Conference Paper

Symbolic Investment Strategy of Ayu Utami in Literature Field Cultural Production by Pierre Bourdieu Perspective

A. N. Affandy¹ and H. Supratno²

¹Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Muhammadiyah University of Surabaya, Jalan Sutorejo No. 59, Surabaya 60113, Indonesia
²Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, State University of Surabaya, Jalan Lidah Wetan, Surabaya 60213, Indonesia

Abstract

This study aims to describe four symbolic investment strategies used by Ayu Utami, namely: 1) a distinction strategy, 2) language games, 3) the replacement of doxa and specific legitimacy. This research uses a qualitative method by adopting Bourdieu’s meta-sociology approach with the data collection techniques of media research and documentation. The results of the study show that: 1) language distortion is performed by using rationality logic, especially regarding sexuality, 2) the game language uses a typical critical, 3) the fighting to doxa includes: the patriarchy of phalocentrism, religion, morals, militarism, and postmodernism, and 4) legitimacy obtained by the dominant, popular, and global writers.

Keywords: distinction strategy, doxa, language games

1. Introduction

The field of literary cultural production does not only see and understand the creation of works as beautiful or aesthetic work. It looks more at the label or literary status given to agents who can compete to occupy the position of a writer recognized by the society. According to Bourdieu, deploys from sociology literature a beauty is born and composed of social systematic [1].

Contestation in the Indonesian literature field is a new conversation after Taufik Ismail as the dominant writer group (status quo). He gave a negative perception of the Speech Culture in front of the Jakarta Academy on December 20th, 2006, entitled “Budaya Malu Dikikis Habis Gerakan Syahwat Merdeka.” He says “Sastrawangi” with
the name as SMS (Sastra Mazhab Selangkangan), GSM (Gerakan Syahwat Merdeka) or with FAK (Fiksi Alat Kelamin) especially *Saman* novel by Ayu Utami in 1998.

Ayu Utami became famous immediately after her first novel; *Saman* was selected as the best novel by the Jakarta Arts Council in 1998. Her controversial novel invites a polemic in Indonesia literature. Ayu Utami was named the woman figure inspiring pioneer and innovator of literary fiction novel Indonesia [2]. Assert (in Damono) said that the future of Indonesian literature is handled by women [3]. The newly acquired power cannot be separated from their ability to choose strategies of power, including the distinction, language game, the fighting doxa, and specific legitimacy.

### 2. Methods

Bourdieu believed that the *field* is like a game, that there is always a competition between each player to be the winner, so they need a certain strategy [1]. The goal is to maintain or change the capital distribution of economic capital or symbolic capital in relation to the hierarchy of power through an investment strategy. He uses the term “symbolic capital” as a set of symbols that are influential in social life [4]. Symbolic capital is a form of recognition and prestige that gives birth to the accumulation of symbolic power in structure power [5]. This research used a qualitative descriptive method by adopting the meta-sociology approach of Bourdieu and the data collection techniques used were documentation and media research. The method used to analyze the data was a qualitative design; this deals with the concept of Miles and Huberman that data analysis contains three important processes: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing [6].

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. Distinction

According to Bourdieu, “the force that drives human behavior in search is named seeking distinction” [7]. The aim is to present in the social space, to occupy a position or to be different. Therefore, separation and the symbolic distinction need to be constructed.

In relation to the above statement, Ayu does bravely distinction way against the structures of domination that is patriarchal and phallocentrism. Through her radical language, she discusses sexuality, even though she is a woman. Her distinction serves
as symbolic tools in her struggle to obstacles the authors dominant. The result from
interview second party with Ayu proves the statement above.

Sex in my novel is not spices, but the main menu. I’m interested in that because
sex is a problem for humans, especially for women. Because for women, sex as a a
reproductive function is not the same as recreational function, “she continued.” That
is, women get pregnant without enjoying sex [8].

3.2. Language game

As the writer, Ayu Utami plays the language of the rational logic that reveals the values
that exist in the universe. The language game has the function of educating people to
always grasp the meaning of life, such as in the following.

There has never been a convincing scientific argument that the potential for a man
with sex is greater than that of a woman. There have been so many studies that explain
that what is considered a natural difference is merely a social construct. Polygamy
is not duplication or a natural extension. It can only be accepted as a fair trial in an
unjust social structure; namely, the patriarchal, which causes women to rely on men
for protection, such as a father or husband [9].

A man’s sexual potency being greater than a woman’s is merely a social construct
and is not scientific. According to Ayu, it is merely a social myth to dominate women.
Another aim is that woman depends on the man, including the polygamy construction,
which is not natural and unfair to the society structure in patriarchy.

This strategy can be pursued through the use of a special language capable of
creating the illusion of independence with a false disconnection strategy, for example
by word play on the basis of its root similarity (synchrony, diachrony). This becomes a
formal means to generate a feeling of connection between two markers [10].

3.3. Doxa

In the Outline of Theory and Practice, Bourdieu used the term doxa in reference to
schemes of thought and perception generated by objective social structures, which are
experienced as something natural and that can be proven [11]. Doxa is an established
structure so it is not questioned anymore and finally becomes a collective conscious-
ness. Doxa formed from all classifications set boundaries on consciousness (cognition)
and simultaneously generate recognition errors in arbitrary to the base system [12].
Doxa is a point of view or dominant ruling that declares itself and imposes itself as a universal standpoint [11]. Doxa, which is supported by orthodoxya, will always be counter with heterodoxya. In symbolic contestation, there is a discourse contest. In the contestation, there is a winner and a loser. The winning discourse becomes dominant; Doxa, being a losing discourse, becomes heterodoxya [13].

Women should keep their hymen until the first night of marriage. A girl who is not a virgin deserves to be dumped by her husband. And such events are still occurring [14].

Based on these data, Ayu Utami was in a symbolic contestation, namely the practice of power relations through discourse, with the techniques of language and diplomacy, which are not always realized. She is opposed to the doctrine of female virginity.

3.4. The strategy of specific legitimacy

Strategy-specific legitimacy is the degree of recognition (consecration) that is given by an artist to another artist. Recognition as a writer is not only given by the community, but also a number of parties that contribute to whether or not an agent is called a writer. Bourdieu asserted that the research should be directed at all parties who contributed to the results of works, i.e. the authors, readers, and literary critics [1].

Ayu Utami uses the symbolic investment strategy in an effort to seize, maintain, or increase her social recognition. She gets legitimating because she is able to place her work in a double hierarchy of heteronomy and autonomous hierarchy. The consecration of poets such as Taufik Ismail, Katrin Bandel, Saut Situmorang, Korie Layun Rampan, Supardi Djoko Damono, Moh Gunawan Amad, Mangunwijaya, Umar Kayam, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Faruk and Ignas Kleden, Suwardi Endaswara, Maman S. Mahayana, Butet Kertaradjasa etc. Moreover, the legitimacy popular in the writing of theses, dissertations, and national or international scientific journals. Consequently, some of her works have been translated into seven languages across the world.

4. Conclusion

Ayu Utami has the ability to choose a symbolic investment strategy that is appropriate in the literary field of cultural production, so she obtains legitimacy as a female Indonesian writer in the literature of the 2000s. The research data was obtained from several novels written by Ayu Utami, interviews, and YouTube transcriptions. The data show: firstly, a distinction strategy through aesthetic against (the aesthetic innovation) in the sexuality field. Secondly, the special language game produces rational logic. Thirdly,
the honesty facing the social reality is reflected in the contents of her work which fight to *doxa*. Fourthly, her works get specific legitimacy from the dominant writers and popular legitimacy that come from domestic and foreign. Her creative work combines the degree of heteronomous and autonomous hierarchy, which is also translated into seven languages.

**Acknowledgement**

Authors would like to thank University of Muhammadiyah Surabaya and Surabaya State University for facilitated this research.

**Conflict of Interest**

Authors declare that there is no conflict of interest in this research.

**References**


