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DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON CIVIL CONFLICTIN AHMAD TOHARI'S DI KAKI BUKIT CIBALAK

Abstract

Since the proclamation of its independence until today, Indonesia has experienced civil conflicts. There are hundreds of civil conflicts that have the potential to become civil wars with very painful impacts. By taking lessons from the novel, it is hoped that the root of the problem that triggers conflict can be eliminated, and through the novel we can also learn the lesson that arbitrariness will definitely be met with resistance. Through a discourse analysis using an inter-textual analysis approach, this research is intended to reveal how a civil conflict occurs, in this case the conflict in the novel "Di KAKI BUKIT CIBALAK" by Ahmad Tohari, and how resistance by the community is raised and carried out to defeat arbitrariness that happened.

Keywords: Discourse Analysis; Novels: Civil Conflict

INTRODUCTION

Civil conflict is a conflict between residents of a country, which in the next stage when the conflict has escalated into armed contact, then it escalates into a civil war or civil war. Currently, civil war is a serious threat to world peace considering that it occurs in various countries and in various regions. Currently, the world is experiencing tension in Eastern Europe, where there is a war between Russia and Ukraine, and in the Arabian Peninsula, where there is an ongoing war between Israel and Palestine. However, we can see civil wars or civil conflicts everywhere: Thailand, Philippines, Malaysia, Burma,Indonesia, Syria, Yemen, Libya, Egypt, Iraq, China, and others. No less than 90 percent of existing conflicts are civil conflicts.

Unfortunately, currently Indonesia is facing a lot of civil conflicts that could trigger civil war. We know that in our country there are social conflicts that have ended, are currently occurring, and also things that have the potential to trigger civil conflict. Conflict in Papua, Rempang conflict, agrarian and forestry conflict, 1998 riots, Aceh conflict, FPI vs GMBI conflict in West Java, expulsion of Papuan students in Yogyakarta, NTB conflict, Sampit conflict, Sampang conflict, Poso conflict, and also social conflict in Situbondo are examples to name a few.

A deeper investigation into these civil conflicts then leads us to the importance of understanding two things that make up the conditions, namely natural resources and government governance structures. Natural resources in this case are natural resources in a broad sense, which includes the distribution of material resources in society and its dependence on these natural resources. Meanwhile, government governance structures mean domestic and international governance structures (Öberg & Strøm, 2007).

The first phenomenon is natural resources and their distribution. The distribution of natural resources in society is perhaps the oldest and most widely held belief as a cause of conflict between civilians, especially economic disparities between citizens as a result of unequal control of natural resources. Rebels often cite economic inequality as their motivation, although decades of research on this subject have failed to establish stable conclusions on this point(Collier, P. and Hoeffler, 2004).

From the government's point of view, the problem is how to avoid rebellion at a cheaper cost than going to war. To avoid rebellions motivated by unequal distribution of wealth and resources, governments can try to redistribute just enough so that would-be rebels do not feel the need to take on the huge risks and costs that rebellion entails.

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However, such redistribution is costly and a regime may also try to control dissent through various forms of repression, thereby preventing disadvantaged groups from organizing rebellions. A further problem with redistribution is that it can trigger strong resistance from groups of people who might be disadvantaged.

As stated by (Sanchez, 2008), redistribution is seen as a causal factor in the 1948 civil conflict in Costa Rica. Therefore, the government needs to find a balance between concessions and taking action, redistribution and control, so that no group or segment of society finds rebellion beneficial. A government's willingness and ability to avoid rebellion through redistribution or taking action is likely determined by a number of governance-related factors, such as the government's knowledge of the distribution and strength of citizens' preferences, its ability to raise income, and its reliance on resource rents or citizens' productive investments. country.

One note to emphasize is that avoiding rebellion through resource redistribution may also carry other risks. Grievances based on deep-rooted cultural, social, and religious discrimination may still exist, and redistribution of resources that empowers disadvantaged parties but does not address other grievances and discriminatory conditions may actually increase the risk of civil conflict.

Evidence from the Naxalite case in India shows that in societies with very limited resource endowments, where the majority of the population is directly dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods, civil conflict will tend to be local and short-lived. Only as and when some form of redistribution of natural resources can create opportunities for rebels to continue their rebellion and reduce the power of resource controllers will we see sustainable rebellion.

However, wealth in natural resources does not necessarily trigger civil conflict. The impact depends on the government structure. Providing resources is an advantage for responsive governments because it helps them provide public goods and social safety nets to meet the needs of citizens, and at the same time, develop effective means of national defense and public order, thereby preventing conflict and banditry. Furthermore, behind all the instability of the thesis that natural resources can directly be a source of civil conflict, it turns out that natural resource wealth can be an indirect cause as well. Humprey (Humphreys, 2005) and Ross ((Ross, 2001)) emphasize that a bad government system can exacerbate social conflict. The struggle for natural resources, for example, is largely the result of the state's lack of ability to tax its population effectively and return it to the people fairly.

Weak countries with ineffective and inefficient government structures have also been shown to increase the risk of civil war ((Ayoob, 1995); (Azam, 2001); (Holsti, 1996)). The ability to govern effectively is highly dependent on the ability to increase revenue. Findings by Benson and Kugler (2004) show that a strong government will reduce the potential for civil conflict (Benson, M. and Kugler, 2004). Unfortunately, even though natural resources represent potential income for the country, most countries that have abundant resources are not necessarily able to develop their governments effectively and efficiently. They are also no more responsive to justice than countries with minimal natural resources. In contrast, in various literatures it is stated that countries that depend on resources tend to have slower economic growth, higher levels of poverty, higher levels of corruption, and more authoritarian governments compared to countries with natural resources. minimal ((Ross, 2004b); (Ross, 2004a).

Therefore, some aspects of political governance may be negatively impacted by certain forms of mineral resource abundance ((Dunning, 2005); (Snyder, R. and Bhavnani, 2005). When resources are concentrated in certain areas and these locations distort government policy, the risk of civil conflict can increase due to justice problems in government ((Ross, 2001); (Ross, 2004a). The example put forward is Nigeria. Paradoxically, residents of the oil-rich region of the Niger delta complain that most of the economic benefits of oil flow to the central government, but the costs of environmental degradation are borne by local residents.

In addition, the abundance of natural resources can also weaken other aspects of political governance, namely efficiency(Fearon, J.D. and Laitin, 2003).   When gratification and corruption are rampant in industries that extract large amounts of natural resources, efficiency problems like this often occur, because government offices are filled with cronies of dubious

competence, or these offices disproportionately attract greedy people, through an adverse selection process for government employees.

In his investigation of the origins of civil conflict in Sudan, Aleksi Ylönen (2008) argues that revenues from natural resources have contributed to the high level of state disputes in Sudan. He finds that natural resource revenues play an important role in the origins of civil conflict, although they do not provide opportunities for potential insurgencies. In contrast, Ylönen (2008) argues that the government's economic profits and extraction policies led to political and economic marginalization in South Sudan (YLÖNEN, 2008). Repressive government policies, including cultural repression and seizure of land and water resources, fueled grievances that led to rebellions in the south. Recently, a similar policy in the Darfur region has again led to civil conflict. Therefore, Ylönen's findings support previous arguments stating that extraction policies are an important mechanism that allows natural resource wealth to give rise to civil conflict ((Humphreys, 2005); (Swanson, 2002); (Switzer, 2001)).

Apart from that, an ineffective government structure also has an impact on the risk of civil conflict. Governance structures that are ineffective in meeting community needs create a potential market for private sector actors to meet these unmet needs. This may be particularly evident in relation to needs such as, for example, health services, schools, food and transport. However, this can also be applied to more basic state functions such as the exercise of authority. These functions include policing, contract enforcement, dispute resolution, and even establishing norms or laws. If government ineffectiveness occurs, it creates opportunities and opens up market niches for rebels. By doing this, the rebels effectively exercised their authority in lieu of the government.

The next factor is externalities and the structure of international governance. Although civil conflict by definition occurs between residents of the same country, its causes and consequences do not always occur within that country. Kristian S. Gleditsch and Idean Salehyan (2008) point out that there is an unfortunate analytical separation between civil conflict and international conflict (GLEDITSCH, K.S. and SALEHYAN, 2008).

As a closing note, the description above provides an overview of the relationship between government structure, resources, and civil conflict, but many questions still remain. The description above is hard news, namely what is reported as it is according to reality. On the other hand, we can also enjoy presenting historical facts and social facts reported in novel form. There are several Indonesian novels that present epic stories about community resistance in social conflicts and agrarian conflicts in Indonesia. Ahmad Tohari, for example, through the novel "Di Kaki Bukit Cibalak", presents a portrait of social conflict between an honest village granary chairman facing a corrupt village head. Apart from that, in another novel, namely "Orang-Oran Project", Ahmad Tohari again presents the war between honesty and corruption in a bridge project that is being built.

Lastly, remembering that history will always repeat itself and every novel has a message, we need to learn from the messages conveyed in the novel to avoid mistakes made in the past. In resistance novels we learn the lesson that resistance to tyranny is definitely triggered by the occurrence of tyranny itself. Starting from this tyranny, conflict was inevitable, and resistance finally flared up.

This research intends to describe in a complete and in-depth manner and analyze: 1) the depiction of civil conflict in the novel Di Kaki Bukit Cibalak by Ahmad Tohari, and 2) how is resistance (rebellion) carried out by the community against the injustice (tyrant) they experience? The problems formulation in this research are as follows.

1. What is the description of civil conflict in the novel Di Kaki Bukit Cibalak by Ahmad Tohari?

2. How does society carry out resistance against perpetrators of injustice (tyrants)?

The aims of this research are to (1) provide a complete and in-depth description and analysis of civil conflict in the novel Di Kaki Bukit Cibalak by Ahmad Tohari, (2) provide a complete and in-depth description and analysis of the way community members fight against perpetrators of injustice. (tyrants).

METHODS

This research is designed to reveal how novel writers give meaning and communicate it within social groups and between different social and cultural groups. Thus, this research is in

line and therefore it is classified as discourse analysis research (Gee, 2005). To discuss discourse in this novel, researchers apply discourse analysis offered by Kristeva (1980) who proposes supra-segmental analysis and intertextual analysis.

This literary research, in addition, was completely carried out in the Nurul Jadid University library by examining relevant literature, namely the novel Di Kaki Bukit Cibalak as the literature to be studied, and references to civil conflict were used as reference texts in the intertextual analysis. The source of funding for this research comes from internal funding sources at Nurul Jadid University.

In carrying out supra-segmental analysis, researchers used Renkema's proposal (Renkema, 2004) which uses Mandler and Johnson's story structure (Mandler & Johnson, 1977) in analyzing narrative writing. In other words, this research uses the story grammar approach as suggested by Mandler and Johnson to explain story structure. Through this step, the setting and episodes are revealed so that the main story of the novel can be shown clearly.

In the next step, the analysis of civil conflict discourse in the novel is thoroughly dismantled in order to gain an understanding of what causes conflict to occur, and how resistance is raised and carried out. To reveal this, Gee's intertextuality analysis tool is used where concepts and theories about civil conflict are compared with the content of the novel being analyzed.

This research was carried out in 2024 (June-July 2024). The research instrument is the researchers themselves who, through the five senses, collect and interpret data from stories in novels and other texts which are used to carry out intertextual analysis. Apart from the five senses, Mandler and Johnson's concept of story structure (Mandler & Johnson, 1977). Mandler and Johnson's concept of story structure is also used as an instrument to filter whether the required data is sufficient or not. Lastly, the researchers used Gee's intertextuality tool in determining discourse.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Before discussing inter-textually, a simple story from the novel "Di Kaki Bukit Cibalak" is first shown.

Simple Story

Episode 1

1. The story begins in Tanggir village at the foot path of the Cibalak hill where village head elections are being held.
2. In the courtyard of the village hall, many residents of Tanggir village have gathered. A new lurah will be elected that day because the same lurah has resigned his position.
3. Almost everyone expresses their hopes in whispers, but many just keep them in their hearts
4. When the votes were counted, the winner was Mr Dirga.
5. Pambudi felt disappointed because the candidate he favored lost.
6. Mr. Dirga as the new village head is the same as the one he replaced.
7. A month after his appointment as village head, Mr. Dirga started committing fraud. He misappropriated the village granary where Pambudi was the chairman and always found fault with Pambudi.
8. Feeling a dead end, Pambudi started thinking about looking for another job.
9. The problem becomes worse when a resident submits a loan application to the village barn but the village head does not approve it on the grounds that the resident is poor.
10. Due to this condition, Pambudi decided to leave the village granary chairman.
11. Because he was already feuding with the village head, Pambudi's father suggested that Pambudi move from Tanggir village so that this feud would not get worse.
12. Finally, Pambudi chose to leave Tanggir village and settle in Yogyakarta.

Episode 2

1. In Yogyakarta Pambudi did various jobs to survive.
2. Pambudi worked as a construction worker and watch shop keeper.
3. Finally he worked at the Kalawarta newspaper.
4. Meanwhile, Pak Dirga's abuses in Tanggir village are getting worse.
5. In response to this, Pambudi fought back by writing articles about various problems in his village.
6. Pambudi's articles are written almost every day in the opinion column of the Kalawarta newspaper.
7. The articles were then read by officials, from the governor to the sub-district head.

8. Seeing this, the governor then ordered the regent to dismiss the Tanggir village head.
9. The Tanggir village head was finally dismissed after being involved in a gambling case.
10. With various tireless struggles, Pambudi was finally able to save Tanggir village from the village head's cunning.

From the simple story, it can be seen that the problem raised is a feud between a young man named Pambudi and the newly elected village. It is described that Pambudi is a young man who is honest, innocent, and cares about the suffering of the village residents; while the village head is depicted as a village head who is greedy and doesn't care about his village residents. Problems arose when Pak Dirga as village head acted arbitrarily towards Pambudi in managing the village barn (point 7).

From this we can also see the relationship between resources and inefficient (corrupt) management as the cause of conflict between the village head and his residents (Pambudi). The village head wants the village barn, which is a resource for him, to be controlled at will and for his personal interests. If this is treated as a representation of problems and sources of conflict in villages in the historical setting of the New Order era where this story was created, then the problems that often become a source of conflict in villages are inefficient state (read: village) resources and administration or management. namely full of corrupt, arbitrary behavior and always prioritizing personal and group interests.

Furthermore, the problem between Pambudi and the village head became even more intense when Pambudi's proposal to provide loans to village residents who were in need of medical treatment was not approved by the village head on the grounds that the villager would not be able to repay the loan because he was in very poor condition. It can be seen here that arbitrariness has reached its peak. Therefore, Pambudi decided to resign from managing the village barn. This was taken to maintain harmony with the village head because Pambudi was aware that he was a villager.

It can be seen here that Ahmad Tohari is sending a moral message about how Javanese people deal with conflict, namely by giving in (Stokke, 2013). In Javanese culture there are guidelines for attitudes in dealing with a problem, namely Ngalah, Ngalih and Angamuk. Ngalah means giving in, surrendering to what happens to or is given to someone. Ngalih means to switch or go to another place or change something. Resigning and diverting is an attitude of compromising with the situation, while anger is an attitude that no longer shows compromise, such as holding demonstrations, resistance, or rebellion.

Not giving in enough, it turned out that Pambudi was told by his father to move to another place or leave Tanggir village in order to avoid open conflict with the village head (point 11). This step means Pambudi has to ngalih. And in point 12 it can be seen that Pambudi obeyed what his father ordered in order to avoid a prolonged conflict with the village head.

Furthermore, in episode 2 it is depicted that Pambudi was finally able to join the Kalawarta newspaper. Pambudi then used this to fight back against Pak Dirga, whose arbitrariness was getting worse. So the resistance began by writing articles about the abuses that occurred in Tanggir village. This stage is called the rage stage in Javanese ethical guidelines.

It can be seen here that the cause of conflict in Java as depicted in this novel is inefficient state resources and management (corrupt and arbitrary behavior). There is one interesting thing depicted in this novel, namely how Javanese society manages conflict so that it does not become open conflict. The way to manage it is by ngalah, ngalih and ngamuk ((Winarti & Sabrina, 2021); (Andayani, 2019);(Rahmawanto & Rahyono, 2019)).

The first is to ngalah. Ngalah has a very big meaning, namely that rather than clashing, it is better to remain silent. Ngalah does not mean losing, but giving in, or prioritizing a sense of humility and kindness towards the person who uses it. The person who gives in is actually trying to be quiet and avoid a scene; not out of fear, but thinking further ahead, considering the advantages and disadvantages if a commotion occurs. Moreover, if the matter being discussed is just a small problem. So the word defeat is very effective when used in everyday interactions, especially when dealing with temperamental people.

The second is Ngalih. Ngalih is the behavior of not talking much and avoiding meeting. The person who diverted chose to speak silently. He prefers to speak as needed. For most people, he might be considered arrogant, even though he is actually prioritizing brotherhood, friendship, camaraderie and so on. It's very possible that the person who changes his heart is

being hurt like Pambudi in this novel, or his feelings are being hurt, but because he doesn't want to cause a commotion, he's better off keeping quiet, even moving to another place.

The third is ngamuk, which is an action when the first and second steps, namely ngalah and ngalih ,are no longer able to improve the situation. It's like a dam is no longer able to hold such a large volume of water and finally the dam breaks! If a dam breaks, the consequences can be imagined, the water will become a "giant" that hits or beats everything in its path, this water will hit whatever it passes and of course damage everything in its path. Therefore, at this third stage, Pambudi was ngamuk (furious). His anger could no longer be contained.

In Indonesia, the phenomenon of people going ngamuk (take revenge) has occurred many times. When this happens, society has darkened its eyes and no longer sees the risks it faces. The May 1998 riots are an example! That's the danger when ngalah and ngalih becomes unbearable, then what emerges is the third thing, ngamuk (anger)!

CONCLUSIONS

The civil conflict in the novel "Di Kaki Bukit Cibalak" by Ahmad Tohari is an illustration of how civil conflict occurs. The conflict in this novel occurs due to the struggle for resources and also mismanagement. It is depicted that Pambudi, as a villager who is assigned to manage the rice barn, has to conflict with Mr. Dirga, who is the village head. The conflict started with Pak Dirga's unfair behavior towards his citizen (Mbok Ralem) who was poor and needed help from the rice barn. The conflict then continued with Pambudi being "expelled" from Tanggir village because his father told him to give in by moving and leaving the village. Long story short, Pambudi then lived in Yogya and finally, through a long journey, he became a journalist and student.

This is where the resistance begins.

The conflict then turns into power versus the power of writing. The storyline depicts how a civil conflict develops between a village head and a student who has journalistic skills and high ideals. Ultimately, Pak Dirga's corrupt behavior led to his dismissal and legal proceedings.

It can be concluded that the story in this novel strengthens the thesis that civil conflict is triggered by struggles over resources and also errors in management. When these two things happen, society will fight back: sooner or later. In fact, the village community, in this case Pambudi, has tried to give in and divert in order to avoid open conflict because that is not good in the eyes of the Javanese people. However, because of the arbitrariness of Mr Dirga still continues to occur, so the third step, namely anger, must be taken by Pambudi.

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