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Green philosophies and messages in contemporary Indonesian short stories

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Abstract

Economic development and environmental stories are rarely out of the press including the Indonesia press and provide warnings of mankind's growing demands and impact on the environment. In Indonesia, media publications report on a wide range of economic development activities expected to generate higher economic growth and greater prosperity. Less prominence is given to the negative impacts of economic development on the environment and people. In Indonesian newspapers, there are also short stories which explore this economic and environmental relationship. Literary works can challenge the mainstream perception of this relationship which focuses on the economic. In these works, we see the political and economic relationships between groups and their different relationships with the environments. Differences which can lead to conflict, inequality, and poor environmental outcomes. Literary works, in this paper, short stories, not only present these complex relationships in interesting and novel ways but also contain a philosophy about these relationships. This paper takes a sample of twelve short stories published over the period 1970 to 2022 to examine this relationship. It draws upon the theory of narratology (Bal 2017) to analyse points of view ('focalisations'), Gramsci's (1999) concept of philosophy, and de Geus's (1999) concept of green philosophy and literature. This paper finds the dominant group's type of economic developmentenvironmental relationship is characterised by a commodification of the subaltern and the environment. The subaltern in contrast seek to conserve traditional ways and their relationship with the environment. Elements of a green philosophy are grounded in traditional beliefs of respect for nature with a message of creating awareness of the disempowerment of the subaltern.

Keywords: economic development; environment; Indonesian literature

INTRODUCTION

If we were to look at media headlines, arguably we would find more stories of economic development rather than environmental stories. The economic development narrative is arguably dominant with the viewpoint economic development leads to economic growth, greater government revenue, and greater wealth for all. The less prominent counter-narrative would be that economic development also has negative impacts on lower-socio-economic groups. Environmental stories can position social groups within the environment, establish linkages between their economic activities and their effects both on the environment and others. In Indonesian newspapers reporting on economic development and environmental issues there are also short stories which contain green philosophies and messages that deliver a counter-narrative to economic development and its universal benefits. Short stories show the interactions between socio-economic class, ethnic and racial groups, urban and rural dwellers, and their different relationships with the environment. The research problem then is to identify these perspectives or green philosophy and its counter-position in relation to the dominant narrative of the collective and an accretion of 'good' resulting from economic development.

There have been several academic studies over the last ten years which examine humankind's relationship with the environment in Indonesian short stories but with different aims, and using different theories and frameworks. There are studies which seek to examine: female relationships with the environment (ecofeminist theory); messages of environmental awareness and activism (ecocriticism framework), and; man-made environmental disasters (sociological theory and structuralism). The data (short stories) in these studies focus on the post-New Order period and the studies range from a study of one story to twenty-five stories.

Ahmadi (2017) draws on environmental philosophy (ethical treatment of nature, environmental justice, and environmental alienation) and an ecofeminist framework to examine the relationship between women and nature in four short stories. The researcher finds that there is an environmental philosophy expressed through a female character's direct relationship with nature such as a love of nature. Agustina (2021) also uses an ecofeminist approach to examine a short story showing how a woman, despite having new ideas on the economic development and environmental relationship, cannot implement her ideas because she is confined to doing household tasks within a patriarchal system.

There are studies examining man-made environmental damage in short stories with messages of to promote environmental awareness and activism. Dewi draws on religious authority (papal decree) and

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ecocriticism (Buell, 2001) to link environmental damage to messages of activism to prevent the destruction of the environment and to protect the marginalized. Of the twenty-five *Kompas* short stories examined, the researcher finds only two advocate political action on environmental damage. Juanda (2018) selects three newspaper short stories published over the period 2017–2018 and, uses an ecocriticism framework (Garrard 2004) to examine man's impact on the environment. Widyaningtyas & Liliani (2020) also use an ecocritical framework and concepts of environmental ethics to find ethical messages in four short stories about environmental damage published in 2017.

Drake (2013), Juanda (2018), and Rawson (2022) examine the impact of environmental disasters and their impact on victims. Drake using a sociological-literature approach examines the experience of victims, including children of the 2006 Lapindo mud-extrusion disaster represented in their short stories. Drake's research focus is on victims' messages in particular the trauma suffered. He sees this literature as complementing the knowledge presented in official reports. Juanda (2018) examines the link between illegal mining and its environmental consequences and its human victims. Rawson (2022) using structuralism theory examines the nature of disasters and their effects on people represented in nine short stories over the period 1994 to 2020. It also finds that in the structure of the stories there is a sequence of events linking economic development, environmental disasters, and loss of local people's livelihoods.

This review finds there are research gaps in the study of the human-environmental relationship in contemporary Indonesian short stories. While there are studies which examine the female-environment relationship, which touch on the economic development and environmental relationship, it also leaves a research gap in terms of other groups in Indonesia's complex society. To date there has been no examination of the nature of the counter-narrative to the dominant economic development narrative. A further gap is the study of the evolution of this narrative and counter-narrative. This review of related studies shows that the sample of short stories are mostly in the post-New Order period hence preclude the analysis of an evolution in the patterns of economic development-environment relationships.

Based on this discussion, the aim of this paper then is to examine the relationship between economic development and the environment based on a sample of Indonesian short stories from the early period of the New Order regime to the present. This paper examines firstly, how different groups view the object, that is economic development and the environment. Secondly, it examines the nature of the relationship between these groups or subjects and the object. Thirdly, it looks for changes and constants over these two political periods. Lastly, it identifies elements of a green philosophy and its messages.

METHODOLOGY

The paper applies key concepts from the theory of narratology (Bal, 2017) to examine the economic development and environmental relationships in a sample of short stories over the period 1970 to the present. The narratological analytical concepts used to examine the relationships between economic development and the environment are the 'fabula' and 'focalisation'. To examine elements of a green philosophy, the paper uses Gramsci's concept of philosophy which argues there is an equivalence between philosophy and ideology.

Narratology has been selected because its concept of 'focalisation' enables the detailed study of the research object of interest, the economic development and environmental relationship in Indonesian short stories. Narratology views narrative texts (including short stories), as having a structure that comprises elements with each element having a relationship to other elements which may be symbolic, allusive, and traditional (Bal, 2017) ¹. Narratological concepts can be selected that are "...relevant to the text...the features that triggered one's interests in the first place." (Bal, 2017, p. 9). The key concepts in narratology used to explicate this object of interest are the 'fabula' and 'focalisation'. The fabula comprises key elements of the story, namely its events, actors, location, and time (Bal, 2017). Focalisation is an actor's or subject's vision, and relationship with an object, both physical and abstract, linked to the fabula in the short story. These objects can include the landscape, other characters, memories, events, thoughts, and feelings. The focalisation is related to the fabula by how it influences perceptions of elements of the fabula such as events in the short story (Bal, 2017).

In analysing this object of interest, the subject (or focalisator) needs to be identified and their subjectivity considered in terms of the factors which shape the subject's perception of the object. This can include knowledge, age, experience, and attitude. This concept also identifies and requires analysis of the interpretation or opinions of the focalisator about the object or other actors. This analysis yields a dominant

¹In narratology, narrative texts include among others short stories (and other literary works), and newspaper articles (Bal, 2017).

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perspective or viewpoint about the object by looking at who is the principal focalisator and what is said about the object. In this paper the focalisator is also referred to as an external narrator (the storyteller who is external to the story) and a narrator-actor (the storyteller who participates in the story). This analytical concept can reveal an ideology in these short stories indicated by among other things the focalisators' comments and opinions about the object (Bal, 2017).

In this paper, ideology is equated to philosophy and so aspects of 'green' ideology, found in the analysis of focalisations, is treated as 'green' philosophy. This conceptualisation of an equivalence between philosophy and ideology (and politics) is drawn from Gramsci. Gramsci observes that individuals as part of a group share a philosophy, its ways of thinking and acting. As a philosophy is tested, refined, and made relevant to the age it develops into a coherent system of thought (both an ideology and philosophy) and the basis for political action (Gramsci, 1999). This paper has also draws on de Geus's ideas (1999, 2002) that literary works contribute to building a green philosophy and can challenge the dominant narrative to create a more inclusive vision of the future².

METHOD

The data sample draws on twelve short stories selected from various Indonesian newspapers and one magazine ('Horison') over the period 1970 to the present (see Table 1 below). The data has been selected using purposive sampling based on the following criteria: the stories cover a variety of perspectives on economic development and environmental relations; there is a balance of rural and/or city locations, and; each story has a different author. From each decade, two short stories have been selected. The analysis applies the methodology discussed above to firstly, describe the fabula. Secondly, to identify the focalizations within each short story. Thirdly, to determine the dominant focalisation on the economic development and environmental relationship. Fourthly, the dominant focalization is linked to the fabula to assess the nature of the story's concluding event. Lastly, the dominant focalisation is analysed for elements of a green philosophy in particular attitudes, beliefs, and actual or implied political actions.³

Table 1. Details of selected short stories

	ns of sciected short stories	
Title	Author	Original source and
		year publication
"Belantara di Musim Hujan"	Junus Mukri Adi	Kompas, 1970
("The Forest in the Wet Season")		
"Dari Kuliah Sampai ke Lembah"	O.R. Mandank	Horison, 1971
("From Lectures to the Valley")		
"Pembalasan Pada Penduduk Kota"	Mohammed Diponegoro	Kompas, 1981
("Responding to the City Dwellers")		
"Senyum Karyamin" ("Karyamin's	Achmad Tohari	Kompas, 1987
Smile")		
"Bom di Bukit Kapur"	Agnes Yani Sarjono	Bernas, 1994
("The Bomb on Limestone Hill")		
"Lampor"	Joni Ariadinata	Kompas, 1994
("Ghosts on the River")		
"Jejak Tanah"	Danarto	Kompas, 2002
("Exploring the Land")		
"Kuala Kapuas"	Korrie Layan Rampan	Republika, 2002
("Kuala Kapuas")		

²de Geus (1999) outlines a green philosophy for western green political parties as a basis for political action. de Geus's nascent green philosophy is based on a set of ecotopian principles distilled from an analysis of several western utopian works including literary works. de Geus (2002) argues developing a green philosophy can be used as a basis for questioning economic development decisions and help create an inclusive vision of the future. In applying this philosophy to a western case study, he conceives the dominant narrative is economic development (equated to economic growth) is vital to generate the funds and technology to repair environmental damage. A green philosophy offers the basis for proposing a counter-narrative through its critical questioning of the dominant narrative.

³All Indonesian titles and excerpts in this paper have been translated by the author.

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"Kota Rawa"	Raudal Tanjung Banua	Jawa Pos, 2014
("Swamp City")		
"Harimau Belang"	Guntur Alam	Kompas, 2014
("The Striped Tiger")		
"Kota ini adalah Sumur"	Mashdar Zainal	Kompas, 2021
("This City is a Well")		
"Ikan untuk Bapak"	W.S. Djambak	Kompas, 2021
("A Fish for Father")		

In the first section below six stories from the New Order Period are examined. In the second section six stories from the Post-New Order periods are discussed. Both these sections examine the research questions related to the economic development and environment relationships and green philosophy and messages. The third section compares the findings of these two periods related to economic development and environmental relations. The final section synthesizes the findings of both sections related to green philosophy and messages.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

New Order stories: economy, environment and green philosophy

In this selection of six New Order period stories we see a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative of the universal benefits of economic development, showing the costs borne by the disempowered or subaltern groups. We see state-corporate groups commodify forests and farmland leading to conflict with customary owners and farmers. In contrast tribal and farming communities seek economic development and environmental relationships that preserve the environment. The construction industry sees the rural environment as a source of cheap resources and cheap labour. The labourers are aware they are being denied a share of nature's bounty despite the enormous efforts they expend. Economic development too has passed by the urban poor who live in degraded environments. Within the stories there are several elements relating to a green philosophy and green messages which encompass: preserving the environment and its fauna; upholding traditional beliefs in respecting animals; implementing sustainable development based on renewable energy; preserving sustainable agricultural and production practices in villages; managing rubbish; providing equitable returns for labourers.

1. "Belantara di Musim Hujan" (1970)

"Belantara di Musim Hujan" (Adi, 2020) is told by an external narrator who tells of a young couple living in the middle of a state-owned forest plantation in Sumatera⁴. The husband, Ikrom, who guards the plantation, works for a European manager, Hajerdahl. Ikrom's wife, Rodiyah keeps house and has recently fallen pregnant. Ikrom seeks to stay for as long as possible in this job while his wife, who dislikes the isolation and thinking of her child, urges him to return to the city. An argument ensues between Ikrom and his wife after Ikrom shoots a pregnant deer. Rodiyah predicts the local village *dukun* (a villager having supranatural powers) and who looks after the animals in the forest, will take revenge on Ikrom through harming her unborn child. The dukun comes to the couple's house to remonstrate with Ikrom. A fight breaks out and Ikrom, who proves the stronger, overcomes the *dukun* but spares his life. However, when Ikrom returns to his house he finds his wife has died. The events take place over the period of a day.

Ikrom, who is part of a state-supported, western commercial project, sees the forest and its creatures as corporate property, whose trees will become wood for export. Symbolically, his possession of a gun represents being invested with state-corporate power. In his focalisation, the forest, its creatures, and the beliefs of the locals who live within it are seen as being of no relevance or value. Rodiyah objects to Ikrom's killing of a tiger and a pregnant deer, viewing it as wrong and arrogant. She identifies with the deer which is also carrying its offspring. Rodiyah's perspective accords with local beliefs of the sacredness of animals such as the tiger. She now fears retribution from the local dukun who will harm her and her unborn child. Ikrom insists on his view:

"Enough, I, you see, don't blame myself, to those who seek to look after tigers in this forest. Tigers and all these things in this forest are the property of the state. Even Hajerdahl's property, the European. Because he has the trust of the government for the export of timber overseas.

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⁴ This is deduced as tigers in Indonesia are only found outside captivity in Sumatra.

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And, I as Hajerdahl's subordinate, thus have authority over this forest. Clear, isn't it?" (Adi, 1970, p. 28)

The narrator presents a dominant focalization of respecting and preserving nature and rejects Ikrom's economic-environmental relationship that is destructive, harmful to nature, and ignores local beliefs. In the two focalisations we see a conflict between the traditional relationship with nature (a respect and concern for nature) and a corporate perspective which commodifies the environment and its resources (including hunting as a 'sport'). The narrator's (and Rodiyah's) dominant perspective arguably colours the final event in the story with the suggestion that the *dukun* has meted out a punishment for the killing of the animals.

2. "Dari Kuliah sampai ke Lembah" (1971)

In the short story "Dari Kuliah ke Lembah" (Mandank, 1970), the narrator-actor Amir and his friend Amran are fellow students at a technical college studying machinery. Over the course of their friendship Amir discovers his friend has been working for some time on a project in a rural area, Lembah. When Amir visits Amran's metal workshop in the city, Amran explains he has been working with two other technicians on trialling and building water-powered generators and milling machines for his father's kampung. They later visit Amran's father's small kampung passing through productive farming land planted with sugar cane, coffee, rice, and cassava. The narrator observes (to his surprise) Amran's kampung has electricity for its houses.

Through Amir's focalisation of his father's economic development and environmental relationship, we see his father's vision emerge. Amir's father became discontent with living in an urban environment and finds a more fulfilling life living in Lembah; drawn to its natural beauty. The vision involves using renewable energy from a nearby waterfall to meet the kampung's electricity needs and establishing the kampung's own gardens and fish pond and machines for milling grain.

The story contains various aspects of a green philosophy. There is an appreciation for the beauty of nature and a desire to live sustainably. The kampung economy is also planned to have self-sufficiency in terms of its own food production. Its use of locally designed dynamos and milling machines illustrates repurposing of old materials.

3. "Pembalasan Pada Penduduk Kota" (1981)

In the story "Pembalasan Pada Penduduk Kota" (Diponegoro, 1981), the head of a sub-district (*kelurahan*), Saman is facing an election. His popularity, after fifteen years in office remains undiminished because he has developed a sustainable and successful village economy. Under Saman, crops are grown which are suited to the poor soil and dry conditions, which have a ready market in the nearby city. The village grows cassava and bamboo with the former processed as flour in the city while the latter is made into handicrafts in the village for the city market. However, the village economy collapses because city people now prefer bread made from wheat over cassava flour. Plastic products have now come onto the city market too and are preferred over bamboo products. At a village meeting, the local teacher, Saleh proposes that the village make new products for new segments of the market, that cassava be processed into flour in the village and village craftspeople make high quality handicrafts. The head of the kelurahan insists the change would take too long and there is only one option, to beg in the city. As a consequence, handicraft skills are lost, the fields no longer tended, and the villagers lose ambition to work. These events occur over several weeks.

The external narrator's initial focalisation of the village's and city's economic-environmental relationships is one that is adapted to the environmental conditions. The bamboo grown is harvested and used to make handicrafts in the village. The villagers then take these products by foot to the city. The external narrator states:

"The villagers in fact worked diligently. Although the environment in that area was very harsh and cruel, the ground dry, water difficult to get except in the rainy season, the fields did not produce much except for thin cassava trees, there was not a single villager unemployed." (Diponegoro, 1981, p. 13)

The external narrator presents the dominant focalization of the city-village-environmental relationship as one that has shifted because of the influx of new consumer goods and foodstuffs. The narrator, through the head of the kelurahan, perceives the city dwellers as greedy and wealthy. It colours the final event of the villagers begging in the city. The head of the kelurahan's perceptions of the city begging provides a justification, a form a passive protest, for the final event in the story, where the villagers travel to the city as beggars.

The narrator presents a green metaphor of the 'natural cycle' with the villagers living in harmony with nature having adapted their agricultural practices to the environment's seasonal cycles of drought and rain. Within the dominant narrative there is a protest against the consumption of imported manufactured goods and food products which have disrupted sustainable local practices.

4. "Senyum Karyamin" (1987)

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"Senyum Karyamin" written by (Tohari, 1987) tells the story of Karyamin, a labourer whose work is to carry baskets of rocks, which have been collected from the river, up a steep bank to a collection point. The sequence of events is over several days. It opens with Karyamin losing his balance and falling. He becomes dazed yet perseveres until he reaches the top. At the top he dislodges his load on his rock pile. Feeling unwell he decides to go home although short of his quota of rocks. Karyamin is very hungry, however he refuses to eat when offered food because he is already in debt to the seller. Approaching his house, he thinks of bank debt collectors and his bank debt and how he has not been paid for two weeks for his last delivery of rocks. On arriving home, he is greeted by a village official who is collecting to help starving Africans. He falls to the ground laughing and rolls into the valley.

The external narrator gives a perspective on Karyamin's work as a labourer. The external narrator focuses on how all Karyamin's energy is needed to carry a great weight of stones collected from the river up a steep embankment. It also needs all his concentration to maintain the balance of two baskets suspended from a pole carried on his shoulder. He falls twice on the way up. He is drenched in sweat and his knees are shaking under the weight and his veins protruding from his neck. The narrator's focalisation (through Karyamin) shifts to birds and the ease with which they can catch fish from the same river (Tohari, 1987).

The dominant focalisations contrast the hardships of this group of workers in economic development with the proximity of nature's bounty suggest this group, if they could change this relationship could harvest nature's bounty in a local economy. It also contrasts with the indifference of other groups – the contractor, the bank officials and local officials to the labourers impoverishment. The green philosophy encompasses providing sufficiency of income and an adequate return for nature's 'free gifts' (rocks for construction).

5. "Bom di Bukit Kapur" (1994)

The short story "Bom di Bukit Kapur" (Sarjono, 1994) is set in the country, in a small village with its rice fields at the foot of a nearby limestone hill. In recent time, the village has experienced an increasing number of visitors coming to the hill leading the villagers to speculate about their intent. One day a group of twenty people led by Mr Kobar arrive in the village. Kobar's group invites four villages to join them on their trek up the limestone hill. Kobar reveals to these four villagers that his aim is to use explosives to break up the hill and then sell the limestone. He tells them his explosives expert will replace their village head. At a village meeting that night the four villages convey Kobar's messages. The next morning three villagers including Wajib find a body on the hill with its head mutilated.

Kobar sees the villager's economic development and environmental relationship, based on growing rice as being of lesser economic value compared to mining the limestone deposit. The villagers themselves are regarded as simple people, even obstacles and candidates for transmigration. He suggests to them that the flattened hill can then be used for rice production later (Sarjono, 1994). The other villagers, after hearing the report from the four who met Kobar critically question Kobar's intentions. One villager views Kobar as having a hidden agenda seen in his talking up his own champion as the next village head. Another villager views that Kobar shows unethical intent by doing all the talking and not listening. One argues being an expert bomb maker is no qualification for becoming a village head but rather for a company boss. The bomb is also seen to be in Kobar's mouth.

These negative perceptions of Kobar and his intentions is the dominant focalization of the story. While the body found on the limestone hill is not identified symbolically it indicates that the contestation for the limestone hill and the continuation of the village's way of life has commenced. In its green message we see the farmers have a sustainable long-term relationship with the land and they see themselves as working on this land until they die (Sarjono, 1994). They have developed a system of food production in equilibrium with nature with its wet and harsh dry seasons (*tanah tegalan*).

6. "Lampor" (1994)

In the story "Lampor" (Ariadinata, 1994) the narrator opens the story describing a heavily polluted river located next to a slum⁵. The narrator then shifts the focalisation to the kampung and its squalid conditions. A succession of events takes place in this location centred on the members of the Abah Marsuah family, starting from before 6am until just before midnight. The familiy comprises the father, Abah Marsuah, the mother Suminah, their children Tito (possibly 15), Rohanah (13), and Rois (11). Rois leaves surreptitiously haven stolen money from his mother to spend on alcohol. Tito, the only income earner, leaves to work as a recyclables collector (*pemulung*). A little later Rohanah gets up to fetch water. Suminah becomes aware Rois

⁵ The title is footnoted by the author as "Lampor are ghosts in procession" ("Lampor adalah mahluk halus yang berarak") and cites the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Language Comprehensive Dictionary). In the researcher's discussions with Javanese informants the definition is extended. Lampor are ghosts on the river who move in procession carrying lights at night and stray into dwellings.

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has stolen her money and is forced to borrow more money from the owner of the local warung. Abah Marsum, a semi-precious gems dealer, gets up to smoke then later fills out a lottery ticket having had a dream about the winning number. During the day, Rohanah is given money by her boyfriend, and she buys herself food. That evening, except for Rois, the family get together for a meal. The family goes to bed. The final event is Tito, who sleeps next to his sister Rohanah, becomes aroused listening to his parents having sex and shifts closer to his sister.

The external narrator focalises on the heavily polluted state of the river which flows past the kampung and then turns to the kampung itself. The narrator describes an environment unsuitable for human habitation but a place where the poor are forced to live. The external narrator states the river is full of bacteria (it is an open sewer) and observes floating in it are plastic, dented instruments, a dead dog, flies, and rotting garbage. The narrator then shifts focus on the shanties by the riverside comparing the shanties to rows of pig styes where people live on top of each and have no privacy. The narrator then describes one of the kampung's families with its makeshift roof of plastic and shards of fibre cement (*eternit*), its tiny dimensions and the cramped sleeping arrangements (a bamboo bench for the parents and a woven sleeping mats for the three children).

Jayawati et al. (2004) notes the slow plot development with a focus on the Abah Masuah family routine and the conflict between its members. The narrator however, also reveals thoughts of a group that is marginalised from economic development and the elite. Abah Masuah is presented as unemployed who smokes and daydreams about winning a lottery ticket and buying a house in the nearby elite housing complex 'Griya Arta' ⁶. The narrator also briefly focalises on the elite group and this group's cynical view of the kampung dwellers in terms of how they would be able to reproduce in such tiny houses. For Abah's wife, Suminah, the focus is on providing basic food and beverages for her family each day while also hoping to win the lottery to get out of the slum. Finding money dominates her thinking. She praises her son Tito for providing money and castigates Rohanah for not earning money (she urges her to go out and beg).

Tito's work as a pemulung links the kampung economy with its environment. The kampung environment is 'rich' in litter which can be collected and recycled and provide some income for the family. The narrator in focalising on Rohanah comments that for 13 year-old girls in this kampung, the choices for earning money are to beg or to become a prostitute. He mother looks keenly for signs Rohanah has the makings of a prostitute. For Rois, the narrator presents a character who now steals and spends money on alcohol.

The dominant perspective of an impoverished socio-economic group is coupled with a perspective of the indifference of the well-to-do who are living lives which the poor aspire to but can only dream about. Ironically it is from this group too that the poor scrounge recyclable waste which clogs the river that flows past their kampung. The key metaphor is one of living in a non-living natural environment (a dead river) and a non-human urban environment (shacks like pig styes). The last event of possible incest is consistent with these images of poverty's brutalising effects.

The dominant focalisation is drawing attention to a community which have not benefited from economic development nor can lift themselves out of poverty. It is a group that has become economically and socially stratified and marginalised in society. Implicit in this focalisation is message for the equitable share of economic development for the marginalised and the restoration of the environment. In the green messaging implicit is a call to restore rivers to good health and properly manage rubbish in the city and create liveable environments for the urban poor.

Post-New Order stories: economy, environment and green philosophy

In this second section the next six stories, published in the post-New Order Period, are analysed. In this period there is a continuity of the counter-narrative to the dominant group's type of economic development. Government and corporate interests are seen to be in a corrupt relationship, combining to appropriate community land in the city causing conflict with this community. This pattern of state-corporate collusion is also seen in a failed New Order era agricultural project (in Kuala Kapuas, Southern Kalimantan) creating major environmental damage and loss of livelihood to the local farmers. The local farmers are no longer able to continue sustainable traditional agricultural practices. Government and corporations continue to take over new land in the same area of Southern Kalimantan threatening traditional communities living sustainably with the environment. Companies commodify forests and land in rural areas in Southern Sumatra but also pollute the waterways and cause deforestation and loss of animal habitats. New fishing methods are practised which has led to bigger catches but has significantly depleted fish stocks in Riau

⁶ Griya Arta is Javanese for 'The House of Money'

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province. Local traditional fishers, who fish sustainability, now struggle to survive and conflict erupts between the groups. In the city, economic development has led to rivers becoming drains and the city's water supply becoming stressed. There are several aspects of a green philosophy which emerge in this period: the need for green urban spaces; a love for the beauty of nature; using sustainable farming, fishing and grazing practices; conserving nature; upholding traditional beliefs of respect for nature; producing goods and food locally in self-sufficient communities; understanding natural eco-systems, and; addressing problems of pollution.

7. "Jejak Tanah" (2002)

"Jejak Tanah" (Danarto, 2002) is set in an urban environment and tells of contestation over community land. A rich property developer has obtained a government letter for the release of land (surat pembebasan) which nullifies the ownership documents of its residents. The developer, who plans to build apartments for the wealthy, attempts to negotiate a price for the land but the offers are rejected by the residents. The residents then hold multiple demonstrations and attempt to speak to the governor. At a demonstration the developer is shot dead and several protestors arrested. This leads to more protests. After the burial of the developeer, that night the corpse visits the house, and is floats at the front door. A number of attempts are made to re-bury the body but it keeps re-appearing. The developer's son consults an Islamic cleric (kiai) about this problem who attempts to persuade him to perceive the truth as opposed to perceiving talk as the point of truth. The story ends with the body left hovering at the front door but its stench is smelt by those inside. The story and its focalisations are narrated by the developer's son.

The developer's son sees his deceased father as having been a religious man who valued the spiritual connections people have with the land. He views his father as having obtained a valid document to claim ownership over the land. He also perceives his father sought to reach an agreement on compensation with those living on this land. The developer's son observes that this group sees his father as rapacious, displacing them to make profit by building luxury apartments for the wealthy. He knows of their right to ownership and they have ownership certificates. He knows too the community lives on this land, a place where they have long worked and are raising families. The demonstrations occur outside his father's office and are also held outside the governor's office where they seek an audience. The governor is unresponsive suggesting there has been corruption in the process of this release of land.

The developer's son perceives the kiai as good and generous man who can offer wise advice. The kiai's perception of his father is contrary to the son's and sees the developer as being destructive towards the environment. The kiai goes on to say "Your father did not buy all the land which was released, but made the land suffer...[he] did not shift the cemetary...[He] did not care about the mosque, the well, and the trees, which supported life over there, they were immediately demolished just like that." (Danarto, 2005, pp. 5–6). The kiai, perceives the developer's son as someone who thinks he is telling the truth. He tells the son we utter words from the mouth construed as true but there is also an actual truth.

The kiai's interpretation of his father's body not staying buried is that it symbolises his father being an enemy of the land (the environment) and so cannot be received by the land. The meeting with the kiai, and the issue of finding the truth, colours the last event – the smell of the corpse penetrating the house. The smell symbolises the father's actions demand the family's attention to put things right. The dominant focalisation is kiai's, a perception of the father as someone who has put profit above ethics both towards both the people and the environment. Within the story itself there is a green message of the need for green urban development with green spaces that belong to communities.

8. "Kuala Kapuas" (2002)

The location of the story "Kuala Kapuas" (Rampan, 2002) is in the area of the township of Kuala Kapuas in West Kalimantan and is the site of a state-corporate agricultural project covering a million hectares. However, it has collapsed due to land clearing on peat soils causing an ecological disaster. The narrator actor, Suliansa the daughter of a farming family, tells how this project has financially ruined her family. Farmers' rice fields were taken over for this mega-project but have not received compensation. The local sub-district head, who kept the transfer documents, has now absconded. After the soil dried out there was a loss of plants, trees and surface water. Her family have as a consequence been unable to graze cattle in the swamp forest and grow fruit on their residual land. Along with many other farmers they were then forced to sell their cattle to a wealth rancher, but he has failed to pay them in full. Suliansa's brother has been jailed for logging in a national park while the perpetrator of this illegal scheme, a businessman with political connections, remains free. Another businessman, aware of the family's dire financial circumstances, asks Suliasana to become his fourth wife. The story ends with Suliasana becoming severely ill.

The narrator-actor, Suliansa views the local farmer's economic relationship with nature as being sustainable, and adapted to the peat soils (*gambut*) and swamp forests (*rawa*) of the area. The narrator-actor perceives it was the conversion of much of the land to industrial scale farming practices which led to a

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collapse of the environment. For her own family their agricultural practices have yielded a sufficient income enabling her parents to pay for her university education. The narrator-actor also describes her own relationship with nature and a deep feeling for its beauty:

"Basically Kuala Kapuas makes me happy. Its nature is unique because its soil is from peat, truly different from other regions. Should you just set out on a boat exploring these boundless waters, you will feel amazed, how nature develops itself, creating unparalled beauty. Is there misery in this rich nature, storing millions of God's secrets?" (Rampan, 2002, pp. 109110).

The narrator perceives a government and business group whose economic activities have led to nature being destroyed with the consequences being borne by the locals. The government's industrial scale agricultural project has destroyed the local environment rendering its land unproductive and impoverishing its farmers. She perceives the government to be authoritarian and arrogant, which promoted the benefits of the project to the farmers but has failed to pay them compensation. There is a perceived corruption with the sub-district head (*lurah*), who has custody of their land documents, absconding. There is also business and government collusion which has allowed a corrupt businessman to destroy national park forests through logging and yet avoid arrest. It is the loggers a subaltern group who are jailed.

The dominant focalisation is the local farmers' deep understanding and appreciation of the environment that has enabled them to live sustainably and in sufficiency for generations. In contrast, the government has taken a capitalist, corporate approach of scale to agriculture combining many small landholdings into one without a local understanding of the environment. In terms of a green philosophy there is an attitude of love and appreciation of nature's beauty, and locals undertaking sustainable farming practices that are adapted to the soil conditions and vegetation.

9. "Kota Rawa" (2014)

"Kota Rawa" (Banua, 2014) is about the narrator's perceptions of the human, physical and historical geography of swampland in southern Kalimantan. The narrator-actor's initial aim is to see the swamp buffalo which graze on the grass in Lake Panggang but discovers much more. The journey begins in Banjarmasin where the narrator-actor find information on this region before journeying to the town of Kota Rawa which the narrator calls Negara-Daha, the name of the site of a 14th Century Hindu Kingdom (Sunarningsih). A local, who lives in this area, Hajrin becomes the narrator's guide. The journey is undertaken by car to Nagara-Daha from where they explore the surrounding waters by traditional boat (*klotok*). The fabula ends with the narrator sitting in a coffee stall thinking how this land (and its life) is now under threat of disappearing because of economic development.

The narrator perceives that the existing economy is adapted to and is thriving in this environment. From the swamp mud, all types of pottery are made. Swamp fishers use traditional fishing equipment to catch fish and continue to use boats without engines. The catch is then dried on roofs and salted to preserve them. Bamboo is harvest upstream and floated downstream to the town market. The market itself is bustling with a variety of swamp fish and a local swamp waterfowl. The towns, in this vast region, are interconnected with inter-town trade travelling on boats along natural waterways. The surrounding waters themselves are teeming with fish and river lobsters. Its grassy atolls provide food for swamp buffalo tended by the townspeople.

The narrator's perceptions of the swampland contrasts with childhood memories of swampland near the narrator's own kampung. The narrator remembers the swamp as a place of danger which the villagers avoided. Its interior was perceived as full of snakes and malaria-carrying mosquitoes and quicksand. If they went to the coast the villagers took a detour around it. These earlier negative perceptions however, are now challenged by the perceptions of the economy and environment near the Kota Rawa.

The narrator focalises also on the changes economic development has made and will make on the locals and the environment. There have been narrow roads built to connect these swamp towns with the major city and so lessening the dependence on water transport. There has been logging too. There are now small industries making propellers for boats and other metal products. However, the narrator through local informants, perceives the area is now under threat of being used for palm oil plantations after the local government approved this economic development. The locals, who are the traditional owners of the land (tanah ulayat) know that development will lead to the soil becoming dry forever (thus ending their livelihood and destroying the environment). They also see that there is pollution from this development with cattle having become poisoned. There is also a perception of corruption.

The dominant focalisation is of a community living sustainably in their environment but encroaching palm oil plantations will lead to soils drying out and the collapse of their economy. This colours the final event with the narrator seeing a need to act to prevent this from eventuating (but also feeling disempowered). The dominant focalisation contains a number of elements of a green philosophy. The locals have an existing

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economic development and environmental relationship where the community is self-sufficient with food and goods locally produced which is sufficient for their needs, but does not deplete natural resources.

10. "Harimau Belang" (2014)

In "Harimau Belang" (Alam, 2014) an external narrator tells the story of the killing of a child by a tiger in the town of Tanah Abang in South Sumatera⁷. The tiger began entering the village about month ago taking several livestock. After this, the villages took measures to protect their livestock. Three weeks later the tiger attacks again but kills a child. The first such event in the history of the village. The village men hold a meeting and agree to hunt down the tiger. The following night a villager, Menot remonstrates with her husband Nalis not to join the hunt as the tiger is a sacred animal. Nalis refuses. The next day while Nalis is hunting the tiger Menot goes to the local lake to bathe. The story ends with her coming face to face with the tiger by the lake's edge.

Menot perceives the tiger in terms of local beliefs but also sees the effects of economic development on its habitat. Menot views the tiger as a sacred creature consistent with their ancestor's beliefs (Alam, 2014). Menot, who is pregnant views, based on this belief, sees that hunting the tiger will cause harm to her and her family (*kualat*) (Alam, 2014). For her husband Nalis and other men of the village, since the killing of the child, perceive the tiger foremost as a threat. To eliminate this threat the men decide the tiger must be killed (Alam, 2014).

The villagers see that economic development has created some higher paying jobs for the villagers but only at the lowest levels and without higher education they know they cannot get to management positions. A pulp mill, which opened four years ago, has created work for timber getters, timber transport workers and factory security guards. A coal mine, which opened two years ago has created positions as miners. The mine, however, has meant rubber plantations are now dug up for coal (meaning many rubber tapping jobs would have gone) (Alam, 2014). Menot also sees that there have been other negative consequences of economic development. The local river has now become polluted and is unfit for bathing necessitating taking a longer walk to the lake to bathe. The logging of a large area of local forest for the pulp mill has now led to the loss of food for the tiger meaning it has been forced to source food from the village. Despite knowing this truth, she feels disempowered to act by virtue of gender and limited education.

In this story the narrator's dominant focalisation (seen in Menot's discourse) is a perspective of the negative impacts of logging and pulp production on the community and the environment (the forest, rivers, and animal life). In this focalisation, traditional community beliefs about protecting nature, entwined with humankind's own regeneration, are ignored. The actual causes of environmental problems too are ignored. This perspective sees economic development as the problem not the tiger. This dominant viewpoint colours the fabula with Menot, who is a symbol of traditional beliefs, is in danger of being lost. The green message calls for addressing the causes of pollution and loss of animal habitat. Implicit in this view is a philosophy of respecting nature.

11. "Ikan untuk Bapak" (2021)

In "Ikan untuk Bapak" (Djambak, 2021) the setting is in a fishing village in Riau province⁸. The narrator tells of the plight of a father who can no longer earn sufficient income to meet his family's needs as his fish catch has all but disappeared. The father takes his leave from his family to fish one night. He heads out to sea in his boat and stops three miles from the coast to cast his net. The father stays overnight. The next morning, he draws in his net and is excited as he has caught some valuable fish (terubuk)⁹. Shortly after this, a fishing patrol boat comes alongside to inspect the catch. An official tells him he has broken the law which protects this type of fish during its breeding season. The father is told to get on the patrol boat, and in his frustration over not being able to take the fish and pay his debts, thinks of forcibly resisting arrest.

The narrator observes the economic situation of the fishers has worsened because one group of fishers are using fishing methods which have depleted fish stock and reduced the size of the catch. Its operations are conducted from motorized craft. These methods include the use of bombs, poison, and nets which extend to the sea floor (*jaring batu*)¹⁰. The narrator recalls that the traditional fishers in protest at the devastating effect of the use of this modern net burned one of the boats using this net. Traditional fishers in the area use

⁷ Given that tigers are only now found outside of captivity in Sumatera in Indonesia means the location of the story is in Sumatera. A search on Google Maps for 'Tanah Abang' places a town of this name in South Sumatera province.

⁸ In the text the father's boat is called 'lancang kuning', a type of traditional boat found in Riau province.

⁹ Its common name is 'Toli Shad' (Latin Tenualosa toli).

¹⁰ This type of net indiscriminately catches all sizes and types of fish species from the sea floor to the sea surface (GresNews, 2014)

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much smaller nets which float close to the surface cast from traditional boats that do not have engines. The narrator observes that before these economic developments, when the father was a boy, his father's boat would always return filled with fish which could provide a sufficient income for the family. Now catches are negligible and the father cannot support his family. The father also observes a sea that has turned from blue to black lapping oil onto the beach.

The traditional fishers, the narrator observes, have been provided with equipment by the government to bring about economic development for this group. The government has given the traditional fishers new boats and GPS for navigation. However, the father still relies on traditional skills, using offshore wind at night, currents and paddles rather than an engine to propel his boat. The GPS is largely redundant, as the traditional fisher tends to fish at night using coastal lights to work out location and the stars to determine direction. The narrator observes government has brought in laws to protect the type of fish caught by the father (*ikan terubuk*) but the problem of modern fishing methods and stock depletion has not been addressed.

In this story the dominant focalisation is of modern fishing practices have significantly depleted the fish stock and traditional fishers, who fish sustainably, are the victims. The fishers thought of resisting arrest is constant with the dominant focalisations, a sense of being the victim and that the wrong party is being arrested. With the dominant focalization we see a green philosopher in practice with the use of traditional ways of fishing that enable sustainable catches.

12. "Kota ini adalah Sumur" (2021)

The story "Kota ini adalah Sumur" (Zainal, 2021) is told by a narrator-actor, a young person who seeks to find the meaning of his grandfather's story about a well which gives birth to a village which then grows into a city. The location for the story is in the city, where the narrator-actor, a younger person, is growing up in the family home. The narrator-actor looks for this original well, which his grandfather spoke of, the well which gave birth to a village which grew into the city. During a long dry season, the narrator-actor's family well runs dry. The covering is removed and a well specialist is sought who can then descend and deepen the well. However, the family is unable to find such an expert, it is a skill which has been long lost (in the city). At the end of the story, it rains.

The grandfather uses a metaphor to describe his perception of the relationship between a well, a village, and a city. A well is likened to a mother's womb which gives birth to a village. The water itself is likened to mother's milk. The child and the village at this stage of development are in a pure state but as they grow – the village becoming a city and the child becoming an adult – they show signs of imperfections. The metaphor suggests that it is the constant supply of water from the earth that enables urban development.

The narrator perceives that with economic development the city dwellers' relationship with water, which is symbolized by the well, has evolved. The is economic development includes the use of a mechanical pump replacing the task of using a pulley to lower and raise a bucket in the well. With new infrastructure, the city inhabitants only need to turn on a tap to get water. To narrator actor observes that as the city has developed wells have become a part of the city's forgotten history. Physically they have now been covered over. Other sources of water in the city, its rivers have become murky turned into drains and then built upon and forgotten. The narrator comments the city dweller has forgotten the history of wells.

The narrator observes the connectivity between the family's water needs and the water eco-system. The long dry period reconnects the family to their source of water, the well. During this dry period the water table has dropped and so the well needs to be dug deeper. The narrator perceives a vulnerability – there is no-one who can do this task of deepening the well. The narrator perceives that it is the arrival of rain which replenishes the water in the earth and so replenishes the well.

In the process of development, the city dweller has lost knowledge of his relationship with the water eco-system and the sources man exploits for water. There is a message water cannot be assumed as an abundant resource, that it comes under stress in prolonged dry periods. In this relationship too wastewater generated by man has turned rivers into drains. The green philosophy is in grandfather's story, of the need to understand our relationship with the water eco-system works. There is a message that the city dweller needs to better understand and value the water eco-system.

Comparisons over two periods: development and environment

In both periods the dominant focalisation in the stories in most part contests the narrative of the universal benefits of economic development with a counter-narrative of its negative impacts on locals and the local environment. However, the counter-narrative does not reject the narrative that there are benefits from economic development. Modern technology has assisted a remote community to produce renewable energy and mill its own grain and enabled metal workshops to produce fishing boat propellers (Story (S) 2, 9). New projects too have created jobs and brought money into the community (S 10). Pumps for wells and plumbing have also made life easier for households in the city (S12).

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The counter-narrative in the rural setting in these stories often relates to the effects (or potential effects) of more powerful groups commodifying and claiming the land from the locals in contrast to locals who have, for generations, lived on the land using sustainable practices. In these focalisations forests are commodified as wood and wood pulp, traditional farms as limestone quarries, and rubber plantations as coal mines (S 1, 5, 8, 9, 10). The consequence of this economic development on rural areas, in the counter-narrative, has been pollution, drying of soils, loss of traditional farming practices, and deforestation in turn cause hardships for the local (S 3, 8, 10). In both periods too we see conflict arise between the more powerful groups (proxies for companies, government officials, business people) over the subalterns (farmers, urban poor) over land and resources (S1, 3, 5, 7).

In both periods economic development has brought jobs to rural areas and money into rural communities, but labourers are shown to be exploited with irregular and low pay, and no return on 'free' resources (S 4). Alternatively, where the pay is sufficient, locals are still restricted to labouring jobs (S 10). In the city, there are the marginalised who have not benefited from economic development and live in squalid conditions next to polluted rivers (S6). These industries too have generated pollution in rural areas, caused deforestation and caused animals to encroach on the human environment causing human-animal conflict (S 10). New methods of catching fish have led to a depletion of fish stock disadvantaging traditional fishers who use sustainable methods (S11).

Green philosophy and messages

Over both periods, in the dominant focalisations, there are attitudes and views that can be linked to elements of a green philosophy. Traditional beliefs relating to forest animals link to a philosophy of conserving nature underpinned by an attitude of respect for nature. In this philosophy, animal regeneration and human reproduction become analogised, a part of the one inviolate natural system (S 1, 10). Sustainable traditional farming, grazing and fishing practices are valorised, having enabled successive generations to maintain a sufficiency of food in their communities (S 3, 5, 8, 9, 11). The conservation of nature too gives pleasure and a feeling of God's handiwork (S 2, 8). Mankind, is also a part of nature, dependant its water eco-system (S 12).

In looking at messages in this green philosophy, and drawing on Gramsci's concept of philosophy as politics, we can see links to political actions. In this green philosophy the messages include creating awareness of the need to empower the subaltern (traditional peoples, urban poor, traditional fishers, and women) in efforts to conserve the environment. The messages too raise awareness of the effects of corrupt practices or opaque development practices that negatively impact the subaltern and the environment (S 5, 7, 8, 9). The messages in these stories show the need for both equitable returns to labourers and the urban poor from economic development. In the latter case it includes the rehabilitation of the urban slum environment (S6).

CONCLUSION

This paper has shown the dominant group's economic relationship with both the subaltern and the environment over two periods. Prominent in this relationship is a commodification of human and natural resources. Featuring significantly in the subaltern view is seeking to conserve traditional practices. The relationship between the subaltern and other groups in a contestation of their relationship with the environment is occasionally marked by violence. Over both periods a significant element of the green philosophy is the subaltern view of respecting nature based on traditional beliefs about the environment. A key message is seeking to empower the subaltern in efforts to achieve equitable economic and environmental outcomes.

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