses and cultural constructions of the present (Bressler, 2002: 88-89). Thus, culture has boundaries as well as culture as a complex whole (Greenblatt, 1995: 480). So, the important task of literary criticism is to reconstruct those boundaries based on the life, which is expressed through a text (Greenblatt, 1995: 478). Reading a text is a critical practice in showing the existence of power relations so that they are visible, even those relationships reach the subject (Brannigan, 1998: 7), as Greenblatt shows in the concept of self-fashioning.

Greenblatt (2000: 21) New Historicism also involves what is called 'Thick Description'. The term was born by an anthropologist, Clifford Geertz. Thick Description seeks not only to find facts but to look for complex meanings in the cultural code that underlies it. In the field of literature, Myers (1989) noted four

assumptions of New Historicism. First, literary works of historical value, not just records of one's thoughts. Literary work is a form of social culture and to understand it must be associated with the socio-culture that produces it. Second, literary works constitute a certain view of history. Third, like literary works, humans, including historians and critics, also experience forms of social and political pressure. Fourth, as a result, historians or literary critics are trapped in their own history. No one is able to rise from his own social structure.

The New Historicism revision to the formalist and historical approach was concluded by Louis A. Montrose with the terms: reading literature is the same as reading history; reading history is the same as reading literature (Montrose in Veaser, 1989). That statement assumes that history is part of literature and vice versa.

New Historicism has several stages of work (Artika, 2015: 52). (1) choosing literary works to be studied, (2) studying the history of the community when the literary work was published, (3) reading literary works to find dominant/ important issues expressed in it, (4) studying non-literary texts which have same historical periods with the literary works to find relevance (parallel relationships) between literature and non-literary texts, (5) analyze the parallel relations between literary works and non-literary texts, and (6) the results of the analysis are arranged systematically to show the meaning of literary works.

As a conclusion, the emergence literary criticism of New Historicism in 1980 which was pioneered by Stephen Greenblatt was a reaction to literary criticism which ruled out history in examining a literary work. New Historicism

considers both literary texts and non-literary texts to have the same position in literary studies. Both are interrelated and cannot be separated. In the way it works, New Historicism has several steps as mentioned above.

Based on the research question that reveals socio-political in the novel and in Indonesia; the researcher should explain about the social aspect and political aspect to make the reader easy to understand.

1. Social Aspect

In the Indonesian Dictionary, aspects are (1) signs, (2) The appearance or interpretation of ideas, problems, or situations as a consideration seen from a certain point of view (Anton Moeliono, 1999: 58). Social is related to society (Anton Moeliono, 1999: 855). So the social aspects can be interpreted as interpretations of situations or considerations based on the community's point of view. The social aspect is something that takes into account the important value between literature and society, so that in order to understand the problems in a literary work, it will relate to the social realities that exist in society.

2. Political Aspect

In the Indonesian Dictionary, aspects are (1) signs, (2) The appearance or interpretation of ideas, problems, or situations as a consideration seen from a certain point of view (Anton Moeliono, 1999: 58). Politics is knowledge about state administration; all matters and actions of policy, tactics and so on regarding the government of one country or against another country. (Sampurna, 2003: 340). So, the political aspect is all the affairs or actions carried out by the government regarding the system, policy, regulations, power in a country.

Political conditions depicted in a novel can be of various types, such as political participation, political systems, policies, power, political mobilization, to nationalism or those related to citizenship.

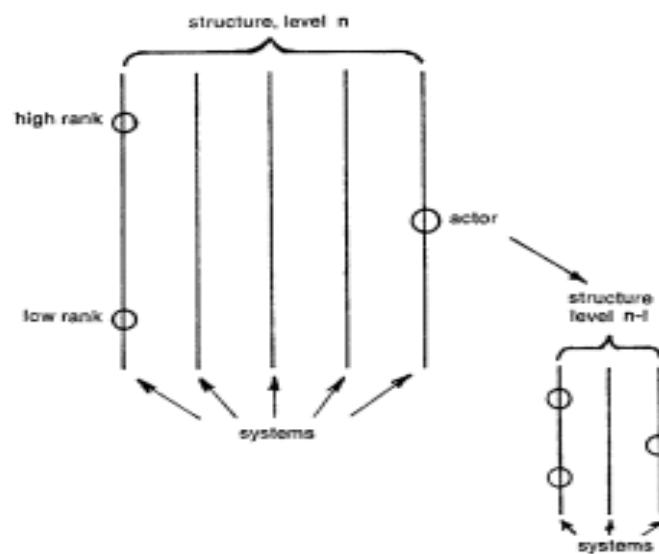
B. Concept of Violence by Johan Galtung

Violence is all forms of action, intentional or due to neglect and indifference, which causes (other) humans to experience injury, illness, destruction, not only in a physical sense (Poerwandari, 2004: 13-14). According to Galtung (in Windhu, 1992: 65), violence occurs when humans are influenced in such a way that their actual physical and mental relations are under their potential. Galtung's understanding of violence is more determined in terms of its consequences or effects.

According to Galtung (in Windhu, 1992: 64) violence is divided into two, namely structural violence or indirect violence and personal violence or direct violence. Structural violence or indirect violence is violence that occurs because of inequality, especially in the distribution of power. Misuse of resources, insights, and progress results for other purposes or being monopolized by only a few people is also included in structural violence (Windhu, 1992: 64). Structural violence creates imbalances in educational resources, income, justice, and the power to make decisions.

All types of repression and exploitation by groups of people against other groups are categorized as structural violence. Structural violence is violence that does not harm or kill through weapons or bombs, but through social structures

that cause poverty, economic imbalance, or social and political injustice (Herlambang, 2013: 36). Structural violence occurs due to differences in class or social structure. According to Galtung (1969), the factors of structural violence has close relation to the social order. The below figure is the image of social order that is related to the explanation of the factors.



In all the systems of social order, there is interaction, and where there is interaction, value is somehow exchanged. It then makes very much sense to study what the value-distribution is after the system has been operating for some time, and the gross distinction has been made between egalitarian and inegalitarian distributions. Galtung (1969) believed that the six factors serve to maintain inegalitarian distributions, and consequently can be seen as mechanisms of structural violence described in the following :

1. Linear ranking order - the ranking is complete, leaving no doubt as to who is higher in any pair of actors;

2. Acyclical interaction pattern - all actors are connected, but only one way - there is only one 'correct' path of interaction;
3. Correlation between rank and centrality - the higher the rank of the actor in the system, the more central his position in the interaction network;
4. Congruence between the systems - the interaction networks are structurally similar.
5. Concordance between the ranks - if an actor is high in one system then he also tends to be high in another system where he participates and
6. High rank coupling between levels - so that the actor at level n-1 are represented at level n through the highest ranking actor at level n-1.

The factors that have been displayed above can be understood by examining to some extent their negation, starting with the last one. Thus, imagine that a nation is dominated by an economic and cultural capital, but has a much smaller political capital through which most political interaction in the international system is carried out. This would tend to distribute the power at the level of cities since the coupling is not at the highest point. Similarly, we could imagine that the major road from the capital to a district did not connect directly with the district point of gravity but with some peripheral point; as when a government is represented abroad not by the president or prime minister but by the foreign minister - or a sub-factory not by the manager but by his deputy. But

very often the top actor at level $n-1$ is made the representative at level n - with a number of implications.

Similar to the previous nation, there is considerable rank discordance, even to the point where the summated rankings of the actors tend to be relatively equal. In that case, patterns of inequality would be less consistent and less reinforcing, and the amount of disequilibrium in the system would also tend to upset any stability. Furthermore, if the systems are not congruent but differ in structure, actors will not so easily generalize interaction patterns but be more flexible, less frozen into one way of acting (for instance servility). And if the actor with highest rank did not necessarily have the most central position in the network this would diminish his power, which would also be diminished if actors with lower ranks were to a larger extent permitted direct interaction (not only interaction mediated through the actors with high rank). Finally: nonlinear, pyramidal (also known as partial) ranking order permits more leeway, more flexibility in the system.

This can cause many propositions be developed, a basic one being that social systems will have a tendency to develop all six mechanisms unless deliberately and persistently prevented from doing so. Thus the pattern which is set is for an aggravation of inequality, in some structures so much so that the lowest-ranking actors are deprived not only relative to the potential, but indeed below subsistence minimum. Inequality then shows up in differential morbidity and mortality rates, between individuals in a district, between districts in a nation,

and between nations in the international system - in a chain of interlocking feudal relationships. They are deprived because the structure deprives them of chances to organize and bring their power to bear against the topdogs, as voting power, bargaining power, striking power, violent power - partly because they are atomized and disintegrated, partly because they are overawed by all the authority the topdogs present. Therefore, the final result potentially causing harm in both cases, but structural violence will probably just as often be recorded as psychological violence. Hence, highly different means may lead to highly similar results - a conclusion to be explored later.

Apart from structural violence, Galtung (in Windhu, 1992: 73) also reveals personal violence. Personal violence is also known as direct violence, for example, injuring or killing people. Personal violence is dynamic, easy to observe, shows significant fluctuations that can lead to change. Personal violence focuses on "actual physical realization". Galtung presents three approaches to view the typology of personal violence, namely: (a) the methods used starting with the human body itself (boxing, karate, aikido) to all kinds of cutting-edge weapons; (b) organizational forms, starting with other individuals in the form of hordes and masses of the people and ending with modern guerrilla organizations or combat using troops; and (c) the target approach is human.

Personal violence can be distinguished from anatomical (structural) and physiological (functional) arrangements. According to Galtung (in Windhu, 1992), anatomical violence is destructive (boxing match, slingshot), tearing, (hanging, pulling, cutting), penetrating (knife, spear, bullet), burning (burning,

flame), poisoning (in water, food, gas), and evaporation (as in a nuclear explosion).

According to Galtung, physiological violence is an act of violence that focuses on the actual physical realization, namely, which functions to prevent machines (humans) from functioning. These acts of violence have the character of eliminating air (choking, constricting), eliminating water (dehydration), eliminating food (starvation due to war), and eliminating movement by body restrictions (chains, gas), space restrictions (prison, detention, banishment), brain trial (weakens nerves, brainwashing). According to Galtung (in Windhu, 1992: 74) the difference between anatomical and physiological lies in the fact that the first is an attempt to destroy the human-machine itself (the body), the second is to prevent the machine from functioning.

Personal violence focuses on "actual physical realization." There are three approaches to viewing personal violence, namely the methods used (using human bodies or weapons), organizational forms (individuals, masses or troops), and targets (humans). Personal violence can be distinguished from the anatomical (structural) and the functionally (physiological) (Windhu, 1992: 74). The difference between anatomical and physiological lies in the fact that the former is an attempt to destroy the human-machine itself (the body), the second is to prevent it from functioning.

Structural violence mechanisms in the form of six factors that support inequalitarian division include linear position order, noncyclic interaction patterns, the correlation between position and centrality, compatibility between systems,

alignment between positions, and high doubling between levels (Galtung in Windhu, 1992: 75). The social system will tend to develop these six mechanisms, which in turn increase inequality. In some structures, the inequality occurs in such a way that the actors in the lowest position are not only relatively hindered by their potential dimensions, but also are actually below the minimum limit of subsistence. The structure does not allow them to build strength, organize and manifest their power in the face of "strong parties". They are divided, lack integration and lack power over themselves, sufficient autonomy to face powerful parties. So, personal and structural violence is physically harmful, but structural violence is more often seen as psychological violence. The difference is only in means but consequently shows similar results.

Galtung also distinguishes personal and structural violence. The nature of personal violence is dynamic, easy to observe, shows significant fluctuations that can cause change. Meanwhile, structural violence is static, showing certain stability and is not visible (Windhu, 1992: 73). In a static society, personal violence will be considered, while structural violence is deemed to be normal. However, in a dynamic society, personal violence can be seen as dangerous and wrong, while structural violence presents itself more and more.

The difference between personal violence and structural violence is not sharp. The two can have a causal relationship and possibly a dialectical relationship. Distinguishing between personal violence and structural violence means neglecting the structural element in personal violence and the personal element in structural violence. Windhu (1992: 76) states that although violence

has become one with the structure, there are people who seem to be violent in almost all incidents. This means that they show their violent tendencies outside the structural context that is still acceptable to the broader community.

According to Galtung (in Windhu, 1992: 77), one type of violence does not presuppose the real presence of other types of violence. However, it is also recognized that the possibility of real structural violence presupposes hidden personal violence. For example, if structures are threatened, those who benefit from structural violence, especially those in top positions, will try to maintain the status quo to protect their interests. These may not appear overtly defending structures, but using "tools" (police, mercenaries) to combat the sources of chaos, while remaining aloof and secluded from the upheaval of personal violence.

Johan Galtung (in Windhu, 1992: 68-72) also describes six important dimensions of violence, namely:

1. Physical and psychological violence. In physical violence, the human body is physically hurt, even to the point of murder. Meanwhile, psychological violence is a pressure that is intended to reduce mental or brain abilities.
2. Positive and negative influences. Reward oriented systems that contain "control" are not free, are less open, tend to be manipulative, although they provide pleasure and euphoria.
3. There is object or not. In specific actions, there is still a threat of physical and psychological violence, even though it does not cause victims but limits human activity.

4. There is a subject or not. Violence is called direct or personal if there are perpetrators, and if there are no perpetrators, it is called structural or indirect. Indirect violence has become a part of this structure (poorly structured) and has manifested itself as an unbalanced power that causes unequal life opportunities.

5. Intentional or not. Focusing on the result and not the goal, an understanding that only emphasizes the element of deliberation is undoubtedly not sufficient to see, overcome structural violence that works subtly and unintentionally. From the victim's point of view, intentionally or not, violence is still violence.

6. Visible and hidden. The violence that is visible, real (manifest), both personal and structural, can be seen even indirectly. Meanwhile, hidden violence is something that is not visible (latent), but can quickly explode. Hidden violence will occur if the situation becomes so unstable that the actual level of realization can soon decrease. Structural hidden violence occurs when an egalitarian structure can easily be turned into feudal, or a hierarchical military-backed revolution can again become a hierarchical structure once the main challenge has been overcome.

C. Historical Facts of Indonesia in 1990s

The Sea Speaks His Name was translated novel of *Laut Bercerita* which published in 2017 then translated into English in 2020 by Penguin Random House and raises the issue of social realities that existed in Indonesia in the 1990s. The events that are presented in this novel are about the chaos of the New Order government and the political crimes that existed in that regime. The

existence of a social conflict in a society creates class conflict in it. Astuti (2019) states that some of the factors behind the emergence of social conflict include jealousy, hatred, the necessities of life, inner dissatisfaction, injustice or even problems of power.

The social conflict in the reality of a society that was raised in *The Sea Speaks His Name* caused class clashes between the two camps, namely the community and college students with the New Order government (Astuti, 2019). *The Sea Speaks His Name* describes various forms of struggle of the people, students and activists who are analogous to the proletariat, against the New Order government which is similar to the bourgeoisie in the social and political conflicts that occurred in that era.

The resistance that emerged from among students, activists and the people in the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* was mainly due to the flaw in democracy in the government system run by the New Order government (Astuti, 2019). The policies and attitude of the New Order government, which did not take sides with the people also triggered a lot of resistance. Some of the historical events of Indonesia that are reflected in the novel are as follows;

1. Kedung Ombo Case 1985 – 1991

The Kedung Ombo case is an incident of refusal to evict and relocate the settlement location by society because the land will be used as the Kedung Ombo Reservoir. The residents' refusal was due to the small amount of compensation given. In 1985 the government planned to build a new reservoir in Central Java for a 22.5 megawatt electric power plant

that could accommodate water for the needs of 70 hectares of surrounding rice fields. This reservoir is called the Kedung Ombo Reservoir. Fathoni (2019) said that the construction of the Kedung Ombo Reservoir was financed by USD 156 million from the World Bank, USD 25.2 million from the Exim Bank of Japan, and the National Budget, starting from 1985 to 1989.

The reservoir began to be used on January 14, 1989 and submerged 37 villages, seven districts in 3 districts, namely Sragen, Boyolali, Grobogan. A total of 5268 families lost their property as a result of the construction of this reservoir (Fathoni, 2019). Most of the residents had left their village, but there were still 600 families who still survived because the compensation they received was very low. Minister of Home Affairs Soeparjo Rustam stated that the compensation was Rp. 3.000/ m², while residents were forced to accept Rp. 250/ m². The survivors also experienced terror, intimidation and physical violence as a result of their resistance to the project. The government forced residents to move by continuing to irrigate the location; as a result, the survivors were forced to live in the middle of a puddle of water.

Fathoni (2019) said that Romo Mangun with Romo Sandyawan and K.H. Hammam Ja'far, the caretaker of the Pebelan Islamic boarding school in Magelang, accompanied the residents who were still on the site, and built an emergency school for around 3500 children, and built

facilities such as rafts to transport residents, part of the village has turned into a lake.

The reservoir was finally inaugurated by the President, on May 18th, 1991, and residents continued to struggle to claim their rights to adequate land compensation. After the inauguration, the President had a dialogue with 51 farmers. On that occasion, the President reminded people who did not want to move and asked for additional compensation money so that they did not become a barrier. He added that they would enter into historical records as a group that "*Mbalelo Mengguguk Makuto Waton*" (rebellious, stubborn, and stiff) (Fathoni, 2019). He said that if this happened, the predicate would be carried by their children and grandchildren.

In 2001, the residents who were displaced demanded that the Governor of Central Java reopen the Kedung Ombo case and renegotiate land compensation. However, the Provincial and Regency Governments insist that the land compensation issue has been resolved. Fathoni (2019) said that the government had asked the local district court to withhold the unpaid compensation money to 662 claimant families.

2. Blangguan Case 1991

Blangguan is a village in Situbondo Regency, East Java. Wanhar (2014) stated that the Blangguan incident is known as the tragedy of agricultural land acquisition. The majority of Blangguan village residents work as corn farmers, so their lives depend on the produce from the

cornfield. However, the farmland was forcibly seized by the Indonesian army on the pretext of being a military combat training exercise. The peasants were helpless by the arrogance of the soldiers, but a hope arose when dozens of students from various regions throughout Indonesia came to their villages. Based on the results of the deliberations, students and farmers agreed to jointly plant corn in a field that was already controlled by the army. The farmers prepare the corn seeds to be produced. Students equip themselves with posters measuring ten meters. It reads: OUR LIFE AND DEAD FROM THIS LAND.

Wanhar (2014) explained that the corn planting action plan was carried out on the morning of January 23rd, 1993. One day before, as many as 26 students from various universities from Jakarta, Semarang, Yogyakarta and Surakarta stayed overnight in people's houses. They are activists of the Student Solidarity for Democracy in Indonesia. Approaching 11 p.m., the village, which had been calm, turned tense. The patrol car circled the village road. Soldiers roam after students. Houses on the edge of the forest were searched. The military action terrified the women and children.

Even though the military had blockaded the area by placing three to five soldiers on each strategic road, the local farmers managed to hide the students in a safe place. The farmers memorized every inch of their hometown (Wanhar, 2014). Until 03:00 in the morning, the soldiers were still intimidating. Amidst the pouring rain, that night, Webby Warouw and

Budiman Sudjatmiko from UGM chaired an emergency meeting. After considering everything, the corn planting action in Belangguan was cancelled. The action was moved to the Surabaya DPRD Level I office.

After the action at the DPRD office, the students gathered at the Bungurasih terminal waiting for the bus to return to Yogyakarta before returning to their respective cities. Without realizing it, the terminal was already controlled by plainclothes officers. Thirteen people were arrested. The students were interrogated in turns. When interrogated, each finger was wrapped around an electric shock wire. The voltage can be seen from the numbers 0 to 100. If they are not satisfied with the answers given, the voltage is increased (Wanhar, 2014). They were also ordered to watch a friend who was being tortured.

3. The Disappearance of Democracy Activists 1996 – 1998

The July 27th, 1996 incident rose a series of experiences of the disappearance of democracy activists and students who were considered to be against the government. Galih (2018) said that the student action which was initially carried out on campus was then carried out outside the campus in March 1998.

Students became even more courageous in demonstrating after the President was elected for the seventh term at the MPR General Session on March 10th, 1998 (Galih, 2018). If at first, the students demanded economic improvement, the demands turned into a change of national

leadership. Unfortunately, the violence committed by the security forces in dealing with student actions turned peaceful actions into tragedies.

Student action in Yogyakarta, which was handled repressively by security forces on May 8, 1998, resulted in the death of Moses Gatutkaca (Galih, 2018). The Sanata Dharma University student died from a blunt force blow. The tragedy occurred again when the authorities overcame a student demonstration with violence on May 12, 1998. Four Trisakti University students died as a result of being shot by live bullets belonging to the security forces. The shooting of rubber bullets and live ammunition and beatings by the security forces also left more than 200 people injured.

4. The Collapse of the New Order Regime in 1998

In 1998, Indonesia faced significant crisis. The financial crisis resulted in a political crisis, in which the level of people's trust in the government was so low. Riots occurred in almost every region in Indonesia. As a result, the New Order government fell into a condition that was beset by various political pressures both from outside and within the country. From the international community, especially the United States, publicly asked the President to resign from his position (Putri, 2020). From within the country, a mass movement led by students took to the streets demanding that the President step down from his position.

Students all over Indonesia unite to form a reform movement. The political situation at that time was full of dynamics, especially after the July 27th, 1996 Incident at the PDI DPP office, Diponegoro Street, Central

Jakarta (Galih, 2018). The government is considered to be the cause of the Gray Saturday Incident because it removed Megawati Soekarno Putri from the position of chairman of the PDI, giving rise to party dualism. Megawati's skyrocketing popularity at that time, as well as her status as President Sukarno's daughter, posed a threat to power. Moreover, Megawati became the party leader ahead of the 1997 elections.

In the end, the President declared his resignation after being in power for 32 years, starting from the time he received the mandate of the March 11th, 1966, Order Letter. In his speech, the President admitted that he took this step after seeing the development of the national situation at that time.

Putri (2020) said that previously the President had wanted to save the presidency by offering various steps; such as a cabinet reshuffle and forming the Reform Council. But in the end, the President had no other choice but to resign from office. Finally, on May 21st, 1998, at the Merdeka Palace, the President declared his resignation.

"I have decided to resign from my position as President of the Republic of Indonesia, starting from the time I read this statement today, Thursday, May 21, 1998," said the President, quoted from the Detik-Detik book, *Indonesia's Long Road to Democracy* (2006) written by Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie.

By using article 8 of the 1945 Constitution, the President immediately arranged for Vice President Habibie to be sworn in as his

successor before the Supreme Court (Putri, 2020). This is because the DPR cannot be function due to students taking over the DPR building. The Indonesian leadership immediately shifted from Suharto to BJ Habibie. This is a new way to open the democratization process in Indonesia. Despite the controversy over its legal status, President BJ Habibie's administration was able to last one year in office.

CHAPTER III

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

This chapter reveals the structural violence portrayed in the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* and the socio-political condition in Indonesia based on New Historicism approach which it emphasizes the relationship of literary text with various social, economic, and political aspects surround it.

A. Social Condition in the Novel and in Indonesia

First is social aspect that shown in the novel and in Indonesia. Social aspect is the interpretation of situations or considerations based on the perspective of society. In this novel, social aspect is shown in the form of demonstration by college students and Indonesian citizen, also the poverty and misery which caused by government's policy.

1. Kedung Ombo Case

Originally, the people at Kedung Ombo had been offered compensation of Rp3000 per square meter, she said but ended up receiving less than a tenth of the amount, a pittance no one could survive on. While some of the populace had finally given in accepted the compensation, around six hundred families refused to move and suffered severe intimidation. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 16)

The Kedung Ombo Dam incident was one of the hundreds of projects that resulted in agrarian conflict, starting from the government's promise to provide compensation money for the houses of residents affected by the project. In the novel, it is explained that the residents of Kedung Ombo were promised to be compensated with compensation of 3000 rupiahs/ m², but when the project was to be implemented, the residents only received 250 rupiahs/ m². Of course, the two nominations are very far away. Residents who feel cheated protest by remaining

silent in their homes even though the area will be inundated for the Kedung Ombo Dam project. Knowing this, it made the students moved to help the residents' actions by establishing emergency schools, so that children who remained in the area could still receive a proper education.

The social condition in the novel shows government's injustice toward its citizen. The act of government causes bad situation among Kedung Ombo resident. There are 600 families who still stay at the location to demand their rights, whereas the location will be used as reservoir. Students' role in the data 1 also gives us knowledge, where students are a group of young people who have high social sensitivity; they help each other to help residents who feel oppressed. The role of students depicted in the novel seems to show that they are in the protagonist's role, and the government is in the role of the antagonist.

Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the Kedung Ombo incident was an event that happened in Indonesia in 1991, where the New Order regime was in power at that time. The New Order was known for its development strategy that prioritized the provision of land for large-scale investment on the one hand and promoted increasing food production through the green revolution on the other.

At the start of land acquisition of Kedung Ombo Dam, the government determined that land compensation was very cheap: Rp. 300/m² for land/ rice fields, and Rp. 250/m² for the house. Seeing this injustice, Kedung Ombo residents decided to sue the government through the court to get adequate compensation for their losses. Even though laws mandate the provision of appropriate compensation, most of the plaintiffs were unsuccessful.

Knowing this, student groups in nearby cities joined the Solidarity Group for Victims of the Kedung Ombo Reservoir Construction. Through the Decree of the Governor of the First Level Region of Central Java Number 593/135/1987, the compensation was increased to Rp. 723/m² for land and Rp. 7380/m² for buildings. However, residents think that the compensation money is still far from expectations. The conflict got more complicated after news broke that the central government's compensation money was being corrupted by several parties. At that time, the Minister of Home Affairs, Soepardjo Rustam, admitted that the amount of land compensation was actually Rp. 3000/m².

In this case, it proves that the order of linear position is one of the factors in the occurrence of structural violence. This can be seen from the efforts of the Government as the highest party of a country in making decisions to behave towards its people, which was very real. Residents who stayed in Kedung Ombo so that their land would not be evicted also experienced terror, intimidation and physical violence due to their resistance to the project. The government forced the residents to move while still irrigating the location, as a result the residents who survived were then forced to live in the middle of puddles.

Another factor is the pattern of non-cyclical interaction can be seen from the fact that the compensation received by the residents of Kedung Ombo is very small. In fact, the Minister of Home Affairs, Soeparjo Rustam, as a representative of the Indonesian government at that time stated that compensation was Rp. 3,000,-/m², while residents were forced to accept Rp. 250,-/ m². The survivors also experienced terror, intimidation and physical violence as a result of their

resistance to the project. The government forced the residents to move while still irrigating the location, as a result the residents who survived were then forced to live in the middle of a puddle of water. This explains that what was received by the community at that time was not in accordance with what was promised by the government at the beginning of the agreement.

The last factor is the correlation between positions that dragged the organization banned by the government's case as a weapon of the Government to strengthen the actions they took were considered precise. Apart from being weakened by law, the image of the organization banned by the government was also attached to the citizens of Kedung Ombo. "In Kedung Ombo, farmers who refuse to give up their land are branded as the organization banned by the government by being given the ET code on their ID cards, even though they are farmers who have long been clean of such identities. In fact, the President himself in his opening speech of the Kedung Ombo Reservoir said he understood that people or residents who did not want to accept the construction of the Kedung Ombo Reservoir were infiltrated by the communists. This is very representative of how the government at that time easily labeled people who defended their land as dissidents and equated their status with communists. So that the correlation of citizens who they consider to be disobedient to government rules has the same position as the communists.

2. Demonstration of Labor Wage Increases

Two years earlier, prior to the time the government declared us to be fugitives, Kinan had been assigned by Bram in his role as head of Wirasena to go to Tandes, near Surabaya, together with Sunu, Julius, Gusti, and Naratama, to

show our support for workers from ten factories there who were demonstrating for an increase in wages. I had just been appointed secretary-general of Winatra and Bram had instructed me to move to Jakarta.

The demonstration, which proved to be explosive, involved thousands of workers—which gave the military, it seems, grounds enough to arrest Kinan, Sunu, Julius, and Gusti were interrogated in the room next door. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 72)

Laut tells about his friends who used to be involved in guarding labor demonstrations. The demonstration contained workers' demands for an increase in wages. Thousands of workers from 10 factories took part in the demonstration. As a result, the students who participated in the demonstration were considered as provocateurs of the course of the action, so they were arrested, interrogated, and tortured.

The social condition in the novel is shown by the demonstrations by thousands of workers demanding an increase in wages. The demonstration was motivated by labor actions in the United States and also the prohibition against celebrating International Labor Day. The government policy of the New Order regime, which prohibited the celebration of International Labor Day, drew much criticism from workers and laborers. In the end, thousands of workers staged massive demonstrations involving ten big factories in Indonesia to claim their rights and convey their aspirations to the government.

In Indonesia, demonstrations on labor wage increases have become an annual tradition. At first, "May Day" was a moment to commemorate the United States workers' demands on May 1st, 1886, to shorten working hours to eight hours. The International Working Men Association in Paris in 1889 designated that day as the world labor day. All workers in the world have followed this anniversary every year in their respective countries, but in Indonesia, during the

New Order era, it was a dark period for workers' independence. The stigma of "Trade Unions are Communist" has shackled workers' freedom of association and expression in public. Police General Awaludin Jamin, the Minister of Manpower at that time, was one of the figures who tried to keep workers from celebrating every May 1st. On May 1st, 1967, the May Day commemoration in Indonesia was abolished by the New Order regime.

Structural violence factor that occurred related to labor issues in the New Order government, namely the non-cyclical pattern of interaction seen in this case, where all the people with the status of bourgeoisie were connected but there was only one correct pattern, namely that anyone who opposed the policies of the New Order era, was declared as the communist party.

Although labor unions later became one of the unifying forums in the era of the struggle for independence and continued their struggle until entering the New Order era, Labor Day was identified with the ideology of communism, which at that time was strictly prohibited.

Another factor is related to the correlation between positions where the Government as the highest authority stipulates the prohibition of establishing and celebrating International Labor Day on May 1 during the New Order period starting with changing the name of the Ministry of Labor in the Dwikora Cabinet to the Ministry of Manpower under a former Police officer named Awaloedin Djamin and precisely in May 1966, succeeded in abolishing the observance of Labor Day.

Various doctrines to abolish Labor Day in Indonesia were rolled out by the government starting from being associated with the Indonesian Communist Party to being led to an economic orientation.

Thus, during the New Order era, the observance of Labor Day was prohibited. May 1 commemoration is identified with communist activities and content. However, sporadic actions often occur and end in the arrest of demonstrators.

3. Blangguan Case

During the past few years, Bram Kinan, Julius, and Alex had, with members of the East Java branch of Winatra, researched and documented the sources of agrarian unrest in the region. One major cause was the forced eviction of farmers from their land in the village of Blangguan, which was to be turned into a military site for long-range cannonry and gunnery practice. The farmers' fields had been turned under by bulldozers. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 92)

In the novel, the Blangguan incident was an incident of forced eviction of corn farmers used as a military training facility by the army. The social condition in the novel is shown by an arbitrary system of government which makes the society in misery, which is depicted by the forced eviction of corn farmers' land by Indonesian soldiers. Farming is the primary source of livelihood for the people of Blangguan village. They have managed corn farming for years, but due to the cruel government system, Blangguan villagers are resigned to seeing their income source forcibly taken away. This forced land grabbing made the people of Blangguan village experience misery because they would find it difficult to find other livelihoods if their land was taken.

In Indonesia, Blangguan is one of the villages in the Situbondo district, East Java. This incident is an event that actually happened in Indonesia in 1993. The Blangguan incident described in the novel is precisely the same as the actual event. The Blangguan incident in Indonesia shows the weakness of democracy in the Indonesian government system so that cause the misery in Blangguan residents. The consequences of the forced evictions also significantly affect society's social conditions, where unilateral policies made by the government will affect the level of public confidence in their leaders. People who should have the comfort of living in their country have received arbitrary treatment from the government itself.

The case of forced eviction of land owned by farmers in Blangguan Village which will be used for the purposes of the military training field for members of the TNI is one of the structural violence based on the compatibility factor between systems. This can be seen from the structurally similar interaction network between the Indonesian Central Government and the Indonesian Armed Forces, which at that time seized land to be used as a military training ground. The repression they carry out against citizens is allegedly the same as what the central government does when the people do not comply with existing policies. As a result, the activists of Winatra and Wirasena were involved in assisting the residents of Blangguan village as a form of their concern for the small people who received injustice from the government's decision in the New Order era.

4. Bungurasih Incident

This time around, this detention and torture, was completely different from what we had experienced at Bungurasih.

'Bungurasih', is an offshoot of 'Blangguan', was just one more link in a chain of reactions to our work that ended in a display of depravity through which, I suppose, they hoped we would learn our lesson and desist from further protest. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 119)

The Bungurasih incident was one of the activists kidnapping events after carrying out the corn planting action in Blangguan village. They were arrested, interrogated, and even brutally tortured by the military. This shows the government's repressive attitude towards students who intend to help Blangguan villagers to demand their rights. The students' uncompromising attitude gave the lower-classes strength to dare to fight and take away their rights, which have been forcibly taken away by the government. This social condition shows the riots that occurred between students and the government.

In Indonesia, the Bungurasih incident is remembered as one of the kidnappings carried out by State intelligence. The government's heinous actions against students show the government's fear of actions taken by students. They are afraid that their power will be threatened if they allow activists to continue to roam and indoctrinate society to dare to oppose the government. In fact, what actually happened was that they wanted to help the lower-class people in demanding their rights that had been taken by the government.

The structural violence factor included in Bungurasih case is the correlation between positions, that is when ABRI thought that its position was high in Indonesia, they easily felt that their position was much higher than the people who owned land in Blangguan and the activists who helped them. This can be seen when Winatra, who was known to be in solidarity with the Blangguan farmers, carried out an action to plant corn as a form of rejection of the corn fields

that were used as military training areas when the officers began to inspect the houses of residents one by one. Therefore, Winatra decided to get out of Blangguan by crawling along the cornfield towards the highway. Instead, they took a bus to Surabaya to take action in front of the East Java DPRD office. After that, all scattered to return to Yogyakarta. However, on their way to the Bungurasih terminal, the activists were arrested and then interrogated and tortured. Since then they have become the attention of intelligence and the authorities.

5. The Ban of Three Major Media

In the second week that we were in Padang, I called Utara Bayu from a public phone. Because we were certain that after the government's banning of several mass-media publications in 1994 the telephones at Tera were now bugged, I used the alias 'Ahmad Zein' when calling him, though he knew immediately from the sound of my voice who I really was. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 166)

The banning of the three major media on June 21st, 1994, resulted from the sharp criticism made by the media against the government, the three media, among others; Tempo Magazine, DeTik Tabloid, and Editor's Magazine. These media outlets were banned by Information Minister Harmoko because they contained critical reports about the New Order government. On June 21st, 1994, the ban was also the first point where protests were staged in various regions. Protests took place in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Padang, Semarang, Salatiga, Makassar, and various other places. This social condition shows anti-critical government. During the New Order regime, the media and society were prohibited from criticizing either written or orally. This is because the weakness of democracy at that time.

In Indonesia, during the New Order leadership, press freedom was very limited. Countless press organizations have been banned for being too harsh in criticizing various government policies. This happened because, during the New Order era, national political stability was crucial to support the national development process's smooth running, which was formulated and stipulated in the State Guidelines (Guidelines for State Policy). At the start of the New Order regime, Indonesia was promised openness and freedom of expression. At that time, the government had to make a recovery in all aspects, including the economic, political, social, cultural, and psychological aspects of the people. Indonesia is starting to rise little by little; even economic development is getting faster. However, it is very tragic for the press world in Indonesia. The press world, which should have rejoiced in welcoming freedom during the New Order era, is the opposite.

During the New Order era, all mass media publications were under government supervision, namely through the information department. If you want to stay alive, the mass media must report good things about the New Order government. It is as if the press is used as a government tool to maintain its power so that the press does not carry out its real function, namely as a supporter and defender of society. During the New Order era, the press council's function was ineffective; the press council was just a formality. The press council did not protect its fellow journalists but instead became the New Order government's subordinate.

The government began to carry out structural violence by paying attention to and suppressing the press. The factor that causes this is the existence of a non-cyclical pattern of interaction where the government, which initially promised the media to be free to provide information, was in fact limited because it preached the badness of the government during the New Order era, namely when the Malari incident occurred (Malapetaka 15 January 1974). In this event, there was a massive demonstration in Jakarta. This demonstration was triggered by the arrival of the Prime Minister of Japan, Tanaka. When viewed further, the action is rooted in public dissatisfaction with government policies in the social and economic fields. As a result of this incident many activists were arrested, and in the end it had an impact on the life of the press.

This factor forced the press to report good things about the New Order government. The press seems to be used as a government tool to maintain its power. So that the press cannot carry out its real function, which is to monitor the government's performance and channel the aspirations of the people. This suppression of the press lasted until the end of the power of the New Order government.

The pressure on the press was increasingly felt when the New Order government issued Law Number 21 of 1982 concerning the Principles of the Press. This law is an amendment to Law No. 11 of 1966. If Law No. 11 of 1966 does not regulate press issuance permits, then in Law No. 21 of 1982 press permits are actually regulated. This permit is known as the Press Publishing

Business License (SIUPP). SIUPP is issued by the Ministry of Information. The Ministry of Information and SIUPP were factors that hindered press freedom during the New Order era. Press companies were required to be in line with the policies of the new order government. If press companies were not in line with government policies or even criticize government policies, their SIUPP would be revoked (banned) by the Ministry of Information.

Even so, there were still many press companies that continued to criticize the new order government. Tempo, DeTik, and Editor were press companies that were banned by the New Order government even though the government had issued a new regulation on the press which resulted in them experiencing structural violence as well.

6. Monetary Crisis

I was right to have followed my feeling. When I returned to Jakarta, the city was tense, heated, and anxious. Though I knew of President Soeharto's change of cabinet members resulting from the Asian economic crisis and the demonstrations by students and political activists who were pressuring the government for reform (which the government itself deemed to be 'undermining'), witnessing at first hand the country's brewing political anger had a very different impact on my heart and soul.. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 194)

The data 6 explains how the social condition in the novel. The state of the continuing economic crisis made the President have to reshuffle his cabinet many times, but this did not produce any significant results. Coupled with the student demonstrations that continued to urge President to resign from his position, this also illustrates how chaotic the situation was at that time. Monetary crisis made many companies are forced to terminate their employees on the grounds that they are unable to pay wages. In addition, the government has difficulty closing the

APBN. The price of goods has risen quite high, so that people have difficulty getting basic necessities.

In Indonesia, the economic crisis or monetary crisis occurred in 1998. Starting in the 1997 - 1998 Asian financial crises, rupiah inflation and large increases in food prices caused chaos in Indonesia. The rupiah exchange rate was relatively stable before the crisis. Conducive economic conditions contributed positively to the relatively stable rupiah exchange rate. In addition, a stable inflation rate is one indicator that reinforces a good picture of the condition of the Indonesian economy. However, in terms of politics, Indonesia has faced problems related to principles.

Structural violence carried out by the Indonesian government during the next new order was the monetary crisis. This case is due to the congruence between system factor where the weakened Asian economic system had a major impact on the financial crisis in Indonesia that occurred in 1997-1998. This crisis first started on 2 July 1997 when Thailand declared its inability to pay its foreign debts. The collective action of the characteristics of the East Asian Tigers (Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and South Korea) then shapes the size of foreign currency borrowing, speculative investment in real estate and currency correction against the US dollar.

Another factor is the high rank coupling between levels. The point is, as a result of the economic turmoil that occurred in several countries, especially Asia, Indonesia experienced rupiah inflation and a large increase in food prices, causing

chaos in Indonesia. What is happening in Asia as a higher system level of structural violence has a negative impact on economic conditions in Indonesia as a smaller system. Therefore, in February 1998, President Soeharto fired the Governor of Bank Indonesia. Finally, the President was forced to resign on May 21, 1998. From here on, the Indonesian monetary crisis peaked.

7. President's Resignation and the Case of the Missing of 13 Activists

Several times, both Aswin and I visited Bram—who was still being held in Cipinang Prison and who was still firm in his belief that the thirteen desaparecidos who hadn't returned would reappear, one by one, all in time. But as of May 21, when President Soeharto stepped down from his position as president, there was still no sign them. Meanwhile, because the body public was both stunned and elated by the resignation of the country's decades-long strongman, the case of the thirteen missing activists began to fade from attention. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 211-212)

President's resignation from his presidency marks the beginning of a new era of Reformation. But some people who have lost friends continue to seek clarity about their whereabouts. However, until the President no longer held that position, 13 activists were never found. Many of them still hope that their friends can be found, whether alive or dead.

In Indonesia, at the end of the New Order regime's reign, 22 activists were kidnapped. Most of the critical Indonesians at that time urged the military apparatus to dare to take responsibility. However, to this day, there are still 13 activists in 1998 who do not know where the forest is. Many parties also urged the government to form a team to search for the 13 people formally. This team should gather information from the intelligence, military, and police so that it can be concluded factually how the situation is and where they are currently. To date, 13

activists who have been kidnapped and disappeared have been deliberately ignored by the judiciary. There is no accountability to them or the victim's family.

In the midst of a severe economic crisis and sharp opposition, on March 10, 1998, the MPR ratified Suharto as president for the seventh time. This time, Prof Ing BJ Habibie as vice president. On March 17, 1998, he donated all of his salary and benefits as president and asked other high-ranking officials to give up his basic salary for one year in the context of the monetary crisis.

Thus, the structural violence that occurred after the monetary crisis was a demand by the people for the President to resign from his position because he was unable to handle the existing problems. Structural violence this time was caused by a non-cyclical pattern of interaction. The president, who is expected to be able to protect his people from adversity, has even become the main cause of suffering for the Indonesian people. So, on May 1, 1998, the President stated that reforms would be prepared starting in 2003. When in Egypt on May 13, 1998, President Soeharto stated that he was willing to step down if the people wanted and would not defend his position by force of arms. Eleven ministers for the economy and industry (equin) of Development Cabinet VII resigned (20 May 1998). The monetary and economic crisis really undermined his leadership system. As a result, the President could not stay at the helm of the country's leadership.

Only 70 days after being reappointed as president for the seventh term, Suharto was forced to resign from his position as president. He stepped down on May 21, 1998. At 09.00 WIB (Western Indonesian Time). The television screen at that time broadcast live second by second the process of his resignation.

May 12-20 1998 became a very long period. However, during those times his power was increasingly eroded by various actions and events. Student action spread across the country. Thousands of students held rallies of concern in various places. Trisakti students, Jakarta held their action not far from their campus. Action participants began to leave the campus yard and enter the arterial road and intend to come to the MPR/DPR Building which is indeed very strategic. On the afternoon of May 12, 1998, news broadcasts were heard of the deaths of four Trisakti students.

8. Thursday Demonstration

This is why my parents never joined the 'Thursday Demonstrations' that took place every week in front of the State Palace, all with black umbrellas as a symbol of their question of what happened to the missing activists . (The Sea Speaks His Name, 257)

The social condition shown in the data 8 is the Thursday demonstration, where the demonstration aims to demand that the government thoroughly investigate the disappearance of 13 activists whose reports are not known, whether they are still being kidnapped or have been killed. The demonstrators were family members and relatives who had lost a family member. This shows the weakness of the government in handling these cases. Even though the President has stepped down from his post, the new leader cannot be expected to find the 13 missing activists.

In Indonesia, the Thursday demonstration had been held since January 18th 2007 and is still regularly held until now. The demonstrators came from the families of the victims, but many from sympathizers who also demanded that the government immediately resolve the cases of gross human rights violations.

However, until Indonesia has changed it seven times, the government still cannot investigate the case. Of course, this proves the government's weak performance in handling these internal cases. During the Jokowi administration, Thursday's actions were carried out in various ways, namely by carrying out a long march and writing to the president containing the demonstrators' demands in this case. Jokowi promised to solve this serious human rights violation case, but this case has not been resolved until now. In fact, this action was even more difficult and even prohibited by the government. The prohibited the Thursday Action because according to Law Number 9 of 1998, demonstrations must be 100 meters from the State Palace. This, of course, has further weakened the level of public trust in the government. The government's promise to solve this problem is seen as a false promise.

Structural violence experienced by the Indonesian people at this demonstration was due to the non-cyclical pattern of interaction. As what is stated by Galtung that there is the problem of what to do with the case of a constant gap. The parties grow together, at the same rate, but the gap between them is constant. The gap between government and the families victim are seen unequal. How could it not be, in the beginning, the Thursday demonstration was initiated by 3 families of victims of gross human rights violations, namely (1) Maria Katarina Sumarsih, parents of Bernardus Realino Norma Irmawan, one of the students who died in the Semanggi I Incident, (2) Suciwati, wife of the late human rights activist, Munir Said Thalib, and (3) Bedjo Untung, representatives of the families of victims of the killings,

massacres and detention without legal procedures against people suspected of being the organization banned by the government in 1965-1966.

Thrusday demonstration is a continuation of the existence of the Victims Solidarity Network for Justice (JSKK) in carrying out its program. The embodiment of Thrusday demonstration is more of a peaceful demonstration in the form of silent demonstrations accompanied by black umbrellas bearing the demands for settlement of cases. Thrusday demonstration was motivated by the government's attitude which increasingly ignored the settlement of human rights, especially Trisakti, Semanggi I and II.

The government as the institution authorized to resolve this case continues to remain silent in responding to cases of past human rights violations which then creates a domino effect in the form of an active attitude from the families of the victims in voicing their aspirations. This certainly shows an unyclical pattern of interaction where the victim's family continues to voice justice while the government does nothing and only promises to resolve the case. So there was structural violence that continues to this day with no progress in the investigation of this case.

B. Political Condition in the Novel and in Indonesia

The second is political aspect that shown in the novel and Indonesia. Political aspect is all the affairs or actions carried out by the government regarding the system, policy, regulations, and powers in a country.

1. Personal and Environmental Cleanliness Policy

I tried to control my voice as I told Bram and Kinan of when I came to learn about the government's so-called policy of 'Personal and Environmental Cleanliness,' the euphemistic term for a regulation barring former political prisoners and family members from working in the government, the military, or any public service position. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 23)

I'm thinking specifically about the time we invited Pak Razak, a former political prisoner, to talk to us about his experience both on Buru Island, where he was exiled for close to twenty years before being released and returned to Jakarta, and also his life after his return when he continued to be treated by the government as an enemy of the state. His wife, children, and siblings had been forced to change their names because of the difficulty they had finding jobs, all because they had a relative who had been a political prisoner. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 34-35)

Laut told Kinan and Bram that he heard the news that Mrs. Ami had been transferred to another city because her father was the organization banned by the government's member. The process of moving Mrs. Ami was due to a government's policy, namely Personal and Environmental Cleanliness, so that Mrs. Ami as the child of a former the organization banned by the government's member also felt the impact. On the other hand, Mr. Razak, a former Buru political prisoner, also explained how his life was after leaving a prisoner's status on Buru Island. Buru Island political prisoners are prisoners made for people who have been directly involved in the G30SPKI incident. After leaving the place, they still bear the label "Enemy of the State", which also affects their family members.

The political condition depicted in the novel shows how strict government policies were after the G30SPKI incident in 1965. One of the novel's policies is Personal and Environmental Cleanliness, where the policy aims to filter out people who have been involved in the past. In the events of 1965, it was prohibited to work in relation to the public. The people that were screened were not only those who had been directly involved in the incident but also those closest to the perpetrators, such as family members and siblings. The existence of

this policy certainly affects social conditions in society. Those who were not directly involved in the incident also felt the impact because there would be labels in society called "the organization banned by the government's families".

In Indonesia, the Personal and Environmental Cleanliness policy is a term coined by the New Order government to screen civil servant and TNI/ POLRI candidates, as well as to clean up the state apparatus whose relatives may have been involved in the organization banned by the government and its supporting organizations. This term was coined by the New Order after the G30SPKI events, especially after the South Blitar case in 1968, namely cleaning up the organization banned by the government's remnants and its sympathizers through Trisula Operation. This term is a political maneuver method to reduce any symptom of the movement against the regime, which has been increasingly under threat since 1968.

The New Order policies adopted during his reign were implemented systematically, for example, by developing anti-communism curricula for schools and universities. Anyone who wanted to become a civil servant or wanted to become a state official had to go through the military apparatus screening to ensure that they were not linked to the organization banned by the government. Many family members or descendants of communists lost their rights as citizens.

The structural violence happens in this case caused by linear position order. This can be seen from the policy that made by the government in order to filter citizen who have relation to the organization banned by the government. They will prohibit to work in relation to the public. The government as the highest

power holder easily makes regulations that can limit the behavior of its citizens. This of course creates an imbalance and even discrimination against certain citizens, who in this context have relations with the organization banned by the government.

2. Reform Era

The pain we feel is of the deepest kind; but I also want you to know, Laut, that Indonesia is different now. The government is trying to be more democratic. Maybe in terms of parliament and rule of law, the country has a lot of catching up to do; but, at the very least, after 'reformasi', elections are far different from before, with more than one person running for an office. Indonesia's press is now seen as a model of freedom compared to neighboring countries because media outlets here now have freedom to report whatever they want and to be as critical as they want.

Another challenge today is the massive amount of corruption. According to Alex, during New Order, Indonesia was like a big river whose surface was calm; there were no large waves, not the kinds you'd seen in a democracy because political parties had no real power; the law could be bought; the economy was in the hands of the rulers and their cronies; and the people lived in fear. Now we have become accustomed to chaos and commotion and a constant barrage of questions (some clever but some stupid) about the government's ability to do its job. (The Sea Speaks His Name, 286)

The data 2 shows political condition is indicated by the transition of government from the New Order era to the reform era. Many changes occurred at that time, including a stronger democratic system and the press's freedom to criticize the government. However, the changes that have occurred are not all going well, some things have even become very bad, including corruption that is getting out of control. This shows the government's unpreparedness is facing a new era, a new leader with all the new policies in place. People think that if the reform era is an era that only benefits the rulers, the law can be bought, and the economy belongs only to the upper-class.

In Indonesia, the transition period from the New Order era to the Reform era was a time of significant change. Reform is a change in the old life order with

a new life and legally leads to a good direction. People's lives have also changed with the changing patterns of government from the New Order to the reform era. These changes occur in various fields, including in political, economic, and socio-cultural life. This era is seen as the beginning of a period of democracy with open and liberal politics. In this new era, broad autonomy was then given to the regions and was no longer fully controlled by the Central Government (decentralization). The basis for this transition was formulated in a law approved by parliament and passed by the President of Indonesia in 1999, which called for the transfer of governmental power from the central government to local governments.

Non-cyclical interaction pattern is the factor of structural violence in this case. This is indicated by the transition from the New Order era to the Reform Era which created many gaps in injustice, which in this case was corruption. During this transitional period, many parties abused their authority and power, in this context is the government, by committing acts of corruption, collusion, and nepotism. Of course this is bad for the Indonesian people, especially the lower class people who have long struggled to change Indonesia for the better. In this case, the government and the bourgeoisie greatly benefited, because they were in full control after the fall of the previous president.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

After analyzing Chudori's *The Sea Speaks His Name* by using literary criticism through New Historicism approaches, the researcher comes to the next chapter which consists of a conclusion and suggestion. This part consists of a conclusion that deals with the analysis which has been done in the previous chapter. Thus, the researcher is also going to give suggestion related to this study for the readers, especially for the next researcher which use similar theory or subject as used in this study.

A. Conclusion

Based on the results of the structural violence analysis, which is violence that occurs due to inequality, especially in the distribution of power; some of elements of society experience structural violence, such as college students, lower-class society, and people related to the organization banned by the government. The structural violence experienced by the society has resulted in psychological torture. They feel fear and misery in living the life. The structural violence that occurred in the story was also driven by socio and political injustice. Some policies had resulted in misery and poverty for the lower-class society. Linear ranking order, Acyclical interaction pattern, and correlation between positions become the dominant factor to reveal the form of structural violence in the novel *The Sea Speaks His Name*.

While based on the results of the New Historicism analysis on the socio-political condition in the novel and Indonesia, there are many similarities between the events that occurred in the novel and the original events in Indonesia. This shows that Leila S. Chudori's novel *The Sea Speaks His Name* is a work that contains historical facts. Many events and circumstances depict real events at that time. The socio-political conditions in the novel describe the strictness of government regulations. There are many things that were prohibited during the New Order regime, including criticizing the government, having books by forbidden figures, such as Tan Malaka, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Karl Marx, and openly discussed these books, this shows that the government made its citizen be afraid and absolutely can cause misery in society.

B. Suggestion

The researcher hopes that through this thesis, the researcher can contribute and help the other researchers who want to propose similar research especially in a study of New Historicism. The researcher also hopes that this study can inspire the next researchers in doing the New Historicism analysis in literary work. For those who want to do a New Historicism analysis, this study could be used as a study reference. Afterward, the researcher realizes that this thesis may be far from being perfect. The researcher still needs comment and criticism to make this research becomes better.

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CURRICULUM VITAE



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