



The Study of Poetry Anthology “*Di Atas Viaduct*”: A Portrait of a Changing Urban Society in Bandung, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Purpose of the study: This research is based on the phenomenon of urban society in which the complexity of urban culture has caused the Indonesia to change. For example, the polluted Cikapundung river, the rarely heard of Sundanese songs, the rice fields turned into settlements, and the large number of prostitutions spread across Bandung, West Java, Indonesia.

Methodology: This study aims to reveal the portrait of the urban society of Bandung in the poetry anthology. The method used in this study is the sociology of literature carried out with a sociological approach focusing on the analysis of the relationship between literature and humans.

Main Findings: Based on the results, the poems show a portrait of urban society in Bandung, namely ecological damage, lifestyle transformation, individualization, prostitution, poverty, social inequality, and spatial segregation. The portrait of urban society is illustrated in the poetry anthology *Di Atas Viaduct*.

Applications of this study: The results of this research can be used as a reflection of people's lives through literary works.

Novelty/Originality of this study: Therefore, the results show that the poet's perspective on the changes in the city of Bandung brought by urban culture.

Keywords: *Bandung, poetry, sociology of literature, the portrait of urban society*

INTRODUCTION

Literary works based on social phenomena are realism works because they depict the conditions happening in society. The author reveals the realities of people's lives using wordplays. The depicted phenomena include poverty, crime, environmental damage, urban culture, and so on. This problem often occurs in big cities in Indonesia, such as Jakarta, Bandung, and Surabaya. This is related to the complexity of urban life due to urban culture brought by the transformation of appearance and lifestyle that reflects modern life. This is in accordance with Ischak (2001, p. 275), who stated that the glamor of life in the city and its people would attract villagers to go to the city. Stevenson in Yoesoef (2017) stated that the relationship between urban culture and the conditions of urban society is not entirely based on nostalgia for rural culture, but is based more on the dynamics of big city life itself.

Urban society is a society with its social problems. The term urban society came up due to the urbanization process. Urbanization is a change in attitudes and lifestyles in cities as a result of modernity (Adam, 2010; Sumarjoko & Azizah, 2020; Widiawaty, 2019). Cities undergo changes due to urban culture brought by urbanization (Haris, 2015). According to Wepman, et al. (1974), in a study entitled *"Toasts: The Black Urban Folk Poetry"*, state that "Out of the black urban community have come many revealing expressions of a culture with distinct norms, values, and lifestyles". This refers to changes that occur due to urban culture, which reveals cultural differences with different norms, values, and lifestyles. Urban society has its own uniqueness which is marked by *The Revolution of Tripple T: Telecommunication, Transportation, and Tourism* (Supriatin, 2015, p. 101). These uniquenesses merge into one lifestyle. The urban lifestyle in urban areas displays subcultures such as prostitution, poverty, natural destruction, social inequality, and so on. Excessive urbanization causes various problems that are triggered by differences or inequality in development (Harahap, 2013).

The phenomenon of urban society can be the theme of some literary works (Setyami, 2021; Syafiiqa, 2022). In Indonesia, there are literary works that use the theme of urban society, such as Hamid Jabbar's poem entitled *"Wajah Kita"* (set in Bandung), a poetry collection *Senandang Bandung*, poetry anthology *Bandung dalam Puisi*, Kuntowijoyo's short story *"Anjing-anjing Menyerbu Kuburan"*, the opera *Kecoa* by N. Riantiaro, the novel *New Urban Sensation* by Bre Redana, and so on. From other countries, literary works that use the theme of urban society are the

poem "*Planol*" by Salvat-Papasseit (depicting the cities of Barcelona and Valencia in Spain), "*Mario Labo*" in the Philippines, the novel *al-Fill al-Azraq*, the poem "*Where I Live*" by Arundhathi Subramaniam (set in Bombay), the poem "*Besuch vom Lande*" by Erich Kästner (set in a city in Germany), and so on.

Di Atas Viaduct shows the problems of urban society in the city of Bandung. The problems that occur are due to the increasing human need to live more properly in cities. Many things have changed, for example, the beauty of the now polluted Cikapundung river, the rarely heard of Sundanese songs, the rice fields turned into settlements, and the large number of prostitution in the city of Bandung. These phenomena occur because the flow of urbanization in the city of Bandung is increasing (Tambunan, et al., 2021). According to the World Bank (2019), Bandung is among the third most popular cities for urban communities, after Jakarta and Surabaya. This has resulted in increased crime rate in the city of Bandung, such as urban crime, poverty, prostitution, unemployment, traffic jams, slums, and reduced green land. This portrait of a city is depicted in a series of poems that have been compiled into the poetry anthology *Di Atas Viaduct*. This poetry anthology documents the city of Bandung from the perspective of its poets. Each poet also has a different perspective according to their experience in seeing the city of Bandung.

This study uses poems as data for analysis because poems are one of the literary works that express phenomena such as urban society which is manifested by word plays in symbolic language. According to Pradopo (1987); Sayuti (n.d), poetry is the result of the poet's deepest imagination about something. What is seen, what is felt; there is beauty contained deep within the perceived imagination. Poetry is an expression medium for the author's perspective that involves the feelings and imagination of the five senses in rhythmic lines. The poem *Aku Lirik* in the poetry anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* shows the poet's feelings about the social conditions and problems that occur in urban communities in the city of Bandung.

This study aims to reveal the portrait of urban society in the poetry anthology *Di Atas Viaduct*. To achieve this, the sociology of literature theory is used in analyzing the various problems of urban society in the city of Bandung. The analysis is carried out with a sociological approach that leads to an analysis of the relationship between literary works and society, both in groups and individuals. The literary work is analyzed in its relation to reality, the extent to which the literary work reflects reality. Daldjoeni (1978, p. 15) explains that sociology strives to highlight the

complex social realities, changes, or tendencies that influence human action. Meanwhile, Damono (1979, p. 2) conveys the tendency of sociological analysis in literature to be an approach based on the assumption that literature is a mirror of socio-economic processes. This approach aims to know and understand deeper social phenomena in literary works.

Wellek and Warren (1993, p. 111) divide sociology of literature into the sociology of authors, sociology of literary works, and sociology of readers. The sociology of authors is seen from the author's profession, social background, author's status, and ideology which can be seen from the writer's various activities outside of the literary works. The sociology of literary works can be seen from the content, objectives, and other things implied in the literary work itself and related to social problems. Sociology of readers can be seen from the problems of the readers, the social impact of literary works, and the extent to which literature depends on social background, social change, and development. Therefore, it can be said that the sociology of literature is a study that reflects reality in society through literary works. This perspective reflects the social, economic, and cultural life that exists in society as a form of reminder or prohibition to readers.

The sociological approach is necessary because sociology is a science on human social activity. Meanwhile, literature is a work of art which is an expression of human life. Therefore, even though literature and sociology are two different fields, the two are interrelated (Laurenson & Swingewood, 1972; Watt, 1964). Sociology not only connects humans with their socio-cultural environment, but also with nature. Literature is a reflection of the cultural environment and also a dialectical text between authors, namely the social situation that forms it or an explanation of a dialectical history that is developed in literary works (Eagleton, 2002). Literature presents a picture of life, and life itself mostly consists of social reality (Yulianeta, 2016). In this sense, life includes the relationship between society, people, and events that occur in one's mind. The main criterion imposed on literary works is the "truth" of the depiction, or what one wants to describe (Yulianeta, 2021). Literary work, seen as a structure, must be related to historical subjects, not to fields outside history. It is in this way that the sociality and communication power of texts can be captured regarding the relationship between art and society (Escarpit, 1971; Goldman & Bowelhower, 1980).

METHODOLOGY

This study uses the descriptive qualitative analysis. According to Creswell (1996), qualitative research is a type of research in which the object and the researcher are the main instruments. This analysis is used because the implementation of this study uses several methodological concepts and principles of qualitative research (Bodgan & Biklen, 1982; Suleman & Mohamed, 2019; Suleman & Rahman, 2020). Some of the methodological concepts and principles referred to include concepts or principles regarding data sources, data collection, and data analysis techniques. The use of some of the concepts and principles referred to is adapted to research needs.

The object in this present study is the portrait of urban society of Bandung in the poetry anthology *Di Atas Viaduct*. The poetry anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* is curated by Ahda Imran and published by PT Kiblat Buku Utama in 2009. This anthology deals with issues regarding the portrait of urban society in the city of Bandung, namely the poem entitled "Priangan Si Derita" by Acep Iwan Saidi, "Our City" by Remy Sylado, "Variasi Parijs Van Java" by Soni Farid Maulana, and "Sajak Bandung Nan (Teu) Disayang" by Rohyati Sofyan. The four poems have different expressions that characterize each poet. These poems also describe various problems caused by urban communities in the city of Bandung. The data collection is done using the library study technique.

The data is analyzed using the sociology of literature approach to elaborate the portrait of urban society in Bandung. The analysis shows several recent problems of an urban society that put citizens in a marginalized situation. The sociology of literature approach used in this study pays great attention to the documentary aspects of literature. Its foundation is the idea that literature is a mirror of its era (Damono, 2002, p. 11). This view assumes that literature is a direct mirror of various aspects of social structure, family relations, class conflict, and so on. In this case, the task of the sociology of literature is to relate the experiences of fictional characters and situations created by the author with the historical circumstances from which they originate. The themes and styles that exist in literary works, which are personal in nature, are transformed into things that are social in nature.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Portrait of Urban Society in the Poetry Anthology *Di Atas Viaduct*

The problems of urban society in this study are ecological damage, lifestyle transformation, individualization, prostitution, poverty, social inequality, and spatial segregation. The following is a description of the portrait of Bandung urban society in the poetry anthology *Di Atas Viaduct*.

1. Ecological Damage

Modernization has been accompanied by various developments taking place in big cities. The rapid development that is taking place harms the ecology of the earth. Ecological damage includes environmental damage, damage to plant ecosystems, damage to animal ecosystems, as well as water and air pollution. The causes are humans, nature, technology, development, economy, lack of knowledge, and bad behavior (Chaerina, 2016). This reinforces the causes of ecological damage caused by non-environmental-friendly projects, reclamation of land resources through landfilling and draining, erosion of hills and forests, infrastructure development, and the absence of responsibility from humans themselves in protecting nature.

Ecological damage has become a problem as outlined in the poetry anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* because it is a very worrying problem. This is in line with the opinion of Dewi (2016), who states that environmental damage is an example of a real problem in society that is quite worrying. It deserves to be examined in literary studies. Below is an excerpt from a poem that shows the phenomenon of environmental damage in the city of Bandung.

*di sudut kota bagian utara
menatap sendu tangkuban perahu
gasibu yang semakin kelu
hanya termangu diam dan beku
konon sangkuriang pun telah tewas
dirajam kota yang kian ganas*
[in the north side of the city
gazing sadly upon tangkuban perahu
speechlessness begets gasibu
silent and still they grew
they say sangkuriang has passed
swallowed by the city hence mad]
(Saidi, verse -2, p. 29)

Acep Iwan Saidi's poem entitled "*Priangan Si Derita*" shows the ecological damage that has occurred in the city of Bandung. The verse explains the changes in the city of Bandung, which are increasingly "vicious". The word *ganas* [vicious] has the connotative meaning of a city that has changed negatively, such as the natural change of Bandung into a metropolitan city full of construction.

An ecological damage also appears in the line */di pasir ipis hanya terdengar tangis; tak pula damai gunung ceremai/*. Damaged natural conditions are likened to crying and feeling unsettled. This is a criticism of humans to protect the environment.

jangan murung seperti cikapundung
jangan cemberut seperti puncrut
jangan melongo seperti bukit dago
 [don't sulk like cikapundung
 don't frown like puncrut
 don't gawk like bukit dago]
 (Saidi, verse -3, p. 29)

The above verse uses a meaningful word to convey a message to the people of Bandung. The word *murung* [sulk] denotes sad, *cemberut* [frown] means sour face, and the word *melongo* [gape] means an expression of astonishment. *Murung* and *cemberut* are adjectives that have a negative connotation to the circumstances of Cikapundung and Puncrut. Much like the verb *melongo* has a negative connotation of the natural conditions in Bukit Dago, which is used as a development sector for tourism.

bumi priangan yang tak lagi perawan
derita ditanggung sepanjang ingatan
 [bumi priangan is maiden no longer
 as memory serves it suffer]
 (Saidi, verse -6, p. 30)

o, priangan yang tak lagi jelita
rambutmu kusut kulitmu keriput
 [o, priangan who lost its joy

your hair askew your skin wrinkled]

(Saidi, verse -3, p. 29)

The word *Priangan* or *Parahyangan* is a mountainous area in West Java with Sundanese culture. The phrase */tak lagi perawan/* is a metaphor for change. This also shows genderization which pertains to virginity, where it is very important for women. According to Yulianeta (2014), gender has become a part of everyday human life and is lived out as norms and values. This means that gender ideology has become a mindset of individuals, groups or society about women or men in life. Udasmoro (2009, p. 1) states that gender is a social relation between different sexual orientations involving social, political, and cultural constructs. Virginity is a social and cultural construction in Easter culture, such as the Indonesian society, where it is very important and must be guarded by unmarried women. Therefore, the changing of Bandung is very important for it is likened to the virginity of unmarried women.

The phrase */tak lagi jelita/* also indicates that nature has undergone a change, no longer beautiful. Beautiful nature in big cities is rarely found. When it is, the conditions are very poor. Ecological damage can also be seen in Remy Sylado's poem "*Kota Kita*", namely in the first line */Kota saya sekarang mah edun suredun pisan/*. The phrase *edun suradun pisan* is a Sundanese expression that means crazy in an extraordinary sense. Extraordinary here does not refer to a positive distinction but to weirdness or fear. It means that the city of Bandung experiences negative changes, for example, natural disasters such as floods, landslides, river pollution, and so on.

In the poem "*Variasi Parijs Van Java*" by Soni Farid Maulana, the lines show a lot of ecological damage. Natural damage that occurs is due to construction carried out by the authorities or the government. Various projects are carried out for profit, but these projects can cause damage to nature, such as reduced green land, reduced rice fields, flattened mountains and hills, and so on. This damage is shown in the following verse.

*hamparan sawah berubah warna
dan rupa. Lembah dan bukit yang sejuk
adakah hanya kekal dalam buku-buku tua?*
[paddy fields of all colors
and shapes. Valleys and hills donned lovely
only exist in books of old?]

(Maulana, verse -2, p. 31)

*Hijau pesawahan diusir perumahan
kicau burung-burung hanya patahan huruf
dicetak dalam buku cerita kanak-kanak.*

[Greens of fields covered by houses
the cacophony of birds are mere letters
printed on children books]

(Maulana, verse -16, p. 34)

*selain daun; - ada yang hijau
sepanjang lembah dan lereng perbukitan
selepas Ledeng hingga Lembang
dan Maribaya: adalah warna genting.*

[apart from leaves; - there are other greens
along the valleys and hills
but after Ledeng to Lembang
and Maribaya: are the colors of rooftiles]

(Maulana, verse -28, p. 36)

Currently, rice fields are often used for construction, either private or government project. This has both positive and negative impacts. If this continues without heeds to the environment, nature will be damaged, resulting in various negative impacts. A lot of wooded lands have been turned into settlements. This is in accordance with what was stated by Sulistyio et al. (2020), "However, over time, the urban public green open space has experienced a shift". As a result, Ruang Terbuka Hijau [Green Open Space] (RTH) in urban areas has experienced a shift, namely the reduction in green open space. In big cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, and Bandung, the area of green open space has decreased from 35% to 10%. The existing green open spaces have mostly been converted into new urban infrastructure and residential areas. This problem occurs due to the increase in population, which results in population densification as well as rapid and uncontrolled settlements in various parts of the city. This has led to an increase in demand for space, especially

for settlements and built-up land, which impacts the deteriorating quality of the environment (Dwihatmojo, 2016).

*Cahaya matahari
menyentuh miring sisa bukit kapur
yang kian menipis dikikis linggis*
[The light of the sun
touches what's left of limestone hills
continuously eroded by human hands]
(Maulana, verse -32, p. 36)

The above verse depicts the natural damage that was made intentionally by humans, namely limestone mining. This ecological damage has had an unsettling impact on the community. This led to protests from the community against limestone mining in the area. Sutrisno (2019) states that the exploitation of limestone hills by limestone miners from 2000 to 2010 with heavy equipment made the environment around residential areas prone to disasters. The practice of mining haphazardly without any reclamation efforts has decorated the limestone hill area with deep basins and steep cliffs, prone to causing landslides and flash floods.

In addition, the impact of ecological damage is water and air pollution that is deliberately carried out by humans for personal gain. The following is an excerpt from the poem "*Variasi Parijs Van Java*".

*bukit-bukit dibongkar bulldozer,
berton limbah industri dihayutkan
orang ke sungai Citarum,
sekali hujan turun airmata tumpah
menggenangi perkampungan*
[hills toppled by bulldozers,
tons of industrial waste swept away
by people to Citarum river,
once rain pours tears spill
flooding the settlements]
(Maulana, verse -2-3, p. 31)

*Sedang yang memutih
 sepanjang pandang: nyatanya bukan kabut
 selain tepung kapur yang turun perlahan
 melepas maut di paru-paruku
 sepanjang kemarau melahap akar
 pepohonan dan rerumputan*
 [The white covers
 all in sight: not the white of mist
 but powders of lime sprinkling slowly
 spreading death in my lungs
 all summer it covers roots
 of trees and grasses]
 (Maulana, verse -34, p. 36)

*antara Dayeuh Kolot – Cimahi dan Cileunyi
 masihkan geletar udara segar
 bagai sehampar hijau daun padi dimainkan angin?*
 [between Dayeuh Kolot – Cimahi and Cileunyi
 is the air still as fresh
 as the greens of paddies swaying in the wind?]
 (Maulana, verse-22, p. 35)

The three verses above depict environmental pollution. Water pollution can be seen in the first verse, namely the disposal of industrial waste into the river resulting in an unusable water source. The Government Regulations No. 20 of 1990 concerning Water Pollution Control states that "water pollution is the entry or inclusion of living things, substances, energy, and/or other components into the water by human activities so that water quality drops to a certain level which causes water to no longer function properly" (Article 1, number 2). Water pollution has various impacts on the life of aquatic biota, groundwater quality, health, and environmental aesthetics.

Apart from water pollution, the poem also shows air pollution. In the literature study, it is illustrated that human transportation contributes significantly to air pollution, 44% TSP (Total

Suspended Particulate), 89% hydrocarbons, 100% PB, and 73% NOX-. Bandung, which is famous for its cool air, is now experiencing a change due to the increasing number of activities in the city, starting from vehicles, the lack of green spaces, and various projects that damage the air quality. According to Budiyo (2001), the high growth in economic activity and urbanization in both urban and suburban areas has great potential in increasing the use of energy consumption, such as the need for fuel for power generation, industrial furnaces, and transportation. The combustion of these fuels is the main sources of pollution released into the air.

Rohyati Sofyan's poem "*Sajak Bandung Nan (Teu) Disayang*" also depicts ecological damage. The visible damage to nature is water pollution and piles of garbage. The following is an excerpt from the poem.

*Maka bagaimana bisa mandi jika Cikapundung dipermak jadi
bak racun raksasa, tempat segala kotoran dan limbah
dan sampah berserakan atas nama peradaban
yang hiruk pikuk,*

[So how do I bathe when Cikapundung is turned into
a giant tub of poison, where all the filth and waste
and trash are spread upon civilization]

(Sofyan, verse-2, p. 90)

The above verse shows water pollution in Cikapundung river. This is because Cikapundung river is used as a dumping ground for sewage, rubbish, and waste. The development of the Cikapundung Strategic Area has impacted the development of the city as a whole. One of the impacts of this development is the growth of slum settlements along the Cikapundung river basin (Bandung Regional Development Planning, Research, and Development Agency, 2011). The slum does not have a sewage system. Therefore, people dispose of their wastewater directly into the river. This is what causes the Cikapundung river to be polluted. Apart from household waste, water pollution is also caused by industrial waste contributing hazardous and toxic materials, such as heavy metals, to the river (Environmental Management Agency, West Java Province, 2003). In addition, ecological damage occurs due to piles of garbage brought by people who are not aware of the dangers of littering. This can be seen in the following verse.

*Membayangkan diri bermain kasti di tanah lapang
bersama kawan-kawan sepermainan, dengan latar
kereta api langsir nun di stasiun Kiaracandong
tetapi lapangan dihajar sampah dan belukar, yang
setiap hujan menyisakan genangan.*

[A dream of a baseball game on a field
with friends of my heart, in the background
a rolling train alighting Kiaracandong station
but the fields are filled with trash and debris, that
when rain pours puddles gather]

(Sofyan, verse-4, p. 92)

The above verse shows that garbage is very disruptive to activities because the dumpster is not properly relocated. The above verse also shows that people's awareness of proper garbage disposal is lacking. For example, there is a lot of garbage scattered on the fields, streets, gutters, and rivers.

From the above explanation, the four poems in the anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* reflect the ecological damage in the city of Bandung. The damages are due to human activities. Visible ecological damage includes rice fields turned into settlements; less green space in urban areas; environmental, air, and water pollution; the Cikapundung river pollution due to household and industrial waste; and piles of rubbish caused by the people themselves. The poetry anthology book *Di Atas Viaduct* serves as a reminder to its readers to protect the environment.

2. Lifestyle Transformation

The portrait of urban society can be seen from the transformation in appearance and lifestyle. According to Kabalmay (2016), lifestyle is a pattern of how individuals show their actuality to their surroundings. These changes are based on the demands of the needs and the times. Lifestyle transformation is a change in attitude, behavior, and actions following the demands of the times. The forms of modern human lifestyle can be seen from several aspects: social status, high mobility, instant way of life, technological lifestyle, etc. The transformation of the urban lifestyle is more

concerned with fast or instant methods. Below is a poem excerpt that depicts the phenomenon of appearance and lifestyle transformation that occurred in the city of Bandung.

In the poem "*Priangan Si Derita*" by Acep Iwan Saidi, it is evident that the night lifestyle is practiced by the people of Bandung, as seen in the following excerpt.

- *mau ke mana kau, nak?*
 + *biasa mam menjemput malam!*
 - *jangan lupa bawa kondom!*
 [- where you going, girl?
 + the usual, a customer!
 - don't forget to use condoms!]
 (*Priangan Si Derita (Saidi, p. 29)*)

It is illustrated that nightlife in the city of Bandung is no longer taboo. The above conversation between parent and child provides information to readers that free sex and prostitution are common in modern times, but caution is still advised (contraceptives). This can be seen on the line */jangan lupa bawa kondom!/. The word mam is no longer only defined as a parent, but it also means pimp. Pimps, in Bandung, can be found in many areas such as Saritem. In 2015, an article on jurnalbandung.com published the arrest of a significant number of pimps, indicating that such a profession is no longer a strange occurrence. However, it becomes a problem for the government to publish and provide them with jobs. In Indonesia, especially in the major cities, prostitution is one of the problems that must take precedence.*

The lifestyle of modern women in Bandung today depends on their needs. Women do night jobs by looking for customers on roadside areas such as in the Pasar Baru area, Bandung square, Cicaheum, Saritem, and so on. Lifestyles that compel women to prostitution are present in big cities. This shows the lack of equality and welfare for society, especially for women.

Remy Sylado's poem "*Kota Kita*" contains the main sign, namely the phrase *edun suradun pisan*. This phrase has a connotation related to lifestyle changes that have occurred in the city of Bandung. Moreover, Bandung is a metropolitan city that is visited by many domestic and foreign tourists. This phrase is in the excerpt below.

Kota saya sekarang mah edun suradun pisan

beda sama jamannya Paris van Java
 [My city is now crazily wicked
 different from when it was Paris van Java]
 (*Sylado, verse-1, p. 129*)

The poem also portrays the rampant prostitution in Bandung. It is shown in the verse mentioning several places providing sexual commodity such as Ciroyom, Saritem, Cicadas, Cicaheum, Dewi Sartika, Ancol, and many others. The poem also portrays social strata with the use of phrases like *kamar reyot* and *kamar tembok*. *Kamar reyot* is used for the areas of Ciroyom because it is close to the bus station and the market. *Kamar tembok* is used for Saritem because it is located in the center of Bandung. The line */Soalnya ari ceuk batur dulu teh namanya Kota Kembang; tapi ceuk saya mah ayeuna teh jiga Kota Kambing; soalnya komoditi seksual kelas kambing/* describe terms for sex workers such as *ungkluk* and *ublag*.

Paris van Java is a fashion city that is often visited by domestic and foreign tourists. Until now, PVJ is one of the tourist destinations in Bandung. The verse above shows the change in lifestyle in the field of work and behavior. Similar to the following excerpt.

sekarang beroperasi lain ublag lain ungluk
Namanya teh bagong lieur singkatannya gongli
 [now they're not called *ublag* or *ungluk*
 But *bagong lieur* or *gongli* for short]
 (*Sylado, verse-5, p. 130*)

Sangking memodenya gongli di Bandung kiwari
maka lagu perjuangan sekarang bunyinya
Halo, halo Bandung ibukota para gongli
Sekarang telah menjadi lautan ngeseks
Mari Bung, rebut Kembali
 [Gongli is now trending in Bandung kiwari
 So now the patriotic song goes
 Halo, halo Bandung capital of the gongli
 Now she is engulfed in a sea of sex

Come friends, let's reclaim her]

(Sylado, verse-5, p. 130)

The above verse shows that a woman does various ways to get money, even if it is not lawful in nature. An instant method was done to make ends meet. These women sell themselves to change their standard of living. There are many terms of prostitution in this poem such as *ublag* (prostitutes), *ungklak* (also prostitutes, in Bandung or in West Java), and *gongli* (women who peddle themselves not for payment but for mere pleasure such as rich widows or the less favored wives). Changes in human attitudes and behavior have become a problem for people in big cities. For example, in the second verse above, the city becomes a city for *gongli* to have sex. Changes like this show that cities are filled with immoral people because they violate social and religious norms and values.

bagai buntelan sampah busuk; bayi merah

dibuang orang ke sungai Cikapundung.

[like a bag of rotting trash; a red baby

Thrown away by people to Cikapundung river]

(Maulana, verse-5, p. 32)

The above verse shows that the practice of prostitution tends to be connected to the crime of abortion and baby dumping. Abortion carried out by women is a high risk to their physical and mental health, but it is still their choice because abortion is a reproductive right or a form of women's autonomy over their bodies (Saifullah, 2011). However, it is immoral, and it violates religious and human values.

The practice of abortion is also depicted in the poem "*Sajak Bandung Nan (Teu) Disayang*" by Rohayati Sofyan in the line */grafik bayi yang aborsi sebagai santapan statistik/*. Abortion is a serious problem. However, it is no longer taboo in the world of prostitution. Therefore, in Indonesia, infanticide and abortion often occur.

Individualist behavior is a lifestyle transformation. This is shown in the anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* that portrays the individual freedom to do whatever one wishes to do. Individualization is a term for an individual who is not tied to a group or community. Everyone has the right to personally decide anything and to plan for their future without pressure from others. This is a secondary

attribute of urban life (Manning and Tadjuddin, 1985, p. 56). Individualism means being more concerned with personal freedom, prioritizing oneself before others. The four poems in the anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* depict the individualism that occurs in urban communities. It is the freedom to choose the way of life that each individual wants. There is no compulsion or command from anyone; it's just that the fulfillment of desires or satisfaction is based on each individual. For example, prostitution, abortion, lifestyle, fashion, free sex, and others as a form of personal freedom to live their lives.

*Dedeh alias Henny saban malam di Jalan Tamblong
 pasang aksi membayangkan diri bintang film Itali
 legeg kayak laki-laki ngaroko bari nganjuk
 ngapalkeun lagu-lagu John Lennon
 bari jeung teu nyaho hartina
 Pokoknya modern – kumaha we caranya nyentrik
 [Dedeh aka Henny every night of Tamblong street
 thinks of herself as an Italian movie star
 acting like a man smoking pointing his finger
 memorizing John Lennon's songs
 and not knowing the meanings
 As long as it's modern – as long as I stand out
 (Sylado, verse-9, p. 131)*

Changes also occur in women's attitudes and behavior. In this poem, women behave like men, namely smoking. The eccentric style was also the choice of Dedeh's character; she followed the developments of the modern era. Therefore, she transformed herself as modern as possible.

*Bandung teh juga Kota Budaya
 tapi ayeuna paeh jadi Kota Buaya
 [Bandung is a city of culture
 but it's dead now it's a city of crocodile]
 (Sylado, verse-19, p. 135)*

The above verse shows the transformation of lifestyle in the cultural sector. According to Rajiyem and Setianto (2004, p. 159), culture is "a certain way of life" which is formed by values, traditions,

beliefs, material objects, and territories. Bandung is one of the cities of culture in Indonesia to increase cultural tourism. It offers many interesting tourist activities, one of which is Sundanese cultural tourism. However, it is currently experiencing a shift to become *Kota Buaya*. This is because there are a lot of nightlife spots in Bandung. Famous places in Bandung such as the Bandung square, Saritem, and Pasar Baru are often visited by rich johns or *cukong*.

Lifestyle transformation is indicated by behavior that changes due to wants and needs. The line */Moral yang dipakai adalah etika binatang intelek/* shows that human morals have changed to animal morals. This is a metaphor for human attitudes that fade from religious values and national ethics. For example, in a corruption case, the officials who do it are smart elects. However, because of their greed, they violate the religious values and ethics of the nation.

In the poem "*Variasi Parijs Van Java*" by Soni Farid Maulana, there is also a lifestyle transformation. For example, in the excerpt below.

*antara Ciwidey – Tangkuban Perahu
tak kudengar lagi gelik suling cianjuran
selain rangkaian nada musik dangdut
“mabuk lagi, ah. Mabuk lagi...” menggelegar
dalam ingatan.*

[between Ciwidey – Tangkuban Perahu
no longer heard the sound of Cianjur suling
except for the sound of dangdut
“get drunk again, ah. Get drunk again...” is hounding
the memory.]

(Maulana, verse-1, p. 31)

The verse above shows that the community experiences a cultural change at this time. This can be seen in the change of musical hobby from traditional to modern. Traditional music such as cianjuran flute replaced with dangdut music. This is a form of modernization. The fact is that traditional music only rings in people's memories. However, many artists are still active in preserving traditional culture. According to Priatna (2017), preserving cultural heritage has become the duty of the children and grandchildren inheriting it. Therefore, many efforts were done in preserving the heritage for it not to get crushed by the progress of times.

*masihkan si Leungli jadi pengantar
tidur anak-anak? Kau bilang Doraemon
melahap kepala dan ekornya yang gurih,
sedang badannya disantap Superman
Tom & Jerry, dan Asterix dalam jamuan
hiburan anak-anak, lewat saluran televisi.
kau dengar desah nafas Lutung Kasarung
dari tumpukan buku-buku tua,
kotor, dan berdebu?*

[is si Leungli still a lullaby
for children? You said Doraemon
eats their tasty heads and tails,
and their bodies are eaten by Superman
Tom & Jerry, and Asterix in the throngs
of children entertainment, on television.
you hear the panting breath of Lutung Kasarung
from the pile of old,
dirty, and dusty books?]
(Maulana, verse-13-14, p. 33)

The above verse also shows changes in lifestyle due to globalization. Indonesian society in the past loved folk tales such as *Lutung Kasarung*, *Jaka Tarub*, *Sangkuriang*, *Si Leungli*, and so on. However, this hobby has undergone a transformation due to technological advances. People, especially children, prefer cartoon characters from outside, such as *Doraemon* from Japan, *Tom & Jerry* and *Superman* from the United States, and *Asterix* from France. These international cartoons are broadcast on Indonesian TV, even though Indonesia also has many fairy tales and characters that can be used as role models and are educational. However, it is very rare for national TV to broadcast Indonesian folk tales or fairy tales. This is one of the factors that children prefer foreign cartoons.

*Begitulah lewat Cihampelas, kicau burung-burung di antara
rimbun pepohonan sudah lama pergi diusir gelegar
pengeras suara yang dihuni lagu dangdut, rock,*

*dan jazz dari jajaran pertokoan yang menjual
jeans dan kaos oblong.*

[Passing Cihampelas, accompanied by a cacophony of birds
the lush of trees swept away by thunder
speakers blasting dangdut, rock,
and jazz from the rows of shops selling
jeans and t-shirts]
(Maulana, verse-18, p. 34)

Lifestyle change occurs when there is a change from traditional to modern culture. Music, fashion, and modern lifestyles dominate today's life. For example, the sound of birds chirping is driven away by the sound of dangdut, rock, and jazz music. It was also shown that the Cihampelas area is a place for modern fashion that sells many trendy clothes in shops and malls.

In the poem "*Sajak Bandung Nan (Teu) Disayang*" by Rohayati Sofyan, there is also a change in lifestyle. This change can be seen in clothing. Clothing is not only to protect the body but also as a form of style according to the era. The following is an excerpt of a lifestyle transformation in this poem.

*Tetapi saat ini tak ada lagi mojang-mojang
berkebaya, dan nonoman-nonoman yang bersalempay
masing-masing sibuk sendiri ditelan modernisasi*
[But now there's no longer pretty girls clad
in kebaya, and youngsters in tradition clothing
all of them busy amidst modernization]
(Sofyan, verse-3, p. 91)

The above verse shows a change in clothing style due to modernization. This can be seen in the line */tak ada lagi mojang-mojang berkebaya/*. Currently, women no longer wear kebaya as their daily clothes. Kebaya is usually worn only on certain days, such as commemorating Kartini Day, August 17, and other official events. Kebaya clothes shifted to modern clothes, such as T-shirts and jeans. Apart from the changes in fashion, the transformation can also be seen in the cult culture. The following excerpt is an example.

*sebagaimana mulut-mulut
yang menghamburkan bahasa-bahasa produk: kita tak lebih
dari mesin produksi tak ada lagi kidung atau pantun
atau petuah leluhur mesra bersenandung, yang tersisa
cuma slogan pembangunanisme*

[as the rows of mouths
Spouting product languages: we're no more
than production machines without ballads or rhymes
or words of wisdom hummed, what's left
are mere slogans of buildingsm
(Sofyan, bait ke-3, hlm. 91)

*Lalu Rumentang Siang
tempat mereka dulu menonton sandiwara Sri Murni,
kini merana menunggu dikunjungi oleh sebuah generasi
yang ternyata lebih suka bertepuk tangan pada gembay
budaya luar.*

[Then Rumentang Siang
where they used to watch Sri Murni,
now merely waiting for the generation
who prefer clapping for the shows
of foreign culture]
(Sofyan, verse-4, p. 92)

The above verse shows a cultural change. The people of the past were more fond of watching performances in theater venues such as Rumentang Siang. However, the younger generation nowadays is more proud and fond of outside culture which looks attractive and modern. This has an impact on theater artists and also the culture of watching theater performances.

The four poems in the anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* reflect a lifestyle transformation. The change occurs in culture, clothing, pantun, music, values, morals, and work. This is useful to show that modernization must be treated properly, not forgetting about one's own culture but also learning more about outside cultures, and not to justify any means to get things instantly.

3. Poverty and Social Gap

Poverty can lead to other crimes such as robbery, human trafficking, prostitution, and so on. Poverty makes people helpless. Poverty is defined as an individual's inability to meet the minimum basic needs for a decent life (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2012). It is stated that poverty is a condition that is below the standard value line of minimum needs, both for food and non-food, which is called the poverty line or threshold. Poverty is related to limited employment opportunities. Their education and health levels are also generally inadequate.

According to Sangidu (1997, p. 62), poverty is a classic phenomenon that can be found in various nations and countries. This can be the theme of literary works in the form of social criticism. Poverty also applies to street children, as depicted in the following excerpt.

*inilah nyanyian anak jalanan
yang mengamen di persimpangan
[this is the song of street urchins
busking at an intersection]
(Saidi, verse-1, p. 29)*

*o, inilah nyanyian si anak jalanan
yang mengamen di lampu stopan
[o, this is the song of street urchins
busking at a red light]
(Saidi, verse-6, p. 30)*

The two verses of the poem "*Priangan Si Derita*" above show social facts about poverty in urban areas. This is evidenced by the increasing number of street children in big cities. The phenomenon of street children has become a world concern, along with their increasing number in various big cities in the world. In general, the community's opinion regarding street children is that they live and earn a living in the streets, they do not go to school, and they sometimes disturb public order and commit crimes.

Social gap is also depicted in the verse of the poem "*Priangan Si Derita*" is the difference in access to education and work, which causes the number of street children to increase. This social

inequality occurs due to economic problems resulting in children who are supposed to be provided with education having to earn money to avoid starving. Social gap is a social imbalance in society, making a very striking difference between two or more groups or individuals. Social gap is defined as a gap or difference in access to or usage of the available resources. Resources can be in the form of primary needs or secondary needs. The social gap that occurs in society are very striking and increasingly concerning.

Judul pidato Heri Suto ini Mera Lada

artinya: menghibur rakyat adalah ibadah

Ah, mahasiswa tea atuh, pikiraneun

Waktu masih kuliah bicara demi rakyat

begitu masuk dalam lingkaran birokrasi

berbicara atas nama korp kepegawaian

[The title of Heri Suto's speech is Mera Lada

meaning: entertaining people is a form of worship

Ah, students, things to ponder

In college they speak for the people

but when they wrestle the bureaucracy

they speak for the employee corp

(Sylado, verse-18, p. 129)

These lines depict the injustice committed by the government to the poor. This is a lesson for us, especially the government, who should pay more attention to the people regarding justice and welfare. Unfair governance can also be seen in Remy Sylado's satiric line, */Waktu masih kuliah bicara demi rakyat, begitu masuk dalam lingkaran birokrasi, berbicara atas nama korp kepegawaian/*. The people often experience injustice committed by public officials, law enforcement officials, or discriminatory laws and regulations. Injustice is also seen in the line */Kasihannya nasib gongli di mata hukum/*. *Gongli* is women who prostitute themselves for pleasure without asking for payment. But in reality, these *gongli* receive injustice from the law. They were forcibly taken by Tibum officers and police officers to the police station. Not only to be reprimanded but also to become the object of satisfaction to the officers.

Injustice is also depicted in the works of artists in the city of Bandung. This can be seen in the line */Sementara mahasiswa pidato seniman melamun/*. It shows that the government does not pay attention to the welfare of the artists. They live distressingly in poverty if the government does not facilitate them in regards to employment.

Corrupt officials also cause injustice to the people. According to Rohwer (in Sophia, 2020), "Corruption is a complex social, political and economic phenomenon prevalent in all countries in varying degrees." Corruption occurs because of the abuse of power for personal gain. This is against the law in every country. The poem "*Kota Kita*" depicts the injustice of the government to the people. They in power are having fun, but the people grimace in hunger. This is depicted in the line */sekarang pejabat kita sudah jadi aktornya; tentang adegan mencopet uang negara, dan untuk dihamburkan di nite club/*. The money from corruption is used for fun; some are used to buy luxury goods, spend the night with paid women, and spend in clubs.

These officials deviated from the norms of society. They committed acts of violation, but it was the people who suffer. Indonesia needs national legal reform to accelerate the restoration of public trust in the law and law enforcers to ensure that Indonesian law can face the challenges of globalization. With satirical poetry texts, it is hoped that the voices of the people will be heard by the leaders of this country at the central and regional levels. Therefore, justice and harmony in life can be realized. Injustice and poverty only give suffering to the people, as depicted in the following verse.

Nah, sekarang pejabat kita sudah jadi aktornya

main teaternya sendiri

tentang adegan mencopet uang negara

untuk dihamburkan di nite club

dan buat bini -bini piaraan satu seri

dari Sabang samapai Merauke 26 provinsi

[Now our government is the actor

playing in their own theater

about stealing the country's coffers

collecting a series of mistresses

from Sabang to Merauke 26 provinces

(Sylado, verse-20, p. 136)

There is another depiction of social gap in the poem "*Kota Kita*", as depicted when the old people control the officials. The above verse shows that young people are better and more flexible, while older people are considered idealists. This is a form of youth protest against the government. The above verse also shows that an official will only get richer because of the possibility of corruption. As a result, the people feel more miserable, and officials are happier because of their money. The social inequality between the rich and the poor is also evident in the following excerpt of the poem "*Variasi Parijs Van Java*".

*Kedua, berhubungan masyarakat menanggung sakit
maka departemen-departemen dibongkar sesuai sikon*
[Second, when the people are hurting
then departments are demolished as situation demands]

(Sylado, verse-15, p. 133)

*Rakyat tidak boleh miskin
tapi rakyat boleh lapar*
[people can't be poor
but people can starve]
(Sylado, verse-17, p. 134)

People must not be poor and must live in prosperity. This can be realized with hard work between people and the government to create harmony in the country. The suffering of the poor is based on several factors, one of which is unemployment. The increasing number of unemployed has made the poverty rate in the city even bigger. This becomes a problem for urban society if people without a job move to the city. As a result, it will experience problems such as poverty. This is depicted in the poem "*Variasi Parijs Van Java*" by Soni Farid Maulana as follows.

*Dari malam ke malam
Parahyangan mengalun dalam irama
kota besar, disungkup bayang-bayang
tajam pisau orang-orang lapar
gentayangan sepanjang jam berputar*

[From night to night
 Parahyangan flows to the rhythm
 of big cities, covered by the shadows
 of hungry people's knives
 haunting all time long]
(Maulana, verse-16-17, p. 34)

*ke mana pergi gadis-gadis
 yang biasa bernyanyi di pagi hari
 setelah nilai demi nilai terkulai
 digolok kemiskinan dan kelaparan
 yang meraja di dada?*
 [where are the girls
 who like to sing in the morning
 after the drooping values
 cut by poverty and starvation
 lingering in their chest?
(Maulana, verse-37-38, p. 37)

The two verses above show that poverty is what makes people live in suffering. They are starving because they have no money or assistance. This can lead to stress and death due to economic problems. Economic problems can also lead to crimes such as theft, robbery, murder, and so on. Poverty is a very serious problem.

The discussion of poverty is also depicted in the following verse of the poem "*Sajak Bandung Nan (Teu) Disayang*".

*di antara ingar-bingar
 anak jalanan yang bersahutan dengan penganggur
 yang linglung*
 [amidst the hustle and bustle
 of street urchins mingling with the dazed
 unemployed]

(*Sylado, verse-3, p. 91*)

The above verse shows that cities are plagued by the problem of poverty which is increasingly complex. The above verse also shows that many street children and unemployed people in big cities live below the poverty line. Thus, they are unfit to live in urban areas.

The four poems in the anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* reflect the problems of urban society, namely poverty and social gap. Poverty can lead to various kinds of new problems such as crime, depression, violence, injustice, etc. Furthermore, poverty also cause social gap which is the difference between the rich and poor as well as the powerful and the weak. This is the inequality that happens within society.

4. Spatial Segregation

As a result of spatial competition, spatial segregation occurs due to the social patterns brought by the distribution of residence or socio-economic activities, such as the segregation based on race. For example, there are areas of operation for prostitution, pickpocketing, entertainment, markets, terminals, shops, and so on (Manning & Tadjuddin, 1985, p. 57). Spatial segregation is depicted in the poem "*Priangan Si Derita*", as follows.

*semilir angin berhembus melipir
ke saritem ke tegal lega
juga berlabu ke taman maluku
-mau ke mana kau, nak?
+biasa mam menjemput malam!
-jangan lupa bawa kondom!
[a gentle breeze blows
to saritem to tegal lega
also stopping by maluku park
-where u going, girl?
+the usual, a customer!
-don't forget to use condoms!
(*Saidi, verse-5, p. 30*)*

In the above verse, the spatial segregation is depicted in the words Saritem and Tegal Lega. The two places are the prostitution operation area in the city of Bandung. Apart from these two, prostitution places exist in various areas in the city of Bandung.

Di Ciroyom ungluknya ada 677 orang

nangkring di kamar-kamar reyot

dilengkapi 3 botol bir isi air cebok

Di Saritem ublagnya ada 712 orang

nangkring di kamar-kamar tembok

dilengkapi jamban, bak, dan gayung

Di Cicadas memang cuma 59 orang

Di Cicaheum memang Cuma 67 orang

Di Dewi Sartika Cuma 24 orang

Di Ancol Cuma 31 orang

[In Ciroyom there are 677 ungluk

hanging out in dilapidated huts

complete with 3 beer bottles of murky water

In Saritem there are 712 ublag

hanging out in concrete huts

complete with toilet, tub, and dipper

In Cicadas only 59

In Cicaheum Only 67

In Dewi Sartika Only 24

In Ancol Only 31]

(Sylado, verse-3, pp. 129-130)

In the verse of the poem "Kota Kita" above, spatial segregation is depicted in the words Ciroyom, Saritem, Cicadas, Cicaheum, Dewi Sartika, and Ancol. These places indicate the existing prostitution operation areas in the city of Bandung. Apart from the prostitution operation area, the following expert also shows spatial segregation, namely the PKL operation area.

dari Cicaheum, Kebon Kalapa, hingga Leuwi Panjang

aku mendengar lagu orang-orang pinggiran dilantunkan

[from Cicaheum, Kebon Kalapa, to Leuwi Panjang

I hear street songs being sung]

(Maulana, verse-26, p. 35)

The spatial segregation of the PKL operating areas is depicted in the names of the regions in Bandung, namely Cicaheum, Kebon Kalapa, and Leuwi Panjang. The above verse shows that the three areas are filled with marginal people. Apart from that, there are residential and shopping areas in the following verse of the poem "*Sajak Bandung Nan (Teu) Disayang*".

*Lalu aku kehilangan masa kanak-kanak, di mana
sebuah rumah tua nan besar di tepi jalan Cikawao
menjelma pertokoan sebagaimana biasanya, dan
penghuninya*

[Then I lost my childhood, where
a big old house at the edge Cikawao street
appear there shops as usual, and
their owners]

(Sofyan, verse-4, p. 91)

The verse above shows that Cikawao street is a residential and shopping area. Cikawao street, Bandung, is a strategic road. Lots of housing and shops in the area.

From the explanations above, the four poems in the anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* reflect spatial segregation. The spatial segments in the four poems are prostitution operation areas, street vendors operation areas, housing, and shops.

Therefore, the sociological analysis of literary works regarding the portrait of urban society in the anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* portrays social reflection on various problems of urban society the cities. These problems include ecological damage, lifestyle transformation, poverty and social gap, and spatial segregation. This study relates to and strengthen the previous study regarding the complexity of urban society. However, this study focuses more on the various problems of urban society in Bandung such ecological damage, lifestyle transformation including culture, fashion, poetry, music, individualization, abortion, prostitution, and professions. Furthermore, the

difference between this study and the previous one is that this study shows the perspective of the poet in viewing the changes of Bandung brought by urban society.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As a reference material for the study of literary works, the poetry anthology book *Di Atas Viaduct* can be a source of knowledge and learning that can be used as a research object. In this book, there are still many things that need to be studied. For example, the history of Bandung, the architecture of the city, the views of poets who live outside of Bandung, folklore from the Priangan land, the diversity of perspectives on Bandung, and so on. Suggestions for future researchers are expected to be able to develop this research by reaching out to other factors or using other approaches so that the results of this study can conclude in detail the portrait of the city of Bandung in a literary work of poetry. Meanwhile for readers, it is hoped that they can take advantage of this research as a reminder to be in accordance with social and religious values and norms. This research also has implications for character building for society. Social facts presented in a literary work are expected to be a reminder and advice to improve the character of Indonesian society. The messages in these literary works can be a provision for living a life in society and as a state in accordance with religious and social norms. Thus, the literary work in this study can make people aware of the impact of urban culture using literary media.

CONCLUSION

Sociological analysis of literary works on portraits of urban society in the poetry anthology *Di Atas Viaduct* shows social reflections on various kinds of problems of urban society. These problems are ecological damage, lifestyle transformation, prostitution, individualization, poverty, social inequality, and spatial segregation. The damage was intentional due to human activity. Ecological damage in the city of Bandung can be seen in the four poems, namely, rice fields that have turned into settlements, lack of green space in urban areas, environmental, air and water pollution, pollution of the Cikapundung river due to household and industrial waste, and piles of garbage caused by the humans themselves have not realized the importance of appropriate waste disposal. *Di Atas Viaduct* reminds its readers to protect the environment.

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