**INFLUENCE OF DRAMA STAGING BAN "*MASTODON* DAN *BURUNG KONDOR*" IN RENDRA’S SYMBOLIC CAPITAL FULFILLMENT**

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***Abstract:*** *Language is a tool for a person to represent and express themselves to others. Lacan (2008) believes that human subjects cannot exist without language, but the subject cannot be reduced to language. This power of language is used by WS Rendra. Through language, Rendra is able to express his ideology and views on social world chaos around him. The purposes of this article are to reveal the habitus which influence Rendra in making Mastodon dan Burung Kondor as well as the capital getting by Rendra on the ban of play performance and the effect of it toward his career trajectory in Indonesian literature arena. The method used in this study is library research and analytical descriptive. From the analyses, it can be summarized that Rendra's dissident mental and the events in 1970 become habitus in making Mastodon dan Burung Kondor. Meanwhile, the capital obtained by Rendra is symbolic capital.*

***Keywords:*** *language, Rendra, habitus, trajectory, symbolic capital*

**1. INTRODUCTION**

Language is a tool for a person to represent and express themselves to others. Lacan believes that human subjects cannot exist without language, but the subject cannot be reduced to the language (Sarup, 2008: 9). In his writings, The Mirror Stage, Lacan said speak capabilities that differentiate the subject. There is no subject that is independent of language. We all submerged and never be out of everyday language (Sarup, 2008: 9). This power of language is used by a charismatic literary figure, WS Rendra. Through language, Rendra is able to express his ideology and views on social world chaos around him. The language contained in his works, either in the form of poetry and drama, often full of extremely sharp social criticism against irregularities in the government during his lifetime.

Willibrodus Surendra Broto Rendra, or better known as WS Rendra, is one of the greatest writers in Indonesia. The "Burung Merak" writing style that is full of 'controversial' value through social criticism, making it has uniqueness and a differentiation with other Indonesian writers. Social criticism that contained protest that was ever send him to jail in 1978 when he read a poem entitled "Pamflet Penyair" by the authorized government at that time. Rendra's famous drama titled *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* also had forbidden to be staged at Taman Ismail Marzuki. Not only that, for performing plays tells about oppression of the people (thought of as condors) by the rulers (mastodon) in its own alumni, Gadjah Mada University, he must meet the ban by the rector who led at that time. Fortunately, the struggle of Rendra in order to get permission to be given the permission, not only from the Military Command VII Diponegoro, Semarang, Central Java, which oversees the areas of military Yogyakarta, but even from the Commander of Operations of Security and Order (Pangkopkamtib), that was supervised by General Soemitro, eventually the play performance was held.

*Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* itself is a phenomenal work written and performed by Rendra himself. The drama, which was first staged in 1973 with his Bengkel Teater group critically tells about the social issues that hit Indonesia at the time. Rendra describes Indonesia is aggressive to build under the military regime. Development itself stands for the people's welfare. The rigors of the high building walls as if becomes marker of development, the prosperity mirror. Leader on behalf of political stability and glorifies development. Rate of economic growth spread, but people still wallow in poverty. Development activities that heralded just a ploy to retain power. From behind the walls of the campus, the students move. Revolution becomes the purpose to overthrew the military. However, the revolution offered them not obtain a place in the hearts Jose Karosta, a poet who is known to have a mass in his era.

Viewed from a piece of drama synopsis *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* above, it can be concluded clearly that the scathing social criticism is very clearly imaged through the words in it. Suharto regime which at the time was touting the construction based on Pancasila apparently mentioned and criticized sharply through this Rendra's phenomenal work.

Related to the culture critique strategy formulation promoted by Rendra in his works, Mark Bracher in his book, *Jaques Lacan, Diskursus, dan Perubahan Sosial: pengantar Kritik-Budaya Psikoanalisis*, says that it is necessary to understand in the various ways how a discourse produces a psychological impact on a large number of people so socially successful. This understanding can be gained through the study of Lacan on four basic structure of discourse which each of it produces four social influence: educate/indoctrinate; set/give orders; enticing/protest analyze/transform/revolutionized (2009:79). Social criticism assumed by Rendra have large enough social influence for readers, both to educate, enticing/protest, and analyze the phenomenon being experienced by the people at that time.

The authors indicates that this is exactly what then makes Rendra suffered bans when he wanted his plays staged in various places. However, the ban on Rendra would be able to attract the sympathy of his followers and even the public at large as concerned about the arbitrariness of Soeharto, Orde Baru leader, in order to silence the protesters of his way leadership. Sympathy from wider community then becomes a symbolic capital, the capital refers to the degree of prestige accumulation of fame, consecration or honor (Johnson, 2010: xix), for Rendra which resulted in strong Rendra's legitimacy as controversial playwright of these communities, especially the lovers of Indonesian literature.

Strong legitimacy obtained by Rendra was also ultimately affect the trajectory of Rendra’s drama career in the field of Indonesian literature. The name of Rendra’s Bengkel Teater increasingly becomes famous and often other works, in addition to *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor*, such as *Kisah Perjuangan Suku Naga, Orang-Orang di Tikungan Jalan, Panembahan Reso*, etc staged by a group of play lovers. According to the background above, the investigated problems are (1) what habitus that influenced Rendra in making drama *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor*?and (2) what capitals that Rendra gets toward the event of staging ban and how its effect toward his career trajectory?

The purpose of this research is to analyze Rendra’s habitus in making *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* drama as well as the capitals that Rendra gets after the staging ban and its effect toward his career trajectory. Meanwhile, the significances of the study are to introduce new theory that is Pierre Bourdieu sociological literature and its application to the readers so that it can enhance their knowledge.

**2. The Influence of Drama Staging Prohibition "*Mastodon dan Burung Kondor*" In Rendra’s Symbolic Capital Fulfillment**

**2.1 Capitals and Trajectory on Pierre Bourdieu’s Perspective**

Johnson in his introduction of book Arena Produksi Kultural, Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya stated that habitus is often described by Bourdieu as *‘logika permainan, sebuah ‘rasa praktis’ yang mendorong agen bertindak dan bereaksi dalam situasi-situasi spesifik dengan suatu cara yang tidak selalu bisa dikalkulasikan sebelumnya, dan bukan sekedar kepatuhan sadar pada aturan. Ia lebih mirip seperangkat disposisi yang melahirkan praktik dan persepsi* (2010: xvi). From that definition, it can be said that the dispositions which are represented by habitus are durable in the means of last along in a certain time range of an agent.

Meanwhile, Henry Barnard argued in his writing, *Bourdieu dan Etnografi: Refleksivitas, Politik, dan Praksis*, that Bourdieu’s habitus concept has strong ties with the concept of culture. He added idea that Bourdieu in a series of studies that dialectically surpass one another, has been renamed the concept of habitus is, away from the concept of semiological Levi-Strauss which is a conception that positioned the concept as a mechanism of unconscious that controls the I's act - towards a the concept of 'the substance', a concept which the implicit dualism of mind and body are exceeded such a way that even the body can be considered as 'a memory' (Henry in (Habitus x Modal) + Ranah = Praktik), 2009: 80).

An agent in the literary world was not spared from habitus in his possession. Habitus plays a role in the formation of an agent of ideology and influence his perspective in facing something around. These agents do not act in empty space, but in a concrete social situations which are governed by a set of objective social relations. Johnson said that according to Bourdieu's theoretical model, any social formation is structured through a series of hierarchically organized arena (economic arena, the arena of education, politics, and cultural, etc.) (2010: xvii).

Social space or individual's arena is associated through time (trajectory of life) with a series of field where people fight for various capital forms. In this social space, an individual with his habitus associated with other individuals and various social realities which produce acts in accordance with their field and capital. (Takwin: 2009: xx).

As for the capital, basically, is the impact resulting from a person's habitus ownership in the field of social. Capital is a concentration of power, a specific strength operating in the field. Each field requires an individual to have a special capitals in order to live well and survive in it. (Takwin, 2009: xx).

While Mahar Cheleen, et al. mention the view of Bourdieu that capital roles as a social relation that is contained in an exchange system and this term is extended 'in all forms of goods-both material and symbols, without distinction-which presents itself as something rare and worthy to look for in a certain social formation' (2009: 16).

The connection between the symbolic capital and the acquisition of legitimacy to an agent explained by Maheer that:

*“Agar dapat dipandang sebagai seseorang atau kelas yang berstatus dan mempunyai prestise, berarti ia harus diterima sebagai sesuatu yang legitimit dan, terkadang, sebagai otoritas yang juga legitimit. Posisi semacam itu membawa serta ‘kekuasaan untuk memberi nama’ (aktivitas, kelompok), kekuasaan untuk mewakili pendapatumum (common sense) dan kekuasaan untuk menciptakan ‘versi dunia sosial yang resmi’. Kekuasaan untuk merepresentasikan seperti ini berakar dalam modal simbolik” (2009: 17).*

The connection between habitus, capital and trajectory is what will be the strategy to answer questions related to how the events of the ban on staging plays *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* could be the establishment of symbolic capital for Rendra, so he is legitimized strongly by the people, especially for literature lovers in the arena of Indonesian literature.

**2.2 Research Method**

According to the background of study above, the method that can be used in analyzing the problem is library research. This method is a way to get information from the previous research, both primary and secondary data. Nazir in *Metode Penelitian* said that library research is the data collecting technique by holding analysis study toward books, literatures, notes and reports related to the resolved problem (1988:111). It is the important step after a researcher determining the topic of the study. The next phase is doing the study correlated with the topic. In theory finding, the researcher will assemble as much as possible the information from the related literature. The literature resource can be found from book, journal, magazine, thesis, dissertation and other sources (internet, newspaper, etc.). The library research method revolves around general process such as identify the theory systematically, find literature and analyze documents contains associated with research topic. By utilizing this method, the writer takes the sources from the written materials in the library. The primary data or main objects of the research are the article and any information about Rendra’s life and career itself.

Through the literature sociological approach, the writer tries to reveal the capital and trajectory in Rendra’s career and life. It is related to the habitus of Rendra and its effect on Indonesian literature field.

**3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

1. ***Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* Banning**

Bakdi Soemanto revealed a major event in August 1970, which is believed to be the birth forerunner of *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* play in his book *Rendra: Karya dan Dunianya*. He said that W.S. Rendra was arrested by those who responsible for order and security, and the arrestment, more or less, in the name of discipline. It was revealed that Rendra is not alone at that time, but together with 10 other people. Soemanto tried to describe in detail the events that initially WS Rendra, with his friends, together in a patch of grass in the Thamrin street, not too far from the Hotel Indonesia, Jakarta. He said that there were not only Rendra and his friends. At that night, even hundreds of students preparing for the large-scale action, which is what Goenawan Mohamad called *Malam Tirakatan*.

There are interesting events that previously occurred so that some parties looked strange toward the activities undertaken by the students who were told by Soemanto. This is because four or five years earlier, precisely in 1966, the students alight to the streets, among others, along the Thamrin Street. They supported and backed by the military; and supporting and supported Suharto, to demote Soekarno.

*“Tidak begitu pasti apakah di antara mahasiswa-mahasiswi yang turun di jalan pada 1966 juga turun lagi pada 1970. Sangat boleh jadi begitu. Sebab di antara mereka ada beberapa, yang pada 1966 juga ikut aktif. Bahkan, sejak 1963, ada yang sudah menentang Soekarno tatkala ia duduk sebagai salah seorang penanda tangan Manifes Kebudayaan yang legendaris itu. Tampaknya, pada 1970, pemimpin demonstrasi memimpin dan semangat yang sama, ingin melakukan perubahan cepat, revolusioner, seperti yang mereka lakukan dan sukses pada 1966” (2003:2).*

The different thing is that if in 1966 the students were supported by the military, their action in 1970 however was blocked by the military. Specifically, the military wants to defeat the *Malam Tirakatan*, as expressed by Soemanto. The heat of the situation at that moment was allegedly because of if the tense situation continues, it cannot doubt that they will clash. It was because, in contrast to 1966 which at that time was no cohesiveness between the military and students, in 1970 they were in opposite each other. The clashes could be a serious and open the way to use violence. The students will play throwing stones or anything that they have and the military will use rubber loaded rifles, tear gas, water cannon, batons, and others.

Soemanto also revealed that Rendra then persuade the demonstrators to cancel the attack. The goal was if the *Malam Tirakatan* could be canceled, violence could be prevented. Instead, Rendra offered to meditate in a patch of grass. However, the military army, perhaps, suspected that Rendra was a disobedient protester. Even he could be assessed as a dissident because hundreds of students had dispersed but still there was a small group that even reckless.

This is considered by Soemanto as the cause of Rendra and his colleagues were arrested for about 15-20 hours. They, of course were interrogated by officers. When one of them said that the group wanted to act as a victim to prevent physical clashes that might be stopped, emerged as the views and interpretations of this small group led by Rendra. This group did not agree with the actions of the revolutionary students, but they also refused to cooperate with the ruler. They fought against oppression and power that were used arbitrarily. Furthermore, Soemanto mentioned that in the eyes of the army, Rendra and his friends were demonstrators, which the student raises the question where and to whom Rendra in favor of such a situation. The preferred position by Rendra was difficult to understand, because the situation like this was completely contradictory with high degree of tension.

After telling a bit of the major events that occurred in that month, Soemitro began to try to link the incident with the emergence of the play *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* in three years later, certainly on October 6, 1973. According to Soemanto, the idea acted by Rendra at that time, then, reflected very clearly in a play staged at ITB campus with the title Mastodon dan Burung Kondor, which was replayed on 11 to 12 October 1973 at Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, November 24, 1973 in Sporthall Kridosono, Yogyakarta and finally in Senayan, Jakarta , on Saturday, December 15, 1973. It is said that this drama precisely described the events that took place in Thamrin Street, on August 1970.

In the actual event, there was the army used by authority to drive development. Even it was starting to sound a proverb aggressively that the military was a dinamisator. There were also other proverbs that began to emerge in the public conversation. Some were stated that they nauseated with the political parties which, as seen in the era before the Presidential Decree of July 5, 1959, they were said to be just busy to quarrel themselves. They were not thinking of the people at all.

They said that the military people or military organizations and their members were the most prepared to face various challenges. They were solid, disciplined, and reliability. Among the people, there was no such organization, any, could defeat. Therefore, it was natural for them to stand in the front row.

In *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor*, there is some elements of it. There is a power held by the army, there are revolutionaries, in this case is the student, and there is a poet. If the events of August 1970 the poet that performed was WS Rendra, meanwhile in the events of *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* is Jose Karosta.

Soemanto explained that in the beginning, *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* will be premièred at the campus of the Gadjah Mada University in the fasting month of 1973. Nevertheless, the police objected. As for the reason, the solemn atmosphere of fasting could be disrupted. Having failed at UGM, the play was tested in ITB Bandung. Staging was took place on October 6, 1973.

Untuk mementaskan Mastadon dan Burung Kondor di wilayah kampus harus ada izin. Akan tetapi, untuk lakon Mastadon dan Burung Kondor, menjadi sedikit istimewa karena biasanya, izin membuat tontonan, yang diistilahkan izin keramaian, diminta dari dan diberikan oleh kepolisian setempat. Tetapi berbeda dengan kasus lakon yang melibatkan Jose Karosta. Izin itu harus datang dari militer. Di Yogyakarta, sebagai Provinsi, yang memiliki perangkat perizinan sendiri, tiba-tiba aturan itu tidak berlaku.

*“Izin harus datang tidak hanya dari Kodam VII Diponegoro, Semarang, Jawa Tengah yang membawahi wilayah-wilayah militer Yogyakarta, tetapi bahkan dari Panglima Komando Operasi Keamanan dan Ketertiban (Pangkopkamtib), yang waktu itu di tangan Jendral Soemitro. Orang bisa membayangkan bahwa untuk mementaskan sebuah lakon Mastadon dan Burung Kondor harus menempuh ketegangan yang berlapis-lapis. Dari lapisan paling bawah hingga lapisan paling atas. Akan tetapi, orang juga bisa berpikir lebih positif menanggapi kondisi yang demikian, yakni bahwa lakon Mastadon dan Burung Kondor dan pengarangnya, W.S Rendra, bukanlah karya sembarangan. Kehadiran Rendra dengan karyanya sangat diperhitungkan. Izin yang sangat sulit diperoleh itu sekaligus telah menjadi iklan gratis yang luar biasa efektifnya. Izin itu akhirnya turun. Dengan selamat serta sukses, Mastadon dan Burung Kondor akhirnya bisa pentas kedua di kampus Universitas Gadjah Mada* (2003: 8)*.*

Read the play and enjoy the staging of *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor*, can make people enjoy Rendra’s capability as an artist. However, because of the presence of Spanish characters, like Jose Karosta, Pedro Aros, Emmanuel Valdes, and others, often make people think that Rendra retells again the Western plays as he has done several times in other plays. Soemanto mentioned, if people are not careful in reading and enjoying his stage, it will be assumed that the *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* is the work of translation that is added here and there, as the development of the original script. Events that are happening in the play were set in Latin America, a country which is a former Spanish colony, and they still use the name of Spain, even speaking in Spanish. It is used by Rendra to describe it as Indonesia. Soemanto concluded that *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* plays are not merely stripped Indonesia, but rather a mirror. In other words, through the reading of and appreciating toward the plays while watching its stage, people can reflect themselves on the condition of their own country.

From the above presentation, the writer has the same presumption with Soemanto that there is a correlation that takes place between the events on August 1970 with the plays description in the *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor*. Poet Jose Karosta in the play, Rendra compared to himself when there was *Malam Tirakatan*. When he knew the anarchic demonstration would threaten the safety of people's lives, Rendra then was forming his own group by voicing his protest against the government through poetry readings. He did not favor to anybody, but he chose his own path that did not intersect at all with anarchism. According to him, as that was the task of a poet, criticize the things that will weaken the people’s life power that resulted in weakening the development. That was what he asserted in his book *Penyair dan Kritik Sosial*:

*“Kewajiban seorang penyair untuk mengkritik semua operasi di masyarakat, baik yang bersifat sekuler maupun spiritual, yang menyebabkan kemacetan di dalam kehidupan kesadaran. Sebab kemacetan kesadaran adalah kemacetan daya cipta, adalah kemacetan daya hidup, dan melelamahkan daya pemabangunan”* (2001:6)*.*

Related to the issue of his way to criticizing the government roles, he further wrote that he could not be allied with the government whether past or present. He felt obliged to be independent and he was involved in life as he is facing the people, so he could not escape from life, from the appreciation of life. The reason was because his reader was life itself. He wrote that he managed themes that intersect with the life in his works, not only reflected the political, religious, but reflected life in all sorts of broad context because many people like it.

Rendra berupaya untuk bebas, jujur dan utuh dalam setiap karyanya. Melalui pengungkapan dengan cara plastisitas dan harmoni (sifat-sifat artistik) itulah ia bersuara. Bukan melalui *cara*-cara anarkis seperti yang dilakukan oleh para demonstran. Hal ini tercermin dalam pikirannya bahwa:

*“Kalau hanya untuk mencaci maki, cari sensasi, tak pernah ada dalam sajak saya. Yang penting bagi saya sikap kritis, sikap yang analitis terhadap fakta-fakta. Mungkin berbeda dengan beberapa penyair yang meletakkan visinya pada spekulasi”* (Rendra, 2001: 14).

The ban which was made by several parties toward Rendra’s intention to stage the *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* plays ignited by the atmosphere when it did not support the people to speech freely at that time. In the interviews conducted by magazine Gatra when put in a special edition about Rendra in 1995 to some of parties toward the heated situation at the time, they revealed that no one dared to protest openly at the time, except for a Rendra. This was stated by Adi, the brother-in-law of Rendra and Bakdi Soemanto, one of the companions of Rendra. Similar opinion was also expressed by Roekmini Koesoemo Astoeti, a retired police brigadier general who had ever arrested Rendra in Yogyakarta when he became Intel. A former Member of Parliament who is now a member of the Human Rights National Commission said the public and the government are often made surprised because at that time not many people dared to express criticism.

However, another opinion expressed by Julia I. Suryakusuma in *Rendra Ia Tak Pernah Pergi*. In a paper titled *Mastodon: Pementasan Sebuah Ego*, she attacks Rendra by saying that the performances were held on Sunday, December 15th, 1973 at the Gedung Istora Senayan was just staging an ego, a too big ego belongs to the author of the play which is also the central character of drama presented that evening, the Rendra. For her, there was no novelty presented by the artist. In her view, *Mastodon* was full with clichés about social justice in Indonesia and the things that were already known by many people which were not a secret anymore. The difference is the issue was only triggered by Rendra openly with passionate spirit.

*“Ia menjadi semacam “penyambung lidah rakyat” dan dengan jalan ini, mengangkat dirinya menjadi nabi – sang Jose Karosta, sang juru selamat – Yesus Kristus Indonesia abad keduapuluh, pikirnya mungkin?”* (Suryakusuma, 2009: 182).

She went on to say her cynicism by saying that the permissions granted by the General Soemitro which was to portray the government that seemed as if it has become more open, more communicative and willing to accept criticism, although roughly spoken. Suryakusuma confirms in his writing that the staging just patriotism conversation.

*Dalam adegan benderanya, haruskah ia mengobralkan patriotisme sedemikian rupa? Membuat suatu show dari patriotisme? Haruskah ia sampai pada ekstrimitas itu untuk meyakinkan publik akan otensitas dirinya? Saya kira tidak, karena pada malam itu sering terjadi situasi di mana sebelum Jose Karosta selesai mengucapkan kotbah maupun cacian-caciannya, publik telah ramai bertepuk tangan dan bersorak sorai sehingga seringkali akhir kalimat tidak terdengar......Sebagai seorang anggota generasi muda, saya sungguh merasa kecewa dan agak sedih bahwa penggambaran harapan Indonesia hanya begitu saja”* (2009: 183).

The statement of Suryatama here, the writer considers such as one of readers and viewers’ self-awareness of *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* that the big event of play performance which is full of bans does not have to be too celebrated as a form of avant-garde social critique at that time because actually the image of Indonesia hope of the presence of democracy in the public sphere, will not be enough by only cursing and do extremity with a flag in the middle of the stage, but people must be smart to understand the meaning of democracy itself so that they can fight for their own vitality, as fought by Rendra.

1. **Rendra as Controversial Writer**

In other parts of his writings, Bakdi Soemanto tells the life background of Willybrordus Surendra Rendra. Since he was born, Rendra is in the surrounding of Roman Catholic fonder. It is inherited by his father who had become the head of Kanisius Primary School in Kebalen, Surakarta and then became a teacher of Indonesian and Javanese language at the Catholic High School in Surakarta. Soemanto told that since childhood, Rendra’s father could not understand the will of his child. Rendra has been very diligent in reading since that time and occupying the English language. When he was in the second grade of junior high school, he had started to write a play for a celebration at the school even his poems were already present through his handwriting.

In an article titled Segelas Air Putih di Cipayung which was published in magazine Gatra that was in 1995 and written by Akmal Nasery Basral, said that Rendra was fiery since childhood. Prolonged feud with his father, Raden Cyprianus Sugeng Brotoatmodjo, is his first rebellion. Rendra who was educated in the Catholic tradition ever since in Sisters kindergarten, and continues to Bruderan elementary, junior high, and high school, considered his father as a Kanisius Foundation school teacher and devout Roman Catholic as a symbol of authoritarianism. It was because Rendra’s excitement of a variety of fantasy since the age of 4 years has always tripped by his father, who thinks his stories are not rational. For him, everything must follow the rules of rationality and scientific. While his mother, Raden Ayu Catharina Ismadillah, in the eyes of Rendra was a symbol of love and a great sense of freedom since her great understanding. Even according to Rendra in the interview session, his mother taught him how to meditate, so that his influence of fantasies can be evaporated. According to this article, a similar case has been published in Jejak Langkah Rendra, periodically published by Depot Kreasi Jurnalistik Jakarta Forum.

Rendra was actually former students of Perguruan Silat Bangau Putih. The writer believes that his background is slightly influenced these artists’ habitus, so that he could manage his body and soul in order to get the balance when looking at the events in his society. The balance between his body and soul was then poured through the words contained both in poems and plays.

Rendra as the Javanese is little affected with *kejawen* concept that is still embraced by most of the Java community. In his book, Tentang Bermain Drama that was first published in 1976, said that with his Bengkel Teater, he kept moving and experimenting. He also explored new possibilities in the art of acting. He mixed West acting theory with *kanuragan* method of *kejawen* treasury.

Of the various stages of life and formation of the ideology that is based on the Javanese people *kejawen* behavior above, we can draw a line that connects both of it in the formation of Rendra’s authorship characteristics which often having content of social criticism toward the weakness of people creativity and vitality as well as development decaying fronted by Indonesian government.

Rendra as an agent, in the concept of Bourdieu, unconsciously made his principle as 'game logic' or a 'practical sense' that pushed him to act and react in specific situations, such as the disorganized social conditions as long as he lives, with a way that is not always can be calculated in advance. It was not just his conscious adherence to the binding rules in his process of authorship. The principle is transformed into a set of disposition that delivers practices and perceptions.

Rendra’s habitus is the result of a long process of his life struggle started from he was a kid to a well-known artist even to his death, which Bourdieu described as 'individual feeding', becomes the second sensing or essence of nature which lasts in long time throughout his life and from the feeding was born Rendra’s works in Indonesia literary arena, place where he earns life in various activities. The habitus is like 'structure structured "and" structuring structure' in the sense that it is able to make Rendra makes practices in his work according to specific situations which is going on in the community.

How is the relationship between habitus and the ideology promoted by Rendra in his works can be seen in his statement while attending a conference "Writers of All Countries" in Rotterdam, Netherlands, September 5 to October 9, 1986, in which he published in Penyair dan Kritik Sosial. In his writings, he said:

*“Menurut tradisi, peran seorang penyair adalah menjadi imbangan spiritual bagi operasi dari lembaga-lembaga sekuler. Dinamika pembangunan selalu mengandung dua aspek yang sama pentingnya, yaitu: aspek struktural dan aspek mental. Peran penyair adalah menumpuk dinamisme mental masyarakat. Ketenangan isolasi merupakan suatu kemewahan. Olah tapa seorang penyair di dalam masyarakat yang sedang membangun adalah mengolah ke-terangan dan kewaspadaan kesadarannya sementara ia duduk di tengan keramaian pasar. Begitulah bahasa retorikanya. Begitulah metaforanya”* (2001: 4-5).

He boasted that Indonesian people are still suffering disability culture: as the result of Dutch Colonialism oppression allied with the agrarian kings of Indonesian nation itself. Trade culture has been corrupted and not recovered until now. Foreign economic domination still very forces Indonesian people, so that spread into political influence as well. In the upheaval and congestion of the development process, Indonesian people needs information and awareness vigilance, as an element of balance. That is the task of the poet to keep it.

In these explanations, the writer argues that the balance to be maintained by Rendra, as a poet and playwright, is directly related to his studies at the martial art school *Bangau Putih*. *Kanuragan* is then mixed together with *kejawen* paradigm in rhetoric and metaphorical words contained in his works.

Similarly with the uprising which he often did, somewhat influenced by his thought patterns that already firmly question the authoritarianism and tyranny since he was a kid. Populism, sympathy for the masses, becomes Rendra’s attitude in composing. Just as seen on Italian authors, such as Ignatius Silme or in the neo-realist films.

Rendra’s education at the American Academy of Dramatic Art in New York was not separated from the formation of his habitus. The education which he got during studying there, more or less influences on the writing of "westernized" plays and make him smart to adapt some of the Western writers works such as *Kisah Perjuangan Suku Naga, Panembahan Reso* and several other works. This habit eventually also affects the creative process when making drama *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* that he wrote and played by himself.

In an interview with Anton Lake in 1970, a student of the Faculty of Literature, Universitas Gadjahmada who wrote a thesis about his poems, Rendra said that he was always questioned every symptom that is captured by his senses. The symptom was thought and the result was questioned once again. And so on. (Soemanto in Rendra Ia Tak Pernah Pergi, 2009: 5). This is in line with his statement in *Penyair dan Kritik Sosial*:

*“Sukses tidaknya saya sebagai penyair tentu saja ditentukan oleh kemampuan kreatif saya secara pribadi. Tetapi bila memang ada kemampuan kreatif saya semacam itu, saya akan mengikatkannya kepada nasib bangsa saya yang masih miskin kemungkinan, dibanding dengan bangsa-bangsa lain yang sudah maju di dunia. Itulah pilihan saya di dalam hidup ini “* (2001:7).

According to Ignas Kleden in *Rendra Ia Tak Pernah Pergi*, Rendra saw himself in three main dimensions. First, he was in the problems arising from his position against nature. Thus, there was born themes like today and tomorrow, the meaning or without meaning, strength and weakness, loneliness and joy, life and death. Second, he sees himself face to face with the people, with all of the tensions in the relationship: freedom and oppression, fairness and exploitation, honesty and betrayal, good and evil. Thirdly, he sees himself in dealing with himself and face problems such as the authenticity or falseness, morality or anarchy, expectations or absurdity, acceptance or rejection (2009: xiii).

The facts of life, ideology or rationale as well as the principle of Rendra’s life above, clearly constitutes the basis for establishment of the habitus of this writer. Everything accumulates and settles into Rendra’s unconsciousness, and to some extent also influences word games and ideologies pattern which would be built by Rendra in the play *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* which were attracted plenty of critics and the banning from the military which is authorized by the Soeharto government that was in charge in New Order period.

1. **The Capital Fulfillment as The Effect of Ban and Its Influence in Rendra’s Career Trajectory**

Discussing about capital, according to the writer's view, through the ban done by the military, the police who are controlled by the government and the academic toward the staging of the play *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor*, gives impact on symbolic capital in the figure of W.S. Rendra. Through these bans, he gained strong legitimacy from several fellow artists, the critics, the public, and even by governments which he is criticized as an artist who was able to voice the mind of the people, that is termed by Suryakusuma as the "mouthpiece of the people", in his article entitled *Mastodon: Pementasan Sebuah Ego*.

Bourdieu in his book, *Arena Produksi Kultural: Sebuah Kajian Sosiologi Budaya*, says there are three principles of legitimacy which are compete each other, namely the specific legitimacy principle (recognition given by the 'art for art' world – that is art for artists - autonomous and self - enough), legitimacy principle corresponding to the taste of 'bourgeois' and with the consecration which is given by dominant faction in the dominant classes and private or public assembly that is protected by the state, which is capable of rewarding ethical and aesthetic pleasing as well as suitable with the taste of dominant fraction itself, a political matter, and the legitimacy principle of the so-called defenders as 'popular’ legitimate, namely the consecration given by general consumers choice, 'mass audience' (2010: 35). The third principle is obtained by Rendra necessarily when the ban of *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* play applied.

Many writings discuss about him and the play ban that full of social criticism. It is similar to people who are also provoked of the ideology that tried to be promoted by the narratives in the drama. The government also makes Rendra as a very frightening figure because through his work, he could trigger the student to make revolution and return to repeat the events of the overthrow of power as was the case during the Old Order.

Cheleen Mahar, et al. who wrote about the basic theoretical position of the symbolic capital concept in *(Habitus x Modal) + Ranah = Praktik* tries to explain the concept of Bourdieu who said that in order to be regarded as a person or class that has status and prestige, it means he must be accepted as something that is legitimate and, sometimes, as the authorities that are also legitimate. This position brings with 'power to give the name' (activity, group), the power to represent the general views (common sense) and, most importantly, the power to create the 'official social world version'. *'The power to represent' as it is rooted in the symbolic capital* (17: 2009). Through the symbolic capital that Rendra has gotten as a result of the ban on staging his work, he unconsciously likes getting the authority in the field of Indonesian literature, where he was an agent doing the literary activity. He is considered can represent the people’s general opinion who feel oppressed by the government and becomes increasingly adored by his followers and those who strange entirely on the literary world. He then has the power to create the 'official version of the social world' in his works, and that version is as if it has the same view with the public at large. Rendra likened to a 'prophet' in the twentieth century, just like Jose Karosta in *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* play.

Rendra utilizes the idea of struggle for recognition as a fundamental dimension of social life. Bourdieu calls this struggle as a struggle over the accumulation of capital. Therefore, there must be a specific logic of the accumulation of symbolic capital, as capital which is built according to knowledge and recognition.

Symbolic capital that has been entrenched was ultimately provides significant influence in the strategy and the trajectory of this veteran writer. The idea of the strategy as something that is unconscious and not calculated or determined mechanically and is a product of intuitive 'knowledge' about the rules of the game also is tried to be developed by Rendra as a basis in the writing of subsequent works. There is also the idea of the existence of a logic of practices which is the details depend on the specific location and time, or maybe, depending on a sequence of events in time, that is the future development that becomes the concentration at that time.

H.B. Jassin, the pope Indonesian literature has ever stated that Rendra continues to move to a new political consciousness. He had a reason for his actions that impressed against the rulers. Rendra such a person will always be and always dealing with a ruler which is he considered wrong. While Rendra himelf with strong legitimacy that he had earned said that the government should thanks to poets like him, who shows the government deficiencies that must be corrected.

Another view expressed by A. TEEUW stating that Rendra has increased his sensitivity. There is a sort of mystical-cosmic vibrations influenced him in identifying human toward the surroundings natural. Rendra is success to manipulate the traditional mystical pantheist speculations in Javanese culture. He gives a personal touch, giving a new side and expression in metaphors that he is created.

**4. CONCLUSION**

From the explanation above, the writer concludes that the events on August 1970, when Rendra meditating in Thamrin Street, Jakarta, was a turning point for the making process of the *Mastodon dan Burung Kondor* play in the three years thereafter. The play that gets much condemnation and bans by the military puts Jose Karosta, the central figure of the play, as Rendra himself on the events in 1970. The play was not separated from Rendra’s sarcastic and cynicism style, as seen in other works, which is a manifestation of protest and social criticism against the authoritarianism and weaken development that were going on at the time. He chided that the rulers (Mastodon) have caused suffering in minor people's lives (Burung Kondor). In the play, it is clear that Rendra wants to put the poet Jose Karosta in a separate place, stand between the government and the demonstrators that were anarchists, as well as applying to him. This depiction is inseparable from Rendra’s habitus which has become dissident of his father when he was a child and *kejawen* pattern he applied in his life. The habitus which is under the influence of Rendra’s unconscious, effects on the mindset of the author, as well as inside of Jose Karosta’s self.

Ban happens on play staging that full of criticism invites sympathy from many parties, especially his followers, and becomes free advertising for Rendra himself. It is then access to the fulfillment of the symbolic capital of the artist. Conversation and concerns discussed by many parties, both artists, critics, or the general public though, makes Rendra gains strong legitimacy as a writer figure "mouthpiece of the people" that is bravely spoke of social criticism, although the situation was not favorable and repressed by military confinement under the influence of the current government. Symbolic capital was then becomes a strategy for Rendra to return to voice other criticism and later works, and many parties feel happy about it (the people) and at the same time feel threatened, because as a scourge, (government and military) toward his criticism in his authorship career trajectory.

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