

The Discourse of Losers in Indonesian Dramas: A Social Representation of Indonesian Vulnerable Society in 1900-2000s

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to reveal the reinterpretation and representation of underdog society phenomena, i.e. losers, marginalized, vulnerable to oppression and injustice in Indonesian dramas in 1900 to 2000s. There are 16 dramas which become subject of this study, whose creation time spans from 1912 to 2008. This paper also wants to find out the ideologies contained in the dramas, which causes the various parties to be the losers. In the process, the paper will elaborate the mechanisms of ideological negotiation and consensus in the drama text, related to the social problems of society as the context of drama's creation, especially in the pre-independence/Old Order, New Order, and Reformation periods. The theory used as the foundation of writing is Gramsci's hegemonic theory that lies in the sociology of literature that includes society in literary perspective. The method used to discuss the dramas that represent these vulnerable societies is qualitative methods. Qualitative method is a way of research work that produces descriptive data in the form of words written or spoken by people, behavior, or data observed by researchers. Sources of writing data are dramas as literary works whose formal data are word, sentence, and discourse. The data are words, authors' descriptions, dialogues between characters, character's action, play instructions, and other data contained in the dramas.

Keywords: *Indonesian drama; Sociology of Literature; New Order; Gramsci; Hegemony.*

Introduction

In *Theory of Literature*, Wellek and Warren stated that literature generally presents a picture of life. Life in literary works mostly composed from social reality (1989: 109). Therefore, the presence of literary works in society can be viewed as a social cultural document. The discourses and facts in a story developed in literature works always have close relation with social elements in certain times (Junus, 1986: 3-4). The relation between facts in a story both inside and outside literary works does not only apply in canon literature works, but also universally applies at other literary works, including genre of drama.

Drama is one of the literature genre that are able to live up to the author's perspective on social, politics, cultural, and economic phenomena that occurred, encountered, and perceived

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by the author, readers, and audiences. It happens because drama text is not only limited to concept and verbal symbols which is a part of word universe (a verbal world) as found in poem and novel, but also contains a universe that seems to be visible (visual), audible, and even felt (tangible) (Soemanto, 2001: 6).

The development of Indonesian drama has gone through a long history. *Bebasari*, written by Roestam Effendi and published by Balai Pustaka 1926, in fact was not the first drama work in Indonesia. In 1906, a Malay opera named *Komedi Stamboel* has previously been established in Surabaya. However, according to some existing records, before this opera was born, in the midst of society there has been a troupe of performers known as *Langendriya* troupe, a sort of Javanese opera play. Besides, there was another troupe of performers named *Abdoel Moeloek*, a Malay opera play originated from Johor, Malaysia. Tio Tik Djien, an ethnic Chinese performing arts figures, built a theater group called *Orion*. Moreover, Darnadella and Opera Derma group also emerged in that period. Only around 60 drama texts published before independence war that were managed to be saved in the form of manuscripts and micro films at KITLV Leiden library, Jakarta National Library (*Perpustakaan Nasional Jakarta*), Jakarta National Archive (*Arsip Nasional Jakarta*), the heirs, and some collectors. Some of the classic dramas are *Cerita Ang Tiauw Soen* (1912), *Cerita Satu Ibu Tiri yang Pinter Ajar Anak* (1917), Kwee Tek Hoay's *Allah yang Palsu* (1919), and Lim Kim Hok's *Pembalasan Siti Akbari* (1922), and so forth.

Next, drama in Indonesia was then growing rapidly. Among the best-known playwright in Indonesia are Utuy Tatang Sontany, Putu Wijaya, Arifin C.Noer, Rendra, Wisran Hadi, dan N. Riantiarno. Their works generally very critical and give an attention to low-class society. Hence, majority of their works reflect and present the low-class society. As for the meaning of representation, it is the process when a meaning is produced and exchanged among the community members (Hall, 2003: 17). Therefore, their dramas usually offer one representation about low-class society which is live presented in text or during the show.

Based on that fact, this paper aims to further examine the discourse that represent low-class society, underdog, marginalized, and losers in drama. The community is a group who are vulnerable to oppression and injustice in Indonesian dramas between 1900-2000s.

There are 16 dramas which become the subject of the study, which was created from the year 1912 to 2008. They are; Malay Chinese drama text *Ang Tiauw Soen* (1912), Victor Ido's *Karina Adinda* (1913), *Cerita Satu Ibu Tiri yang Pinter Ajar Anak* (1917), Kwee Tek Hoay's *Allah yang Palsu* (1919), Lim Kim Hok's *Pembalasan Siti Akbari* (1922), W. S. Rendra's *Perjuangan Suku Naga* (1985), Riantiarno's *Opera Sembelit* (1998), *Empat Sandiwara Orang Melayu* (contain Wisran Hadi's 4 dramas), Arifin C. Noer's *Orkes Madun IV atawa Lakon Umang-Umang*, *Trilogi Opera Kecoa* (Riantiarno's *Opera Kecoa*, *Opera Julini*, *Bom Waktu*), and Ayu Utami's *Sidang Susila* (2008).

Methodology of Research

The theory used in this research is Gramsci's hegemony theory which embraces the sociology of literature that includes society in literary perspectives. The starting point of Gramsci's concept about hegemony is the existence of a class system. In that classes the members implement power against the power underneath, either by violence or by persuasion (Simon, 2004: 19-20). Hegemony is a relation between class and other society power. Hegemonic class or hegemonic class group is the approved class from other power and social class in a way to

create and maintain alliance system by political and ideological fights (Simon, 2004: 22). In this corridor, the losers in dramas who are the object of the study will be traced.

The method used to examine dramas that represent vulnerable society is qualitative method. Qualitative method is a way of research works which produces descriptive data in the form of written or oral words of the persons, behaviors, or data observed by the researcher (Bogdan dan Taylor, 1975:13).

Findings of The Study

The Discourse of the Losers in Indonesian Dramas at 1900-2000s

From the 1900s until the 2000s, Indonesian dramas clearly illustrate hegemony process, domination, and negotiation between social classes. It creates the presence of the dominant party and the society that is repressed. Groups or people are said to lose to the process of hegemony that can occur through several processes. Therefore, they are also classified according to the condition and position of defeat.

First, they are said to lose because of ideological and political hegemony. Their desires and needs indeed seemed accommodated, on condition that they are not contradictory with dominant ideology. This group is actually a group that seems to emerge as a winner, but instead lost when the condition is a total hegemony. They are very vulnerable, especially if there is an inevitable shift of ideology and dynamics; and it will definitely happen. Secondly, the groups that can minimize defeat by accepting certain negotiations. That is, they actually lose both hegemony and domination, but just not total. They can also be considered oppose, but still within 'reasonable' limits. Third, they are not hegemony but lose domination. They can be jailed, ostracized, became minority, and even considered as country/kingdom enemy, but they are ideologically free.

In the corridor of any defeat and mechanism, characters in the dramas will be analyzed. Of course, in the case and depth of diverse ideologies, which will be described in the beginning. To find the specification of the cases, first of all it is important to map what kind of ideologies and classes in that dramas. Then, it can be reviewed further, position, how far and in the realm of what the characters in the drama experienced defeat.

Last, how the defeat and ideological, hegemonic and dominative processes that cause it in the drama are attributed to the external realm where the drama is written and accepted by society.

The Losers in Early Indonesia Dramas

At the beginning of development of drama writing in Dutch East Indies, drama has several names, i.e. *lelakon* (play), comedy, and *toonelstuk*. The term of drama at that time has not been widely used, and comedy does not mean witty drama although in *Komedi Stamboel* there is always an element that makes the audience laugh, by the appearance of funny figures. In that time, many societal groups which each have a large number of types of oral performances. One of them are Peranakan Chinese society. They have an importance contribution in the development of modern drama in Indonesia. They have multiple roles, such as capital owners, group leader, playwrights, and actor. Their role is enormous in animating theater in Indonesia.

The drama texts made by Chinese society generally tells about Chinese society's live complete with criticisms of behavioral patterns of certain groups of people who are seen as less genuine. Their texts also contain education about the values that should be run by the people. Furthermore, their themes of drama usually discuss worship of excessive money, the danger of prostitution, the danger of gambling, how to educate children properly, and so on.

The dramas written by Chinese society in Dutch colonial era became an important medium to express the aspirations and struggles of their authors to photograph the socio-political conditions that occurred at that time. The social stratum of the Dutch colonial had scored the Chinese as intermediaries or links between the Dutch and the natives (*inlander*) for the sake of colonization.

Based on the consideration of the social facts above, there are five Peranakan Chinese's dramas that will be traced, i.e. anonymous' *Cerita Ang Tiauwo Soen* (1912), Victor Ido's *Karina Adinda* (1913), *Cerita Satu Ibu Tiri yang Pintar Ajar Anak* (1917) who also anonymous', Kwee Tek Hoay's *Allah yang Palsu* (1919), and Lim Kim Hok's *Pembalasan Siti Akbari* (1922). Based on creation times, the dramas recorded the Indonesian life in the latter half of Dutch colonialism. As for the interesting thing, out of the five dramas, only one tells the relationship of its characters with Dutch colonialism, while other dramas tells more about social situation due to colonialism, especially in the economic aspect.

Cerita Ang Tiauwo Soen (1912) narrates a man named Ang Tiauwo Soen who already has a wife and a daughter named Soan Nio. Due to his inability to meet the household needs, Ang Tiauwo Soen decided to migrate to Padang and leave his wife and children for a while in Java. Ang Tiauwo Soen works daily taking care of the garden and sells the products in the market. He lives like that for several years with no more money for a better life. The earnings is just enough for daily consumption.

Capitalism ideology, then appears in this drama. The drama indirectly describes capitalism at that time as the cause of poor and unemployed people. These people in the drama are told that they will eventually find a way out for a better life. Ang Tiew Soen is a figure defeated by capitalism.

The fight of ideology is also dominant in *Allah yang Palsu*. This drama tells about the journey of siblings' lives, Tan Kioe Lie and Tan Kioe Gie, who are struggling to improve the welfare of their family. Both of them are son of Tan Lauw Pe, a poor farmer in Cicuruk village. Although they have same purpose, their idealism and the way they realize it are very much against each other. Kioe Lie considered by his little brother believe at "Fake God" because his desire to pursue wealth. Meanwhile, Kioe Gie's character described not only pursuing wealth, but also told often use his money for charity. This figure also does not even feel sorry when he has to give up the work as journalist as long as living in accordance with the conscience. The idealist must be subdued and defeated by the capitalist economic system.

Defeat in economy aspect continues in *Cerita Satu Ibu Tiri yang Pintar Ajar Anak* (1917). The main character is a woman, Ho Koan Nio, who tries to raise her two children after her husband's death. This stepmother character not only struggling against economic hardship but also against patriarchal culture in the environment. The character has a potential to become a loser when faced with cultures that place women as creatures after men. Ho Koan Nio's character is in some ways has the same strength as Barbara in Lim Kim Hok's *Pembalasan Siti Akbari* (1922). Barbara's name is actually a pseudonym of the character Siti Akbari. This drama narrates Siti Akbari is a woman who disguises as a man and changes her name as Barbara. Siti Akbari is a princess from Barbari. Siti Akbari disguises as a man because she

wants to avenge the crimes of Sultan Hindian. Sultan Hindian has made Siti Akbari's father, Sultan Abdul Mukari, becomes a prisoner.

Next, fights against patriarchal hegemony also appears in *Karina Adinda*. The difference, if on the two dramas above, fights of Hoa Koan Nio and Barbara can be said successful, in this drama Karina Adinda must accept her defeat. She finally married to person under arranged marriage. Westernized Karina Adinda, not only lost to Dutch hegemony, but also patriarchy in her own family.

It can be briefly concluded that in the early Indonesian dramas emerge the defeats in economic dimensions, patriarchy, and colonialism. Meanwhile, in the dramas after Indonesian independence, defeat can come in broader dimensions again.

The Losers in Indonesia Dramas in New Order Era

In New Order, art works, including drama, get strict and privileged supervision from the government. In that time, there is a concern from Soeharto regime, that literature, can enlightening, inspiring, and motivating people to against government. The government repression makes artists and authors cannot express their idea freely. The condition of restraint is also often criticized by artists and authors through their works. Faced with the situation, eventually artists and authors use various literary strategies to convey their ideas and criticisms. For example, by moving the background story to places far from power, or into the past that has nothing to do with the conditions of government during the New Order when the text was written. The playwright who often does this strategy is Wisran Hadi. The dramas are compiled in the collection *Empat Sandiwara Orang Melayu* (Bandung: Angkasa, 2000), one of the best dramas which use background literacy strategy. The staging of all four dramas is rewarded, as well as the widespread controversy of society. In general, the response occurred because Wisran Hadi was considered to have deviated from tradition, harassing myths, figures, or historical events believed to be true by certain ethnic communities. It is interesting, however, that as the new work results from the old texts, the work has created tension between old and new conventions, values, and aesthetics in society.

Related to this paper, the four dramas also talk about losers. In these four dramas of Wisran Hadi's work, there are more abstract dimensions related to the losers. They are in a state of identity search, self-purification, patriarchal culture, feudalism, and materialism. Some character are invincible when uprooted from the roots of the nation and its culture. Others are invincible when they are subordinate to the power of other groups. Also on the people who have always been the victims of the ruling desire, or the women who always sacrificed men.

Wisran Hadi's *Senandung Semenanjung* (next abbreviated as *SS*) who in 1985 won the Script Writing Contest Indonesia held by the Jakarta Arts Council (Dewan Kesenian Jakarta). In *SS*, society are grouped in certain classes. The class here refers to a group of people in certain positions, with similar characteristics, having a uniform view of life as well. The similarity is determined primarily by the reach of the same infrastructure, such as employment and capital ownership. This class is more easily identifiable because the whole drama is set in the royal life, with a feudal ideological style, which further confirms the differences of the classes. *SS* drama tells about Malay Kingdom in the heyday of Hang Tuah and Hang Jebat.

This main story of the drama lies on how each side, with its ideology and perspective, strives to emphasize its desires. The king in the drama is told to begin to lose the power of hegemony and even his domination when the throne was seized by Hang Jebat. While the Datuk

and Patih representing the noble class also try to use who and whatever means to secure his position, while Hang Tuah who is loyal to the kingdom has long been removed. People in this condition are in confusion and the ultimate losers.

The people who are in the king's class and his family in this drama, as well as the other three dramas, adhered to feudalism. This concept is the root cause of this drama, especially with regard to the struggle and who is worthy or unfit for power. In the *SS*, the idea was even successfully hegemonized to the people, thus further legitimizing the difference between the king and the people in various aspects of life. Consider the following conversation.

SOMEONE: The king has no crown.
 SOMEONE: Because the King is no longer in the Palace.
 SOMEONE: Where else do we worship and ask.
 SOMEONE: Ah! It is not worth the king's seat to sit on.
 SOMEONE: Lost the crown, lost our pride.

(*SS*, 2000: 9)

From the excerpt above, clearly illustrated, how not everyone can be king. Only certain offspring, only people with certain fates and abilities. Even if the person has a skill, if he is not a descendant of the king, then it is almost impossible. The people themselves are depicted in the drama that will be opposed. In addition, the pride of the people is placed on the greatness of the people. It is because the people themselves feel they cannot and do not deserve to be a great man. The idea that penetrates deeply into people's minds is the result of a hegemonic process, which will be explained in the next section. Thus, it is depicted that the ideology of feudalism is not only held by the king, but even the people.

In line with feudalism, the description of the life of almost all society level in the four dramas are also nurtured by such a powerful patriarchal idea. Female figures are difficult to speak freely, let alone express opinions about the problems of the kingdom. Women are also positioned on non-dominant roles, such as ladies, singers, strangers, contested men for the throne or power and so on. Nevertheless, the things that discredited the woman are exposed to the surface in the intention to reject it. Thus, there are emancipatory efforts against women that Wisran Hadi carried in his dramas.

Dara Jingga (hereinafter referred to in *DJ* abbreviation) is the second drama of Wisran Hadi in the anthology of the *Empat Sandiwara Orang Melayu* written in 1984. This drama has a close intertextual relationship with the myth of Bundo Kanduang or the figure of Dara Jingga which is very synonymous with folklore about the origin of Minangkabau which is believed to be part of the ancestor's historical journey on building cultural civilization of Minangkabau society. The myth of the Dara Jingga called Minang society Bundo Kanduang is very closely related to the history of cultural contacts of Java and Minang in the past.

In the drama *DJ* conflict occurs when there is a disagreement of who is more worthy of being the king between Dara Petak and Dara Jingga. Both are kings, but the people and the *patih* and *dubalang* have different opinions. As for some portrayed the importance of age and experience, others are concerned with the ability (Hadi, 2000: 112). This shows the feudal ideology that is still so high associated with the offspring of who is more powerful, even able to change the fate of life, and also determine who can deal with them.

In addition to the people, the story above also implies the losers, which is very important position, namely the two daughters, Dara Petak and Dewa Jingga. Delivering them to Java to save the royal dignity and to establish cooperation with the kingdom of Majapahit which have succeeded invading Sumatra is very dehumanizing their own. It is told that after they disappeared and taken to Java, the king of Singosari sent a statue as a gift. The departure of two daughters, a king's son, a man, is reciprocated with statues, which are inanimate objects. This is the most obvious dehumanization symbol. Notice the fragment below.

DUBALANG COMES WITH 12 KAMBANG AND LADY-IN-WAITING BRING EACH STATUE

DUBALANG: Arca Amogapasha! This is a gift from King Sri Kertanegara. Presented to Tribuanaraja Mauliwarmadewa. The statue of Amogapasha along with its 12 statues accompanying it as a sign of the king's joy over the relationship that has existed between Java and Darmasyraya Land.

TUMANGGUNG: Gift? Just Suri Marajo Dirajo died, they reveled and sent statues!

PANGULU: But Dara Petak and Dara Jingga had no news.

DATUK: He thinks two virgins can be replaced with twelve statues!

TUMANGGUNG: Our living decoration is not a statue, not a stone! Pangulu. Break those stones!

(DJ, 2000: 132—133)

Third drama in this tetralogy is *Gading Cempaka* (GC) written in 1993 and won the Indonesian Drama Script Writing Contest organized by the Jakarta Arts Council in 1998. The drama consists of four chapters. Gading Cempaka figure is a legendary figure and a myth believed by Bengkulu and West Sumatra people. Like the previous drama, this drama is also set in royal life with political issues, dominant identity, and power. Therefore, the hegemonic mechanisms associated with power retention are still a determinant process in creating losing groups or communities.

Like other feudal societies, the society in GC is also divided into classes, ie between the Queen's family as King of Bengkulu Kingdom, then the royal *hulubalang*, and the classes represented by the host, dancers and musicians. The later characteristics are also derivatives of the ideology. For example, the idea of the king as the most important, the highest of his power, comes from the selected offspring and pure blood still held tightly by almost all of its characters. In this drama, most pages tell about debates and conversations between people from the Pasirah I and IV groups plus the party of the Pagaruyung king, about who is entitled to become king in the Kingdom of Bengkulu after the death of Queen Agung (Hadi, 2000: 192-206). This is not to mention the debate between siblings, Anak Dalam and Putri Gading Cempaka also about who is eligible to be king. All attempts and confusions therefore prove that all parties want to be king, because, in their assumption, the king is in addition to power, he is the highest and will be exalted in all things. There is not one aspect that can equate the king with another. This is the deepest core of feudalism presented in the drama.

If in the previous drama, the power struggles took place between the empires, then in the *GC* struggle is done between one tribe and another tribe who seeks to become a legitimate group as a descendant of kings. It is told that daughter of Gading Cempaka departs from her own kingdom to bury his father's body, king of Bengkulu Kingdom. As long as she goes away, there is a power struggle among the nobles who inhabited the kingdom. The seizure then mediated by the king of the Pagaruyung kingdom, who in the process later became king in Bengkulu. Instead of thinking about how to lead a good empire, they are actually announcing rules regarding obligations and fines that all end up in material. From the quotation above, it is clear how all measured with matter. Thus, the struggle for power, the desire for power is driven by a great materialist motive. The control of regions and natural resources and regulations made are all measured and based on material ownership. So the idea of materialism also still appears in this drama.

The feudal ideology in the three dramas above culminates in the final drama of Cindua Mato (*CM*). The plot is composed of the core issues of different attitudes and views between Dang Tuanku and Cindua Mato on love, power and state; obsession (about the origin of descendants) and Cindua Mato's disgust with the hypocrisy that occurred in the palace (including what the Bek Ampek Balai did); and finally the tragic fate experienced by Cindua Mato. Despite successfully defeating the Tiang Bungkok (in the *dendang*) and ruling the empire, Puti Bungsu prefers Dang Tuanku who is coward and runs away from the palace with Bundo Kandung rather than nursing and raising her own child (Esten, 1999: 56).

Throughout the theatrical texts it can be said that the source of the conflict is the Puti Bungsu, the reason behind Cindua Mato and Dang Tuanku argument. Puti Bungsu also causes Cindua Mato's trial by Basa Ampek Balai. Because of her Dang Tuanku is always suspicious of (his brother) Cindua Mato. Because of her, Pagaruyung attacked by Imbang Jayo and then by the Tiang Bungkok. Because of her Dang Tuanku and Bundo Kandung fled (with Puti Bungsu herself) because of the threat of the Tiang Bungkok. She also causes Cindua Mato to face tragical fate and to go somewhere unknown at the end of the play. Puti herself never appears in the play script.

Puti's character is a source of conflict, but the problem that puts forward is not her. As in this drama a number of questions do exist about her, but the question seems to be not the case. For example, the question of why she would be married to Imbang Jaya and then easily also run to Cidua Mato; why would she run away with Dang Tuanku and leave her son with Cindua Mato; the extent of her love for Dang Tuanku and whether the character also loves Cindua Mato. The answer to these questions in the drama is considered unimportant.

The important thing of this drama is when his relationship with Puti Bungsu revealed: the attitude and character of Dang Tuanku, the guise of Bundo Kandung, the passion and ambition of Cindua Mato, and the arrogance of the palace officials (Basa Ampek Balai). Puti Bungsu is just the explosive axis of all the problems that existed earlier in this drama.

The various conflicts and problems above lead to a character or identity confronted with the reality of life around the kingdom, which intersects with power. Going back to the initial talk, if speaking power, then the talk will be about ideology and hegemony. Still like the previous drama, feudal ideology is so dominant in *CM*. This is reflected in the class hierarchy of society divided between Dang Tuanku groups, Dubalang and Datuk groups and lady-in-waiting (*CM*, 2000: 256).

Moreover, the deepest core of feudalism that consistently criticized by Wisran culminated in this *CM* drama. It is visible when Dang Tuanku know his future wife who has

been arranged since childhood, Puti Bungsu, to be married with Imbang Jaya, triggers his anger. It does not matter that Rajo Mudo, the father of Puti Bungsu, is his *Mamak*. He also draws a sword symbolizes a war. The anger is not just a cancellation of that promise, but that the future husband of Puti Bungsu is also the crown prince of the Tiang Bungkok from the Sungai Ngiang (*CM*, 2000: 259). Meaning that he is rivaled, he is defeated, by another crown prince. In fact, according to him, there is no position higher than him. Even Dang Tuanku does not want to listen to Bundo Kandang and Bek Ampek Balai as advisory council. Implicitly, it will show how unconscious feudalism can be traced through its inherent characteristics, such as authoritarian, arrogant, close relationship, and later attitudes such as collusion and nepotism.

Furthermore, in *CM*, the position of women associated with the power web is also increasingly cornered and has no meaningful position other than present as a plot of storyline. Wisran Hadi's efforts to emancipate female characters are still weak, vague, and ultimately nonetheless unsuccessful. The image of patriarchy is still so strong, even in the women themselves, especially those who are just grassroots or servants. In this case, the inferiority within the ideology of feudalism, penetrates into women and makes them automatically, inferiorly in the presence of men. Both ideologies, in the case of the Wisran Hadi drama, support each other's position.

If in the dramas of Wisran Hadi, the struggle for power and feudalism is so strong as a critique of the New Order's power, then in the following dramas, the story of a vulnerable minority takes precedence. Rendra's dramas, Nano Riantiaro's and Arifin C. Noer's are dramas of the people. Stories are sourced from the losers, not the defeated ones.

The first drama is *Kisah Perjuangan Suku Naga* (hereinafter abbreviated as *KPSN*) which is the work of Rendra. The play, written in the 70s, is full of social and political criticisms of New Order government policies that tend to be capitalistic and ignore local wisdom. In this realist drama Rendra stirs the Indonesian people's care towards the Naga Tribe in West Java as the conservation of the environment through their cultural wisdom. However, after Rendra's work there is no other canon drama work that explores the same idea. Social and political issues are more likely to steal the attention and interest of Indonesian play writers at that time than environmental issues.

KPSN is a noble story of a group of people who still maintain purity and preserve the natural surroundings of all forms of exploitation of its rulers who quibble following the flow of globalization. The following dialogue quote shows one of the characters of this story, Abisavam, who strongly maintains the cultural values that exist in his village. The introduction of this figure is in the prologue of this drama.

Abisavam: Me, Abisavam, the leader of your tribe

Will maintain the understanding

That's for the sake of our survival intact

All. You see what you have

Happened in people's village

Ksriman tribe.

Two thirds of their land

They are already selling to city people.
 Consequently: each time the harvest,
 The results are abundant, up to threefold
 Their basic needs,
 But they still lack of food.
 This happens because most of the harvest is not theirs, but belongs
 to the people of the city.
 While they are only paid
 As a worker, with insufficient salary
 For a year's meal that is why in this village, the land must
 be returned to the village.
 Must not be sold to others.----- in other words: the land is
 Basic needs of one village community.
 Therefore ownership of the land should be regulated and
 supervised by the villagers concerned.

(KPSN: p.16)

The text seems to remind the reader and his audience that the noble values contained in a particular local cultural community are worthy of defending as local wisdom, Abisavam is a chieftain who is boldly opposed to strongly criticizing and even criticizing the underestimated order. The criticized order is depicted in force in the neighboring village. Although in the name of modernization will lead to progress, but the Naga tribe community still maintain the preservation of nature and culture contained in it. Abisavam wants eternal survival for all of his village community. No shortage and no burden on anyone's life.

If the *KPSN* drama is struggling on how a group of Naga tribe seeks to maintain the purity and environmental sustainability which means avoiding the defeat and submission to the exploitation of the rulers who quibble following the flow of globalization, the drama of *Opera Sembelit* by Nano Riantiarno, no figures can attempt to free him. Almost all of its characters are in unbeatable condition, in various dimensions. The characters are told not only poor but also constrained, unable to speak freely. They are organized and utilized. Furthermore, they fall victim to the interests of the elite.

Similar problems appear in the *Orkes Madun IV: Lakang Umang-U mang* (1989) by Arifin C. Noer and *Trilogi Opera Kecoa* by Nano Riantiarno. The problem depicted in the *Opera Sembelit* drama reached the pinnacle of the drama, and two dramas that describe the final conditions of the losers.

Orkes Madun IV: Lakon Umang-U mang by Arifin C. Noer tells the life of a group of robbers who are in despair because their leader is seriously ill. In addition, they also have to play cat and mouse with the police, the prophets as a representative of the moralists, and people in their neighborhood who also need protection and livelihood. Marauder is their destiny. Since childhood, they have been trained to steal and rob. That is, they are poor from the first. The

environment does not bring them to a better life. They are trapped in such a way of life, and can only survive by being robbers. Notice the following quotation.

WASKA

You are strong like a machete. But you are also beautiful as dawn. You are my machete and my dawn. How long have you been a mugger?

RANGGONG

Precisely I have forgotten, Waska. As I recall after elementary school I have started to steal small and now I am over forty years old

WASKA

Prison experience?

RANGGONG

Three times three places

WASKA

You are a senior, Ranggong. And that means you can take on a bigger role in my dreams. Married?

RANGGONG

No, Waska, like you too.

WASKA

Perfect. You are second person after Borok. Just like my dreams. Yes, yes. You and Borok are like right hand and left hand like bow and arrow, complete.

(OM, 1989: 7)

By being robbers, many things and phases in life that they do not pass. As well as Waska and Ranggong who choose to not married. Their lives are also hard and vulnerable. Prisons are like second homes where they often go in and out. This condition triggers despair. In the midst of the despair, the leader named Waska, is working out a big plot of robbery, which can guarantee their lives some time to come.

What is described by *Orkes Madun IV* above is the final condition of the losers. Their despair and desire to die is the culmination of all the defeats that plagued them. People like Waska and his men are so vulnerable to the dangers of life without protection, socially morally set aside, even they cannot hope to die. They become defeated by being neglected by the various parties who should be responsible for their lives, the state and its leaders. Thus, the defeat suffered by society or certain social groups is not always caused by their own behavior, but also because of the surrounding environment behavior.

Similarly, what happened to the story of the *Trilogi Opera Keco* (TOK) by Nano Riantiaro. This trilogy consists of *Bom Waktu* dramas, *Opera Keco*, and *Opera Julini*. The

drama written by Riantiarno in the 80s is a drama which performances are often banned by security forces at that time because it is considered "dangerous". All three dramas are sharp criticism to social phenomena during the New Order era. Lower class/periphery/underdogs are depicted very vulnerable to the collision of ideology and repression of social and political systems built in the New Order period. For example, in the *Bom Waktu* drama featuring marginal community figures, such as sissy lovers, prima donna prostitutes, village youths who are always dreaming about the future, crazy people, night singers, and village farmers who seek fortune in the city.

The dynamic life of characters in the drama which take place under the bridge of the capital city are always eliminated. They could only stare at the moon, looking at the glamor from behind the shop window. Friction and ideological battles frequently happen between evicting officers, *hansip*, police, sub-district heads, who are representatives of the authorities.

In *Opera Kecoa*, Riantiarno seems want to continue the romanticism of marginal people more or less the same, but with the dynamics of humanitarian problems they face increasingly complex and dive in the daily lives of these vulnerable people. The drama features Julini, Tarsih, Roima, and several other figures such as Tuminah, si Kumis (head bandit), the transvestites, the security guard, and the government.

Furthermore, in the end of this drama trilogy, Opera Julini, described that after Juli dies, the question of identity is still questioned in her life after death. Old figures such as Roima, transvestites, bandits, officials also experienced various humanitarian problems and social problems typical of the lower classes who are increasingly diverse and interesting.

The characters above, almost entirely can be regarded as the losers. The cause of their defeat is the system of the larger environment, call it state, which is chaotic or not going well. Therefore, the rights and obligations of the people are not balanced, justice is out of reach, and violence is increasingly rampant. This bad system raising into concrete problems that make certain parties, especially the small people, lose money. Problems that appear in *TOK*, among others, the problem of corruption, neglect of the lower classes, and a wide disparity between the lower and upper classes.

The problem of corruption appears in the text when the scene of officials and foreign guest meet and discuss. Narrated in the drama, as the little people struggle to find a life, officials and foreign guests discuss strategies for corruption and people's money. They use public money commonly used for the basic food subsidies described for the construction of monuments. It makes the figure of the upper classes in the drama prioritizing business and prestige rather than the fate of grassroot.

Lower class neglect raised by the author from the beginning of the second half, when Roima comes on stage carrying Julini's body. Roima shouts that their fate as margins has thrown Julini into 'gutter'. In the opening of the second round of *TOK* it appears that the author wants to tell also about disparity among the lower and upper classes as one of the dominant problems in the play.

The Discourse of Losers in Post-New Order Dramas

For the dramas in the post-New Order period, the writer took one example, the Sidang Susila drama by Ayu Utami. This drama was written in response to the permission of the APP Bill in Indonesia. In the drama there are some representatives of the parties who are harmed by the APP Bill. This is because in its application by the state, the draft law on APP is deemed not to

give justice to certain segments of society and to oppose universal humanitarian values. Whatever its interests, anything that is sexual is prohibited. Sexually written writings are categorized as pornographic. In an attempt to defy the condition, Ayu Utami, through the characters in his drama, reveals opposition and counter-ideas for a review of the rules.

The main character of this drama is Susila Parna. He is typical of a man in his 40s and is from a lower class (SS, 2008: 2). Susila Parna has a character filled with humor. Everything Susila Parna talks about and does is often associated with sexually or satire humor against rulers and the state as a form of protest representing the lower classes.

SUSILA: My name is Susila. Actually Susilo. But later supposedly satirical. Susilo ... Susilo Parno. That's my name. Alright. So Susila. Susila Parna. Like the Sundanese. Yes, nothing. The poor guy really. Have to relent. Minor minority is minor, to? Even though my body is big, I am a small person. Have to give in. (SS 2008: 16)

Susila Parna: A typical lower-class man who gets fat because of the low-cost diet: fried, fried, and fried. His life was difficult and he was forced to deal with it with a simple mind. Talk is sometimes tangled and almost always associated with sex. His job is a street vendor, selling children's toys and adult's toys.

(SS, 2008: 3)

Starting from a character full of humor and satire, Susila deals with the country. It is deemed to have violated moral norms and is subject to the articles of APP Law because of actions that are not intended to be sexually harassed. He is then arrested, put in jail and tortured. Physical torture received by Susila has the potential to cause mental degradation. However, the opposite is true. The more he is tortured, Susila increasingly find the determination and courage to be more critical. The physique can be weak against many hegemonic and dominant forms, but not with the mind. This situation appears in the following quotation.

SUSILA (CONSCIOUSLY THAT HE FACE-TO-FACE WITH POLICE, BECOME NERVOUS):

Please! Please, sir! Don't hit! I am not a thief, not raping, not randomize, not ruffling ass ... I am just selling! Really, sir! Forgive me. I am just a living. I am a sales person. I am a foot traderfive.

(SS, 2008: 13)

SUSILA:

Please, sir! You have two legs, but you have a gun. Tassel gun! I do not get shot, sir. Forgive me. Forgive me.

(SS, 2008: 13)

Related to the category of losers who have been described in advance of analysis, then Susila can be said to be dominatively defeated. He is imprisoned and tortured. His rights as a citizen for freedom and activity are seized as well. However, the dominance of the hegemonic values summarized in the law does not succeed in defeating Susila completely. The criticisms and protests launched by Susila in various circumstances show that he is no less being a critic. Susila survives and even resists.

Besides being unbeatable hegemonic, Susila in some ways also performs an emancipatory act not only for himself, but also for others. His courage to keep talking, his willingness to be sacrificed in silly way for unwise rules, reveals all the country's unchallenged wickedness. At least, Susila's efforts to continue to be critical make dialogue and ideas about resistance open.

From Susila's condition and understanding of life, it is known that he has a consistent individual ideas. It is unaffected both hegemonic and dominant of the ruling parties. Though he must be physically defeated, he retains his individual ideas. His ability to survive in a state of repression makes him the one who opens the corruption of ruling institutions.

From an example of drama and character in it, it can be said that the nature of freedom that is carried after the collapse of the New Order has the spirit that is manifested in literary works, including drama. The criticism and pressure depicted in the drama is not much different from what was described in previous dramas. It is just that the drama like Ayu Utami's work looks more loud and free to talk about anything they feel violates human values. The losers to this drama have a greater chance to rise up and emancipate themselves.

Conclusion

The explanation above shows that the many Indonesian dramas since the beginning of its emergence until now describe the people who are invincible. In keeping with the changing context of the era underlying the making of drama, the aspects and problems that create a vulnerable society in it are also changing. In the early drama of Indonesia, created by many peranakan Chinese, society become vulnerable because of Dutch economy and colonialism. Patriarchal problems have also begun to dominate. In the dramas created during the New Order era, defeats due to economic problems are increasingly visible, also due to government repression and feudal power, while patriarchy continues to be told. At this time, dramas about the environment and the poor are dominant. In the last drama, created after the New Order collapsed, the criticisms are firmer and more open, without having to go through the literary strategies, and the figures told are not passive characters who could only complain resignedly, but the with direct-fighters and frontal style. So it is clear that dramas always represent what is around them, especially the losers. Moreover, the playwright through his work also offers ideas, criticisms and solutions that place them in a significant role in the achievement of the welfare of Indonesian society.

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