

The Doxa and Legitimation of Literacy: Case of Yogyakarta Literature Arena

Aprinus Salam

Faculty of Cultural Sciences
Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
aprinus@ugm.ac.id

Abstract - *The literary arena is a battle site for litterateurs to gain recognition or legitimacy. The success of the litterateur is determined by litterateur's strategy to manage his capitals, both in literature technically and in taking action to position themselves in the local and national literature arena. In addition to managing capitals, litterateurs are also in their respective doxas. Doxa is a cultural element so that the arena and literary production become geo-cultural. This paper concerns about the legitimacy of literacy in Yogyakarta based on Bourdieu's scheme which divides the hierarchy of legitimacy into three levels, namely specific, bourgeois, and popular. The material object of this study is the arena and litterateurs in Yogyakarta. This study assumes that the hierarchical layers of the Yogyakarta literary society provide a more diverse complexity due to the primordial doxas. The results of the study show that the legitimacy of literature in Yogyakarta is called the main literary writer (tenanan), special literary writers, in-between writers (nangung), popular writers, and cheap writers (ecek-ecek).*

Keywords: *legitimacy; literature arena; Doxa*

I. INTRODUCTION

In Yogyakarta, there are differences in the recognition regarding when an individual is called a writer with their various legitimate titles. The notion of litterateur is that someone who writes novels, poems, short stories, and drama scripts. Sometimes, a writer in Yogyakarta is not rather very productive in composing literary works, but they are also an artist. In this case, artists refer to those who are often involved in organizing literary events, such as short stories and poetry reading or theater performance. The thing that often happens is that a writer also becomes an artist.

As a city closely related to students and culture most of Yogyakarta residents are those who come from outside of Yogyakarta. There are some who become permanent residents, but the others return to their hometown. Until the 1980s, those who came to Yogyakarta are from various places outside Java. Later, some of whom become litterateurs in Yogyakarta because they have become the permanent residents of Yogyakarta.

In its development, after the 1990s and especially the 2000s, those who came to Yogyakarta were from Central Java, East Java, and some from West Java and Madura. This is due to the fact that the education system in other cities than Yogyakarta develops significantly that Yogyakarta is no longer the main choice to continue studying. Recently, graduate students pursuing their master and doctoral degree in various universities in Indonesia become litterateur. However, they are likely to return to their hometown upon the completion of their degree.

Their coming to Yogyakarta leads to the dynamic scene of the literature which assimilates with the local culture. There are currently plenty of litterateurs in Yogyakarta. In addition to individual-based, litterateurs in Yogyakarta are also community based. Numerous litterateurs work in a community where a group discussion regarding literature is held regularly. Organizing literary events are generally community-based.

The issue presented is regarding the fact that of all litterateurs in Yogyakarta they do not gain the same recognition. There are various differences in the legitimacy recognition which varies in terms of meaning as well as position in the city's literature. Thus, the case becomes interesting and important to be identified.

Some studies which question Yogyakarta literature include, among others, the study of Soemargono (1983). Soemargono attempts to explain the background of the emergence of litterateurs and artists in Yogyakarta who began using Bahasa Indonesia from the 1950s to 1960s. In 2001-2002, the background of the rise of Sufi literature in Yogyakarta was studied (Salam, 2003). Anwar (2015) published his thesis on Persada Studi Klub (PSK) and Yogyakarta literature arena. The study emphasizes the strategy of the litterateurs involved in PSK to further strengthen their position. PSK has contributed to the recognition of several litterateurs, such as

Iman Budhi Santosa and Emha Ainun Nadjib who remain influential in recent years. Salam and Anwar (2015) conduct study on literary communities in Yogyakarta. This study, furthermore, examines the issue of the legitimacy of the community.

In the cultural production theory proposed by Bourdieu, there is an established hierarchy regarding literary legitimacy, namely specific, bourgeois, and popular legitimacy. Specific legitimacy is litterateurs who are in the high position of literature. Meanwhile, bourgeois legitimacy is litterateurs who gain their recognition, but their literary work is considered to be below the specific legitimacy. Popular legitimacy is litterateurs who gain the lowest literary title from the structure of legitimacy in their literary arena (Bourdieu, 2010:22).

There is not any problem in the legitimacy hierarchy. However, the terms coined by Bourdieu are not precisely applicable to Yogyakarta literature arena due to cultural differences. Although not being further deviated from the original concept, the applicable concept never fully fits within the structure of the Yogyakarta literary arena.

The process of gaining recognition is based on a number of factors including the literature consecration, the existence and quality of the literary work, and various strategies in disposing themselves in the literature arena (Bourdieu, 2006; 131). However, in the process of gaining recognition it also plays the so-called doxa. Doxa is an internal hegemony associated with stories (even myths) about the life of a litterateur (compare with Bourdieu, 1972:164–169). Therefore, doxa is considered to be one of the essential elements in determining the legitimacy of a litterateur.

Doxa is not only related to political and literary hegemonic process, but is also combined with cultural values, in this case Javanese culture (Yogyakarta). The Javanese cultural doxa which also needs to be taken into account is harmony doxas, not being too self-effacing, cooperation in harmony, and ability to maintain decency (see and compare with Magnis Suseno, 1983, 1984). It also leads to another term coined by Bourdieu that is misrecognition. Misrecognition is a manipulated misunderstanding, partly due to the role of doxa in managing the limit of the subject's interests and objects of speech or discourse (Bourdieu, 1990, compare with James, 2015). The dynamic of doxa makes literature legitimacy in Yogyakarta more varied with a number of different titles.

Besides doxa, another aspect which needs to be considered in gaining a legitimate position is regarding how a litterateur invests their social, cultural, economic and symbolic capital. Every capital contributes differently in terms of how a litterateur gains their legitimacy; it depends on how a litterateur strategizes in managing their entire capital in the trajectory of their live (Bourdieu, 1977; 1987).

Hence, in order to answer the proposed question, this study is composed as follows. First, this study will give an overview of Yogyakarta literary arena; second, explain the role of doxa; third, provide the variants of legitimacy; and finally, draw a conclusion.

II. YOGYAKARTA LITERATURE ARENA

As mentioned, there are two different structures in the Yogyakarta literature arena, namely individual and community based. Initially, many litterateurs in Yogyakarta worked individually; most of whom are students. They made a career by participating in publishing their writing in newspapers or in the form of a book. Many became successful in the sense that they were widely known. Afterwards, they established a community or joined a community which recruited successful litterateurs. Joni Ariadinata, for instance, started his career individually as a student at UAD, but ended up establishing his own community.

In an arena that increasingly needs the support of fellow friends, being an individual-based litterateur is considered to be difficult that many litterateurs are involved, whether actively or not, in certain communities. This condition is supported by the fact that Yogyakarta literature is not individual, but is social literature. As part of the community, Yogyakarta cultural inheritance becomes a strategic option to gain recognition. However, it turns out that it is considered to be insufficient.

What is interesting is how a community is formed. Yogyakarta literary community can be based on the litterateur success, campus-based, friendship-based, certain traditions, religion, and conditional or contextual interests. Emha Ainun Nadjib states that what binds the theater forum community which has performed several theatrical works is the increasingly settling situation that many litterateurs have become liberated from the religion, economics, or social status interests. However, Nadjib needs to be taken into account to be able to establish a community.

As an individual or a community, no one is able to break free from a greater system of legitimacy. Although many litterateurs in Yogyakarta do not feel the urge to publish their work in the central media (Jakarta), they always consider those who can publish their works, such as in *Kompas*, more rewarded. In this case, misrecognition and doxa remain taking place. Whether literary works published in the media are considered better than the unpublished is yet to explore. Misrecognition and doxa occur when one is considered that the nationally published literary works is automatically better than the locally or individually published.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that literary works published in the media such as *Kompas*, reach wide audience and *Kompas*'s reputation and capital remain highly valued. Literature magazines, *Kalam* and *Horison* once had high social literary value, especially from the 1980s to the 1990s. Internal issues, especially related to capital (in Bourdieu's perspective) faced by *Kalam* and *Horison* caused the magazines to lose their opportunity to pertain their reputation as an authoritative literature magazine.

The existence of *Kompas* on the one hand and *Horizon* on the other alongside various developments in media technology and social changes became part of the persisted doxa myth. Regional literary society continues to strive that many litterateurs emerge without having to be published in *Kompas* or *Horizon*.

The relation of local-national literary arena, especially after the Orde Baru regime and technological developments indicates non-coordinative relation which increasingly eliminates the central-regional boundary. Official government institutions that should have the ability to manage the literature are yet to demonstrate their legitimate function. It is due to the fact that literature is not a matter of bureaucracy especially the government. As Bourdieu asserted, literature owns the rule of art so bureaucratization of literature including the reward system does not significantly contribute to the literature.

Politics and the country's discursive regime, in reverse, are likely to influence what Ranciere (2013) calls aesthetic politics and aesthetic regime. This is related to the policies taken by the literary media and communities in managing literary themes that come into contact with religion, race, and intergroup discourses. The discursive regime, aesthetic politics, and the aesthetic regime even become a separate doxa that limits the litterateur.

Consequently, difficulties faced by litterateurs in developing aesthetic breakthroughs are due to the doxa in the country. From another perspective, society in general and the literary society in particular remain supporting such discussion that there is cultural discomfort in managing the issue of ethnic group, religion, race, and intergroup as an important part in elaborating themes in composing literary works. An attempt is taken on the issue, indeed, but instead of given warning by the government, groups which share interests are likely to ban the issue of ethnic group, religion, race, and intergroup.

It implies to the limited theme and aesthetics in literature. Country and community politics, at both national and local, become one of the drawbacks for literature to gain its status as space of free imaginative expression. Such condition causes literature to become a limited space strongly bound by larger structure which is not only in terms of the country and social politics, but also the global structure, which in this case is the structure of capitalism (Eagleton, 2006).

Ergo, there are varied forces which construct the structure of the literature arena, not only the country order, the community, but more importantly is the symbolic violence of capitalism. It causes the helplessness of local litterateurs of limited capital to compete in the global structure.

The case of Yogyakarta literature is not only part of such structural relations, but also becomes part of internal structural relations as it is known that Yogyakarta is a Javanese cultural city in which various power structures and social status remain influential. The boundary between aesthetic and symbolic criteria which constitutes one of the literary elements is inevitably a part of the political intervention. Hence, various literary works in Yogyakarta remain strongly controlled by the internal culture.

It causes the literary works in Yogyakarta to establish its own politics, namely by diverting literary issues (themes) by employing themes or ways of humor and wordplay. It becomes difficult for the litterateurs to compose literary works with aesthetics which represent their literature. Political, cultural, and economic bureaucracy causes most of the literary and literary performance of Yogyakarta to experience congestion.

As aforementioned, there are certainly a few literary works which attempt to fight and break through the cultural and economic bureaucracy. *Teater Garasi* attempts to perform and break free by borrowing capital from national and even international artists. To some extent, *Teater Garasi* successfully shows their beyond local success.

The case of *Teater Garasi* implies that local litterateurs establish their own rules, namely the local cultural values of Yogyakarta. The local culture of Yogyakarta is not only demonstrated by the occurrence of segmentation within its primordial boundaries, but also in terms of aesthetic politics for the literary work itself. Yogyakarta internal literature enters into a space which leads to its establishing an understanding and concept of what is meant by literature.

III. DOXA: FROM *SESRAWUNGAN* TO *ORA KEPENAK*

Doxa is defined as an embraced fundamental belief without undergoing a thinking process. Doxa is considered to be universally proven which informs actions and thoughts in certain domains. It tends to favor certain social arrangements and give preferential

treatment to dominant agents and regard their dominant position as self-evident and universally desirable. In other words, doxa is the dominant point of view which expresses itself and imposes itself as a universal point of view (Bourdieu, 1972:164–169).

The issue is that a person (agent) does not often realize that he actually carries (contains) doxa. When doing social practices, someone (agent) seems to bring his own interests without realizing. In reality, an agent in carrying out various social actions or practices, as part of the strategy, at least becomes part of the interests of his community. In this context, the community is part of a larger structure or interest due to doxa.

Doxa needs to be specified in terms of its classification be it political, economic, or socio-cultural. The boundaries are not clear, indeed, but in some cases they are distinguishable. For example, when someone says, “Fulan is a humble person who does not want to stand out.” The statement is different from, “Fulan is an ambitious person.” Between both statements, the first is more socio-cultural, while the second is more politically-psychological.

Differences in doxa primordialization cause different responses to the legitimacy of litterateurs. In Yogyakarta, there are many literary events, such poetry, short stories reading and various literary discussions. There are a few communities who have held literary events regularly, such as *Tembi* and *SPS Yogya*. Some of which are campus based, such as *IAIN*, *UAD*, and *UGM*. Only recently, the community established itself as *Sastra Titik Nol* begins routinely hold literary events in the zero point kilometer area of Yogyakarta.

Tembi runs privately and it has been around for seven years in 2018. Its activities so far have gone well due to funders. In organizing events, the theme changes based on the current situation and the social relations demand. The artists and litterateurs involved are relatively fixed. There is not any special fee given to the artists and litterateurs performing in each event.

In terms of cultural production reasoning, it is considered to be interesting. Firstly, litterateurs and artists need a “stage” for their existence and legitimacy. However, it becomes an issue if *Tembi* is unable to subsidize its capital to the litterateurs and artists. Secondly, there are a number of widely known artists and litterateurs who take part at *Tembi* and are expected to subsidize their capital. The process of capital bargaining continues to the direction in which the cultural production takes place.

Meanwhile, *Studio Pertunjukan Sastra* (SPS) Yogyakarta is much longer in the holding of monthly literary events. In terms of funding, SPS receives assistance from *Taman Budaya Yogyakarta*. Not being significantly different from *Tembi*, literary events in Yogyakarta are also not designed under certain themes, but are more improvised and incidental. Some who attended the SPS event are those who are also present at *Tembi* due to the limited number of the litterateurs in Yogyakarta. So, it is very common to run into the same litterateurs in the various literary events. In general, it is not sufficient for SPS to merely rely on its capital to legitimize oa litterateur. As a matter of fact, SPS utilizes the symbolic capital of certain litterateurs for its symbolic capital accumulation.

Campus-based literary events are slightly different from *Tembi* and *SPS* because their events involve a number of students who are considered to be new in the Yogyakarta literature arena. Some of whom later join the existing literary communities, but the others opt for returning to their hometown upon the completion of their degree. Similar to other literary events in Yogyakarta, the funding is limited and minimal that those involved in various literary events are not in a professional position.

Generally, those coming to literary events are in relatively fixed amounts. When some gains boredom with literature, new litterateurs always appear. However, the amount of those coming to literary events does not indicate any increase. There will be an occasional large amount of audience during certain events. It happens when a public figure is invited to the event; on the other hand, if public figures are always invited in every event, it will somehow lose its sparks.

In practice, literary events are rather relaxed. The focus of the event is on the stage, indeed, but it does not decline the enthusiasm of the audience to talk or chat with their fellow friends. More often than not the topic discussed is not substantially related to literature or literary aesthetics. Sometimes, the topic discussed is nowhere near academic discussion because the event is not designed to become serious, but it highlights more on *sesrawungan* or intimate interaction among each other.

Sesrawungan becomes important because it is related to the substance of literature. Yogyakarta literature is equivalent with literature of *sesrawungan*. This concept either separates or brings together those who pursue to become a litterateur in Yogyakarta. Those who highly rely on their community are also likely to rely on the value of *sesrawungan*. Indeed, there are a few litterateurs who do not rely on *sesrawungan*, but their position is psychologically different from those who do. The difference lies primarily in a sense of intimacy. Intimacy sets the relation and influence formations in determining the literary events and programs in Yogyakarta in the future.

In the case of the relations formation doxa takes place in a variety of forms and properties. The relation formation gradually leads to intimacy on the one hand and separation on the other. This intimacy and separation determine how doxa works in its subtle form. The relations formation is upon which various judgments, awards, and worthlessness towards literary events and litterateurs depend.

Such situation is concluded in one cultural value of *kepenak* and *ora kepenak* (*ewuh pekewuh*). That is, the important substance behind literature is not of its aesthetics, but rather the environment where it is created. In the sense of *penak* and *ora kepenak*, doxa takes its role to participate in the construction. Doxa contribute to the fact that *ora kepenak* disrespect those who have succeeded in being in the important position, not only in literature but also beyond literature, namely economics and politics.

Doxa doubly influences a position. On the one hand, it gives 'delicate' to the authority, but rather give 'harsh' criticism to the beginners. If one in high position produces a literary work which does not meet the aesthetic standard, there will be various manipulations and misrecognition in accordance with the cultural appropriateness prevailing in Yogyakarta. Simply put, the complexity of the relations is controlled by other values, namely cultural values of appropriateness (for the matter of *appropriateness*, see Mulder, 1983). On the contrary, the criticism directed to the beginners remains in terms of appropriateness without any manipulation and misrecognition.

The cultural value of *sesrawungan* and relation formation causes those who want to become litterateurs in Yogyakarta do not risk of not becoming native. There are still a small number of those who do not participate in the value of *sesrawungan* and relation formation. There are two possibilities: by establishing a relationship with other litterateurs in their hometown or by establishing a network in Jakarta. The second possibility is for those working hard to come up with good literary works. Usually, they contribute to present the internal dynamic of the literature in Yogyakarta, especially in terms of aesthetics.

The issue of appropriateness and *penak-ora kepenak* is mainly in terms of public sense. It, somehow, becomes different once enters the private area in which everyone deliver their opinion more honestly, since the discussion is based on mutual understanding. More often than not the expressions used in the private discussion are considered to be more vulgar.

In private, the criticism and appraisal are more straightforward and confidential. In this condition, primordialization of doxa, like and dislike become essential. One possibly says that a litterateur and their work produced is either in-between (*nanggung*) or cheap (*ecek-ecek*). Such cultural expression is difficult to be included in Bourdieu's legitimacy scheme. There is not any issue regarding the scheme conceptualized by Bourdieu, since it is applicable in Yogyakarta under several notes. The first one is regarding the notion of bourgeois which in the local language and culture can only be understood without being fully perceived. The concept is generally acceptable but cannot be completely perceived, as the concept or the terms coined is not sufficiently applicable with the local culture.

In Yogyakarta literature arena, the notion of in-between (*nanggung*) and cheap (*ecek-ecek*) is rather applicable in the political or cultural categories depending on the context. In the political sense, it depends on primordialization of doxa which is mainly related to the social and ideology, both in terms of individual or on behalf of the community. In the cultural sense, it is perceived as the arrogance of doxa to refuse recognizing the work of other litterateurs. Cultural arrogance often occurs in the context of cultural prestige. It can be said that there is always a hidden competition in gaining legitimation.

In the literature arena, Bourdieu (1996) proposes regarding the rules of art. This rule is also applicable in Yogyakarta literature arena, especially in terms of sincerity. Many litterateurs pretend to be sincere to get involved with literature, to be sincere to engage in the anti-market world. However, in practice, there is a so-called social selection whether a litterateur is highly sincere in the consecration of literature. Those who are sincere and those who are not will eventually be known though such reveal frequently occurs among private discussion. Consecration constitutes an important rule for one aiming for specific position in the literature arena.

IV. CLASSIFICATION OF LEGITIMATION

In the structure of the literature arena, the position and disposition of one are determined by their habitus and trajectory. When one begins to join Yogyakarta literature arena, it is determined by a number of factors. The first is regarding the success (or failure) of the agent in managing capital, whether the strategy implemented by the agent successfully manage the capital or not. In practice, it determines the success of the agent to gain legitimacy. The second one is the strategy of a litterateur in opting for a writing strategy and theme. If a litterateur begins to write under the theme of popular literature, it will be difficult to gain the specific legitimacy status.

The following is a name of litterateurs in Yogyakarta, such as Iman Budhi Santosa, Mustofa W. Hasyim, Emha Ainun Nadjib, Joko Santosa, and Toto Sugiarto. Mustofa W. Hasyim, Toto Sugiarto, and Joko Santoso (of Chinese descendants) were born in Yogyakarta. On the other hand, Iman Budhi was born in Magetan and Emha was born in Jombang.

There is not any shadow of a doubt regarding Iman Budhi Santosa and his literary works. It is not due to the fact that he continues to produce literary works to this day, but his sincerity has been proven for most of his career in literature. In his youth circa early 1970s, Santosa joined the Persada Studi Klub (PSK). PSK is a literary discussion group established in the late 1960s and gained its popularity in the 1970s and early 1980s. Umbu Randu Paranggi is one who is in-charge of the community who to this day remains in high position.

The life journey of Santosa is the best example of how consecration can turn him into a specific artist or litterateur. He utilized each aspect of social capital alongside the support of cultural capital and a little economic and symbolic capital gained from the cultural and social modals. Being perseverant and good at managing his capital, there is no doubt regarding the position of Iman Budhi Santosa in literature. He is often involved with many literary activities, even if it's an event that we arrogantly call as mediocre and sometimes, there is also nothing spectacular about his 'utterance' in those events.

Nonetheless, the involvement of Iman Budhi Santosa in various literary events does not cause his social position to decline. Theoretically, it is interesting because a few specific litterateurs in France also involved in cheap (*ecek-ecek*) literary events, but it does not impose their social position. Even, Bourdieu does not mention if a litterateur has written non-quality literary works along their life. Similar life journey also occurs to Mustafa W. Hasyim. Hasyim is a Yogyakarta-based specific litterateur.

Indeed, each theoretical aspect formulated and developed in other countries (European or American) cannot fully address the literary issues in Indonesia, especially in Java (Yogyakarta). There are fundamental differences in terms of values or structure of literature which is related to how people understand and enjoy literary works and how to combine them, so it is not directly related to the power of literary works.

I was once given the opportunity to become one of the judges in a literary event. Sometimes there are other considerations in deciding the winner of the literary competition; not only is the literary work good but also acceptable in terms of various aspects. In my opinion, it is rather interesting because the considerations are of social, cultural, and quite political.

What considered as problematic is the legitimate position of Toto Sugiarto and Joko Santosa. The literary works of Toto Sugiarto have won many competitions. Does it make him a specific litterateur? I hope that is true, but at the same time there will be opinions coming from those in specific legitimacy.

Perhaps what lies behind is actually a structural arrogance stating that literature arena eventually ends up revolving around power rather than culture. Hence, Ranciere (2013) raises objection to the capital and structure proposed by Bourdieu. For Ranciere, literature both in terms of producers and consumers is equal.

Regarding Toto Sugiarto, he has written many novels, who is also a gentle person, far from being arrogant and continues to work in the field of literature. Sugiarto may not be economically successful, but it may also be his life choice. His life journey is, somehow, not supported by the modality structure that he can manage well.

Joko Santoso, though his published novel is not that many, Sihir Pembayun (2015) and Penangsang Memanah Rembulan (2016) is highly appraised and also performed in theater. One of his novels also won a novel writing contest at Balai Bahasa Yogya. Joko Santosa is widely known and maintains the value of *sesrawungan* within the literature arena.

What goes wrong in the social practices and based on the social practice lead Joko Santosa to gain his position. Socially, he is good and full-effort when it comes to literature. There are another capital which is considered to be spiritual which seem to separate him from his literary work. In other words, spiritual capital remains insufficient to gain him certain social position. Joko Santosa is in the in-between (*nanggung*) in the social hierarchy (legitimacy).

One important figure whose legitimate position should be paid attention to is Emha Ainun Nadjib. Starting as a poet, short story, novel, and essay writer in various mass media, Nadjib succeeds in not only being a writer, but also as a litterateur and culture expert. Nadjib is also known as a Muslim intellectual. He successfully joined various social and political communities and arenas. Nadjib is a well-known literary and cultural figure. Such phenomenon is not applicable to any litterateurs in Yogyakarta.

Recently, Nadjib and his community, Kiyai Kanjeng, performed in various cities in Indonesia and even abroad. He has published numerous books. Nadjib, however, is not a specific litterateur. The term specific is not suitable for him. I have seen a few circumstances when a number of writers in a specific category meet Nadjib. They respect him so much in terms of ethics or authority. Nadjib may be more appropriately placed as a writer with certain legitimacy; having particular specificities that Yogyakarta writers do not have. In other terms that are more common with the cultural conditions of the Indonesian people, Nadjib has charisma (See Nugraha, 2018).

The theory developed by Bourdieu helps explain the cultural production of Yogyakarta literature arena. However, Bourdieu's classification is not entirely culturally suitable in Yogyakarta literature arena. Such incompatibility is closely related to the *habitus*. Culturally, we do not obtain any meaningful value behind literary works and it is not easy to accept the achievement of a litterateur in the first place. As a result, it is as if a litterateur were punished based on the first impression.

If that is the case, Yogyakarta literature arena is part of the community which promotes the structure of artistic power in Yogyakarta. Litterateurs in Yogyakarta do not attempt to stabilize the structure. If it continues, many agents involved in the Yogyakarta considered themselves to be a specific litterateur. In fact, many of whom merely ride the trend without any comprehension regarding literature.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Of the description above, three conclusions are drawn. First, Yogyakarta literature arena is significantly influenced by the local culture. As a city closely related with students, litterateurs in Yogyakarta present a variety of dispositions and strategies which must be adapted to the current layer of power structure. Second, the influence of doxa and misrecognition leads to the primordial effect and causes different point of views and appreciation towards litterateurs. Some cultural notions overlap with the arrogance hidden by doxa. In this context, various understanding regarding legitimacy arises, namely special, specific, in-between (*nanggung*), popular, and cheap (*ecek-ecek*) legitimacy.

Bibliography

- Anwar, Saeful. (2016). *Persada Studi Klub dalam Arena Sastra Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: UGM Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. (1972). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. England: Cambridge University Press.
- , (1990). *In Other Word*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- , (1996). *The Rule of Art*. California: Standford University Press.
- , (2006). *Distinction: a Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- , (2010). *Arena Produksi Kultural: Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya* (trans. Yudi Santosa). Yogyakarta: Jalasutra.
- Eagleton, Terry. (2006). *Criticism and Ideology: A Study in Marxist Literary Theory*. London: Verso.
- James, David. (2015). "How Bourdieu Bites Back: Recognising Misrecognition in Education and Educational Research". *Cambridge Journal of Education*. Vol. 45, No. 1. Pages 97–112.
- Nugraha, Latief S. (2018). *Sepotong Dunia Emha*. Yogyakarta: Octopus.
- Suseno, Franz Magnis and S. Reksosusilo C.M. (1983). *Etika Jawa dalam Tantangan*. Yogyakarta: Kanisius.
- Suseno, Franz Magnis. (1984). *Etika Jawa Sebuah Analisis Falsafi tentang Kebijaksanaan Hidup Orang Jawa*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Mulder, Niels. (1983). *Kebatinan dan Hidup Sehari-hari Orang Jawa*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Ranciere, Jacques. (2013). *The Politics of Aesthetic: The Distribution of the Sensible*. UK: Bloomsbury.
- Salam, Aprinus and Saeful Anwar. (2015). "Strategi dan Legitimasi Komunitas Sastra di Yogyakarta: Kajian Sosiologi Pierre Bourdieu". *Widyaparwa*. Vol. 43, No. 1.
- Soemargono, Farida. (1983). "Kelompok Pengarang Yogya 1945–1960: Dunia Jawa dalam Kesusastraan Indonesia". *Citra Masyarakat Indonesia*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan.