

ABSTRAK

Pascareformasi adalah era demokratisasi dan desentralisasi politik. Di saat bersamaan, (neo)-liberalisasi, khususnya di bidang ekonomi, juga berlangsung lebih massif. Kekuasaan dominan ekonomi ini tentu saja memengaruhi struktur masyarakat yang ada, termasuk dalam bidang atau medan yang spesifik, seperti sastra. Di masa inilah kategori hierarkis Sastra-fiksi populer dipertanyakan dan digugat, pusat legitimasi Sastra dikritik tajam, dan perayaan atas yang-populer berlangsung semarak. Masuk dan diterimanya berbagai pemikiran baru, seperti kajian budaya dan multikulturalisme, ikut berkontribusi pada dinamika hubungan Sastra-fiksi populer. Sebagian agen sastra mempromosikan pentingnya kajian atas fiksi populer, sebagian lagi tidak mau memakai label Sastra-fiksi populer, sebagian lain tidak peduli, dan beberapa berpendapat bahwa kategorisasi tetap diperlukan demi menjaga otonomi sastra. Karena perbedaan pendapat semacam itulah muncul beberapa karya yang dianggap sebagai Sastra sekaligus fiksi populer.

Ada tiga pengarang yang karyanya menempati posisi ambang dan diperiksa dalam penelitian ini: Andrea Hirata, Dewi Lestari, dan Habiburrahman El Shirazy. Penelusuran atas fenomena 'novel-novel ambang' itu membantu kita memahami apa yang terjadi dalam dunia sastra Indonesia pascareformasi, terutama dalam kaitannya dengan otonomi-heteronomi sastra dari kekuasaan neoliberal yang dominan saat ini. Namun, untuk bisa mendapatkan gambaran yang lebih konkrit, diperlukan perbandingan dengan masa sebelumnya, juga penyelidikan mengenai bentuk modal kultural yang menopang fenomena itu. Karenanya, penelitian ini juga menelisik sejarah Sastra-fiksi populer sejak masa kolonial hingga prareformasi dan memeriksa perubahan bentuk modal yang terjadi di era pascareformasi.

Pemeriksaan atas hubungan Sastra dan fiksi populer serta hubungan sastra dengan kekuasaan dominan dilakukan dengan meminjam kerangka teoretis dari Pierre Bourdieu dan Ken Gelder. Bourdieu menteorikan medan, modal, habitus, doksa, dan jenis-jenis legitimasi dalam produksi budaya; sedangkan Gelder memakai teori Bourdieu untuk memeriksa Sastra dan fiksi populer di Barat sebagai dua medan berbeda. Keduanya sama-sama melihat produksi budaya dalam kaitannya dengan kekuasaan—baik internal dalam sebuah medan maupun eksternal (kekuasaan politik dan ekonomi).

Melalui penyelidikan atas sejarah medan Sastra-fiksi populer, ditemukan bahwa (a) proses kategorisasi Sastra-fiksi sebagai dua medan berbeda, dengan kata kunci otonomi dan heteronomi, berlangsung lama dan hubungan kedua medan itu tidak statis; dan (b) karena unsur pascakolonialitas, otonomi medan Sastra di Indonesia juga tidak sama persis dengan di Barat seperti laporan Gelder. Melalui penyelidikan terhadap modal kultural para novelis ambang, penerimaannya oleh medan Sastra, dan modal kultural mengenai Sastra-fiksi populer pascareformasi, ditemukan bahwa nilai-nilai neoliberalisme selalu hadir dan karenanya secara tidak langsung mengubah struktur medan Sastra. Medan Sastra pascareformasi setelah dioverdeterminasi neoliberalisme adalah medan Sastra yang cenderung lebih heteronom dibandingkan masa sebelumnya, lebih ramah pasar, dan lebih menghargai pengakuan massa. Akhirnya, neoliberalisasi adalah proses pengikisan otonomi medan Sastra terhadap kekuasaan ekonomi.

ABSTRACT

The post-reform Indonesia is an era of political democratization and decentralization. In the same time, (neo)-liberalization, especially in the economic sector, is growing massively. This dominant economic power affects the prevailing structure of society, including specific fields like literature. In this very era, the hierarchical categories of Literature-popular fiction are questioned and interfered, the centers of Literary legitimacy are criticized, and the popular is ubiquitously celebrated. New views and ideas, such as derived from cultural studies and multiculturalism, contribute to the dynamic relationship between Literature and popular fiction. Some Literary agents promote the significance of studying popular fiction, some others are unwilling to attach the labels of Literature and popular fiction, some just do not care about the label, and some view the categorization as necessary to guard the autonomy of literature. Due to the different views, some works considered as Literature as well as popular fiction have emerged.

There are three authors whose works occupy this 'floating position' and are examined in this research: Andrea Hirata, Dewi Lestari, and Habiburrahman El Shirazy. The exploration of the 'floating novels' help us understand what is occurring in the Indonesian post-reform literary world, especially in terms of its autonomy-heteronomy relation to the dominant neoliberal power. However, to gain the concrete picture of the relation, a comparison to the former era is necessary and the forms of cultural capital sustaining the phenomenon need to be revealed. Hence, this research traces the history of Literature-popular fiction from the colonial up to the pre-reform era and investigates the changing forms of cultural capital in the post-reform time.

The examinations of the relation between Literature and popular fiction as well as their connection to the dominant power are conducted with the help from Pierre Bourdieu's and Ken Gelder's theoretical frameworks. Bourdieu theorized field, capital, habitus, doxa, and legitimacies in cultural production; while Gelder, utilizing Bourdieu's theories, analyzed the relation of Literature and popular fiction in the West as two distinct fields. Both literary and cultural critics view cultural production in its relation to the power—either internal power relation in a specific field or external power relation (political and economic power).

Through the investigation of the history of Literature field and popular fiction field, this thesis argues that (a) the categorization process of Literature-popular fiction as two distinct fields, with autonomy and heteronomy as the keywords, takes a long time and their relation is not a static one; and (b) due to its postcolonial condition, the autonomy of Indonesian Literature field is not precisely the same as that of the West reported by Gelder. Through the investigation of the 'floating' novelists' cultural capitals, the reception of those novelists in the field of Literature, and cultural capital on the post-reform Literature-popular fiction relation, this thesis argues that neoliberal values are always present and hence indirectly change the structure of the field of Literature. The post-reform field of Literature, overdetermined by neoliberalism, is a much more heteronomized compared to its previously relatively autonomous state, and it is more market-friendly and gives more credit to mass legitimacy. This illustrates how much neoliberalization causes the erosion of the autonomy of the field of Literature in the face of economic power.