

Criticism of Government During New Order Era in Film Langitku Rumahku (1989)

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Abstract

During the New Order era, all comments, protests against the government, or depicting reality would receive harsh punishment, and some would be arrested. The government silences everyone's right to freedom of speech and express opinions through state security measures. The film Langitku Rumahku (1989) owned by Slamet Rahardjo and Erros Djarot had become a controversial film because it dared to describe a picture of social differences between two classes of society which was interpreted as a criticism of the New Order government at that time so finally this film had its broadcast period limited and withdrawn from circulation. This study aims and focuses on describing criticism of the New Order government in the film Langitku Rumahku. To approach this problem, the Semiotics theory (Ferdinand de Saussure) is used to see signifier and signified which is strengthened by several social theories to describe the socio-political atmosphere of that era. Data were collected through films and analyzed qualitatively. This study concludes that criticism is clearly illustrated through the discrimination of the characters, symbols, and dialogues displayed in the film so that they have relevance to the research objectives.

Keywords: Criticism; Discrimination; New Order Era, Film Langitku Rumahku

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INTRODUCTION

Film is an arrangement of images contained in celluloid, then screened using projector technology, which can offer a breath of democracy and social criticism so that it can be interpreted in various meanings. In addition, films offer various messages so that they can be used in various uses. Thus, the film becomes very interesting to study from various aspects (Prakosa, 2001).

The development of film in Indonesia certainly cannot be separated from the role of society and the social criticism contained therein. Film does not only have a function in society but can also reflect and express aspects that are sometimes less obvious in society. Film has social and aesthetic functions (Pranajaya, 1999). The social function of film is marked by its relation to social, economic, political, ethical, religious life, and so on. The aesthetic function is also marked by the existence of film as a work of art that can provide pleasure and beauty to its audience.

Referring to the Indonesian film catalog, only a few films could be screened freely during the New Order era. At this time, the government had full regulations governing censorship institutions so not all films could pass censorship. The theme of the story is also dominated by good versus evil where good will always win. However, several films use children as the main actors to portray social criticism of the government at that time. For example, *Langitku Rumahku* (criticism of the expulsion of poor children to obtain justice in Jakarta) and *Daun Di Atas Bantal* (1998) (criticism of the welfare of Indonesian street children). However, these two films lack room for experimentation. After Suharto stepped down in 1998, the film movement in Indonesia underwent many changes. Along with democracy, filmmakers already had the space to express their creations without any barriers. Since then, Indonesian films have experienced very interesting developments. The existence of educational films in Indonesia must be recognized as a national cultural asset just like mainstream films that appear without having to abandon the spirit of unity and oneness, idealism to portray the real face of Indonesia's situation, not a dream or mere fantasy.

Previous research related to this research namely (Prasasti & Anggraini, 2020) where the research results are divided into three, namely criticism of the government in the economic field in the form of poverty, social conflict experienced and observed by the main character's observations of the government, namely from past experiences to the present in the form of violence, murder, and kidnapping, as well as criticism of the government in the form of political problems of abuse power.

The second research (Sanjaya, 2013) from this research denotatively Bento's lyrical depiction as a top businessman. Meanwhile, the connotative meaning is a true picture of the power of the New Order. The New Order is a regime that has provided various long historical records of the authoritarian rule of society. Bento's song is social criticism that is carried out covertly in the form of symbolic actions that imply evaluation or criticism of the social condition of society indirectly, criticism of executive power during the New Order era, and criticism of officials who use their position to enrich themselves

The last research, (Chandra & Huda, 2014) looks at how the social criticism in the comedy film *warkop DKI* and the response of the community during the New Order period 1980-1994. *Warkop DKI* comedy film was made as an expression as well as direct and indirect criticism of the government and society. The criticism presented was in the form of social conditions and economic conditions during the New Order era. According to the public, the comedy film *Warkop DKI* contains more elements of social criticism, but the public is more interested in comedy.

This study aims and focuses on describing criticism of the New Order government in the film *Langitku Rumahku* so it can find out the discrimination in people's lives during the New Order era.

RESEARCH METHOD

This study examines a descriptive qualitative approach regarding criticism of the New Order government in films. The qualitative descriptive research method is naturalistic because the assessment is conducted in natural conditions (Sugiyono, 2014). This research is a process of obtaining data as it is and emphasizing the meaning of the results. The source of the data used is primary data from the film *Langitku Rumahku*, which displays many aspects of discrimination

experienced by lower-class people, thus forming a criticism of the government during the New Order era. Secondary data in the form of complementary data related to research was obtained from the internet, journals, books, and required information. This study uses a literature study analyzed using Ferdinand de Saussure's semiotic theory as a reference to see signifier and signified criticism that is depicted discrimination through characters, symbols, and dialogues in the film.

RESULT AND ANALYSIS

Film Langitku Rumahku

Langitku Rumahku is a film directed by Slamet Rahardjo and co-directed by his brother, Eros Djarot. Langitku Rumahku shows the strength to live from the sources of income of the poor with very worrying living conditions due to a complete lack of opportunities. This film received a special award for its involvement with local issues and culture, thereby enriching the world of cinema. Slamet Rahardjo uses a humanist approach so he is considered capable of giving hope. Slamet Rahardjo also succeeded in presenting two very different worlds, showing a very contrasting society without opposing it, with no grudges, anger, or cynicism. Through the theme of social inequality, this film invites the audience to understand each other's problems in this world. Especially if it is applied in the current socio-political situation, where social inequality still exists.



Image 1. Film Langitku Rumahku (1989)
Source (IMDb)

Langitku Rumahku won many awards at international film festivals, but its marketing was limited in Indonesia because Suharto's cousin, Sudwikatmono, owned the financing that controlled the marketing of this film. In 1990, this film received an award at the Nantes International Festival, in France, and 1991 won at Bandung Film Festival in Indonesia as a commendable film and best director. According to Slamet Rahardjo, the withdrawal case in Jakarta violated the rules, because all Indonesian films can be screened for at least three days from their trial period on the market. The case of withdrawing this film ultimately had a positive impact on him in creating his work because many court demands were against Suharto when he stepped down.

Slamet Rahardjo sees that the world of children is clean, comfortable, and beautiful because it is related to everyday life. There is always an intention to provide good teaching values or to be able to provide ideas to the makers so that the elements of the character can become representatives, not just complete figures. This 103-minute film talks about the lives of two elementary school children whom each have different social backgrounds who meet accidentally, become friends and complement each other's needs. Gempol got the textbooks he wanted, while Andri got knowledge about the world outside himself, namely a world that is dirty, poor, and cruel but produces wise people. The background of the story is presented realistically so it helps reduce the stark differences between the rich and the poor.

Slamet Rahardjo also makes a touch of affection in this film that with a world that is comfortable and beautiful, what is felt is the good attitude of the children in facing the world of

their opponents. This film became controversial so it only aired for one day because it gave many portray of social differences between two classes of society which were interpreted as a subtle criticism of the Indonesian revolution and changes in social idealism with fascists such as nationalism. This film also depicts very cruel politics because, during the Suharto government, all comments, protests against the government, or depicting reality would receive harsh punishment, and some of them would be arrested. Everyone's right to freedom of speech express opinions is silenced by the government through state security measures. People who oppose the regime will be considered communists and commit subversive actions where no one can escape this subversive trial. So, during the New Order government, this film was banned and restricted.

Andri (played by Soenaryo Banyu Biru) is a boy from a rich family. His life was quite happy because he was spoiled and all his needs were fulfilled by his father. But in fact, he lacks affection, because his father was too busy working. In contrast to Gempol (played by Gempol), a boy who is not as fortunate as Andri. He comes from a poor suburban slum and moved to Jakarta to find work. Gempol dropped out of school because he had no money and was forced to sell old newspapers and magazines to support his family. One morning Gempol sneaked into Andri's school and secretly overheard a lesson being given in class. He wanted to go to school, but with his dirt, a school official thought he was trying to steal. Seeing Gempol's persistence, makes Andri sympathizes with him. One day Gempol found his house razed to the ground, causing him to lose his home and family. Andri felt sorry for Gempol. From this incident, a very close friendship was formed between Andri and Gempol even though they differ in social classes which were expressed through their efforts to find Gempol's family in Surabaya.

Langitku Rumahku was set in Jakarta, Surabaya, and a village in Madiun, East Java. This film was made to see the reality in Jakarta, a city with a very wide social gap, which shows the contrast between luxury housing and poor slums. Area cleansing was carried out in Jakarta in the late 1980s and brought Jakarta to change. Nearly 70% of the people living in poor slums and squalid areas were demolished by the military and police and turned into flats. Illegal settlements were removed, and public transportation such as rickshaws was also abolished from the city. Of course, the problem of poverty is always associated with the activities of the Regional Government in terms of demolishing illegal settlements which are not aimed at eliminating poverty. The local government's promise to pay compensation for the demolished houses never came. In the end, causing the lives of residents who live in poor slums to increasingly impoverished. The character Gempol in this film always carries a gunny sack with shabby clothes, depicting a poor child who lives a bitter life in the suburbs because he lost his home.

Film Issues in New Order Era

At the end of 1980, Indonesia entered a period of economic growth. The development sector at that time became Suharto's national priority, he later became known as the Father of Development. The trilogy run by Suharto gave birth to Stability, Growth, and Equality in Indonesia. At that time, people's welfare increased. Various advances ranging from city development, people's welfare, and toll road projects are going well. However, everything changed drastically when the economic crisis in 1997 made many people aware that the supposedly solid economic development was not able to withstand the global economic turmoil. The economic crisis that led to a multidimensional crisis caused severe poverty and failed to create a just and prosperous society.

New Order was famous for the era of the emergence of social differences in society. Also in the film, class problems, and social welfare are presented which result in the growth of society leading to consumerism. For example, many drama films are made with the backdrop of a large house complete with household assistants, luxury cars, and drivers. *Langitku Rumahku* is a film that contains inequality and poverty which were the characteristics of the New Order government because there were groups of people who were very rich, but on the other hand, there were poor and very poor people. In this film, there is a lot of screaming, suffering, and discrimination against the poor who are increasingly being oppressed during Indonesia's development progress, which at that time could be said to be stable. The system that developed in the New Order was an



authoritarian political system in which the bureaucracy and the military played an important role in making political policies and decisions. Other groups are not involved so in the end they only reflect the interests of the 'strong' group. Economic development has generated extraordinary wealth for several people, especially the presidential family and those closest to them, amidst increasingly widespread poverty. The elite enjoyed a luxurious cosmopolitan life and had most of the elementary liberties of the upper classes. They are even given freedom of speech if complaints and criticisms are leveled in closed circles.

Criticism of the New Order government in film through the semiotics of the signifier and the signified by Ferdinand de Saussure

According to Ferdinand, the signifier and signified that will be discussed in the film Langitku Rumahku are in several scenes that the researcher has chosen in the film which depict criticism of the New Order government as seen from the discrimination presented. The opening scene of the film becomes the keyword for the film's theme, namely the lives of two people from different social classes.

Table 1 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Symbol and Character

Signifier	Signified
<p>The scene of the film opens with the fade-in technique of the view of the city of Jakarta in the morning, which starts to get busy with various activities. Many magnificent office buildings, star hotels, and cars pass by. Then fade to the sights of the suburbs of Jakarta, the slums area where scavengers live which are also starting their activities in the morning. At this time, the character Gempol is introduced as an eleven-year-old boy coming from a very poor family, living in the suburbs of Jakarta. He lives in a very simple squatter settlement with a dirty environment. Even though he was still a child, Gempol had to work to help his parents sell old newspapers and magazines by walking up and down the bridge. Then move to the montage of a terraced house. The character Andri is introduced. Andri, an eleven-year-old boy who dreams of becoming President, is described as the son of a wealthy family, who is always served by four household assistants and a driver who always takes him to school. But his father's wealth doesn't make Andri happy because his father is too busy working, while his older sister gets angry with him. After the introduction of Andri's character, the director returned to shooting Gempol housing. A view of morning activity in contrast to Andri's family. Some start working, some bathe in dirty rivers, and some take water to cook from the river. Everything is done in the same place.</p> <p>Andri's character has white skin, is clean, has a healthy body, and always wears a school uniform and shoes, while Gempol's character has brown skin, is dirty, thin, and wears shabby clothes and sandals.</p>	<p>This scene depicts discrimination through the symbol that in Jakarta there is still a very wide gap in social differences. In the middle of Jakarta, which is magnificent with its development, it turns out that there are still slums, dirty and poor scenery with quite apprehensive people's lives.</p> <p>This scene depicts discrimination through the characters as a social critique of Suharto's socio-political situation, namely the social gap that is still very wide. Inequality and poverty do not only occur among community groups but also cover regions. Jakarta and other cities in Java have many facilities, while areas outside Java are mostly still lagging in development. This social critique clearly illustrates that the political authoritarian New Order has created a political system that no longer responds to the demands and needs of society. During 32 years of ruling with an authoritarian, economic development which should have been aimed at encouraging people's prosperity, in fact only enjoyed the political and economic elite, especially those within the Cendana family circle. (Winters, 1999) said the New Order political system was oriented only to serve the interests of the regime, the president, and those closest to him, the military, and the bureaucracy. The people only became a marginal group which was economic, social, and political interests that received little attention from the political system that represented Suharto himself.</p>

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

Andri as the representative of the rich is described as having all the facilities while Gempol as the representative of the poor is described as always being squeezed by economic difficulties



and always receiving various forms of social welfare discrimination as the poor living in the city. The same goes for Gempol's fate of being discriminated against in the world of education. This is found in the teacher's dialogue with his students.

Table 2 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Dialogue

Signifier	Signified
The teacher's dialogue "School is expensive, not all children can go to school".	This scene illustrates discrimination through dialogue that basic education is not fully accessible to every child in Indonesia because there is a determining factor, namely cost. To get an education, an individual must prepare a large amount of money.

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

The criticism illustrates that economic development, which has always been the main focus of the government, has not been able to increase people's welfare evenly. The reason is because of the large poverty gap. One of them has an impact on the world of education. Even though the local government has guaranteed that the children of poor families can get basic education for free, in reality, many of them do not go to school because they cannot afford it. Opportunity to obtain proper education is only owned by children who come from wealthy families. For example, in the film *Petualangan Sherina* (Riza, 2000), *Joshua Oh Joshua* (Sirait, 2001), *Ariel & Raja Langit* (Suharyadi, 2005), and *I Love You Om* (Wijaya, 2006). Meanwhile, children who come from lower-class families are always thrown out of the formal education path so they become victims of discrimination in national education policies. For example, in the film *Denias Senandung di Atas Awan* (Rantau, 2006). This illustrates that the poor who should be defended are marginalized in the education process.

It has been Gempol's hope, like other children, to have an education at school. Gempol is study hard and attended school up to grade five when he was in the village. However, because his family was very poor, his parents were unable to continue his education to the sixth grade. This film is found in the dialogue when Gempol tells his father he wants to go to school.

Table 3 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Dialogue

Signifier	Signified
Gempol's father's dialogue "Life is good if it's just dreams, schools need paper (money), not waste paper".	This scene illustrates discrimination through dialogue that for poor families, the price they have to pay to buy education is very expensive so dropping out of school is a very serious impact. The nine-year free school program never came to them because the cost of education was getting more and more expensive due to the increasing operational costs of providing education, starting from the price of books and stationery. Education has competed with basic needs. In other words, money for the Gempol family is more valuable to buy food than going to school. As a result, many children leave school to help their parents work, so Gempol's education as a suburban child must be faced many problems. The issue of education is not only in the interests of children, but is in the interest of all society and is the responsibility of the state to realize national education that is free, democratic, and by the people's vision. Education should not be commercialized at high cost, so that rural children, suburban children, and poor children are not allowed to get an education. This



	condition further clarifies that the state does not side with its people who are marginalized due to differences in economic status. This phenomenon shows that not all children are lucky to get a proper life and education. (Dewey, 2012) said that a democratic country must provide equal educational opportunities and quality education for all its citizens to liberate the nation from ignorance, poverty, and slavery.
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Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

Andri’s education is very different from Gempol’s. This can be found in the scene when Andri attends a school that has complete facilities and, in his class, he always holds study group discussions. Meanwhile, Gempol can only learn from books given by Andri. Gempol reads at night with dim lights, sometimes he reads a book in the bathroom. The discrimination shown in the film is caused by the problem of poverty while at the same time providing discrimination that poor people are not eligible to go to school. Discrimination, which became further criticism, is found in the scene when Gempol tells his father that he was accused of stealing at Andri’s school because he peeked at Andri’s school.

Table 4 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Dialogue

Signifier	Signified
Gempol’s father’s dialogue "Scavengers are mistaken for thieves it’s normal for us to look dirty".	This scene depicts through dialogue that scavengers are the same as thieves because they like picking up things. The attitude of people at school can also be seen that they have a bad tendency towards poor Gempol. This prejudice is not only among adults but also among children.

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

There have been a lot of negative stigmas given by society to the suburban poor. Regional regulations demand a negative stigma regarding eviction, thus further legitimizing the power of capital owners and the state to get rid of street children, traders, buskers, and residents of poor villages. These people are considered incapable of getting out of trouble due to laziness, laxity, dirty appearance, involvement in crime, impressionability, violence, dependence on others, worthy of drunkenness and not being trusted. This opinion states that it is their fate that they cannot take the price of human rights to obtain welfare and education in their own country. This negative stigma can be found in this film, which seems to be talking about a story that everyone has encountered, namely true friendship and no prejudice through dialogue in the scene where Gempol’s father asks for a lunch box that Andri gave him. His father suspected that Gempol had stolen.

Table 5 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Dialogue

Signifier	Signified
Gempol’s father’s dialogue “There are no angels in Jakarta”	This scene depicts discrimination through dialogue as a criticism that there are no rich people who want to be kind to the poor, nor does the government want to be kind to its people.

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

Many poor people live in Jakarta with low incomes and work in the informal sector, so their entire income is only enough to eat, but some can send their children to school. The problem of floods that always hit Jakarta, often causes children’s books and school equipment to be washed away by the flood currents. In addition, health threats also often occur because of a dirty



environment and the negative perspective of society towards them. This phenomenon seems to get used to living 'normal' in an 'abnormal' life.

Another discrimination that the poor and street children have to accept through the regional regulations is the issue of expulsion because the presence of poor children and street children has become a social phenomenon in big cities. The fate of children needs serious attention because it is not only a matter of poverty, but also a problem of exploitation, manipulation, and uncertainty about ways of helping, either by themselves or by other parties who care about them. Globalization has indeed led to various advances but on the other hand, it has created social problems. The economic crisis had an impact on children's welfare so many children have dropped out of school due to financial problems. For example, in Indonesia and Thailand, the economic crisis has forced children to live on the streets where the risk of drug use, prostitution, and crime is very high. Structural poverty experienced by marginalized people has seized their childhood and forced them to work to support their families as seen in the film *Daun di Atas Bantal* (Nugroho, 1998) which shows a picture of the pressure experienced by three orphaned children to survive without love, and the protection of their parents as role models. In the eyes of society, the existence of street children like Heru, Sugeng, and Kancil is still considered city trash that must be removed. Not even a few street children think of themselves as the trash of society. As a result, children are increasingly deprived of the opportunity to fulfill their basic rights, especially the right to education, the right to play, the right to health services, and so on. While other children are busy studying and playing, children who live on the streets and in other places have to work hard to earn money to survive. Poor people become oppressed due to government policies and also experts in political parties who always make false promises. Insurance crimes committed due to the lack of identity of street children allow irresponsible parties to change their real identities and dispose of the children's corpses inhumanely so that when they die, their identities cannot be known. As poor children and street children, they have rights that must be fulfilled by the state.

Supporting the success of a society is government. However, in practice, the government is too busy with development affairs. (Koentjaraningrat, 1997) warned the New Order government that national development that only emphasizes economic goals and ignores cultural change will fail. In its development, the goals of national development have indeed been achieved, but it has also provided space for corruption which is mostly perpetrated by elite groups in all aspects of life. If there is a big gap between the rich and the poor, between those in power and ordinary people who do not have equal and open opportunities, then corruption is born so between the people and the government will make a very large gap (Merton, 1968). This statement is supported by the idea of (Nietzsche, 2001) that human life is dominated by the will to power because humans live in a network of political, economic, cultural, and other powers. Humans will look for various ways to imitate their corrupt leaders because they have access to power structures and control economic resources. Corruption makes the poor poorer while the government revels in their misery. Likewise with education. Corruption has killed the nation because it seizes people of their rights, especially poor children, to live in prosperity and have the opportunity to go to school.

Table 6 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Dialogue and Characters

Signifier	Signified
When Andri and Gempol arrived at the monument the statue of the national hero Diponegoro, the dialogue between Andri and Gempol "Do you know whose statue is above us?" "Prince Mataram was angry because his ancestral land was disturbed by the Dutch" "What's wrong with his ancestral land?" "You know, the Dutch have power, they just want to evict people's land".	This scene depicts discrimination through dialogue because indirectly, the fate of the hero Diponegoro is the same as Gempol a poor person whose house was destroyed by the authorities.
The scene when Gempol as a poor child is unable to do anything when his house is demolished and his parents are taken away by the Civil Service	This scene depicts discrimination through characters and dialogue because the policies of the Jakarta regional government are always hostile to



<p>Police. His neighbor’s dialogue that his parents “will live well because they are guaranteed three meals a day”.</p>	<p>and fighting poor people like him. This scene also shows how the government covers up the issue of evictions in public. Various injustices have produced thousands of repressive victims and thousands of street children are increasingly suffering because of the government’s authoritarian power which treats the poor inhumanely. Children are alienated not because of their fault, but because of the injustice. This condition further clarifies that the poor always get injustice in all aspects of life. Poor people should be expelled for disturbing the environment. Social criticism clearly illustrates that in the midst of the abundance of wealth and freedom for certain groups, the people still live in silence and fear because of Suharto’s ability to easily crush the cruelty of the opposition group. Poor people got very undemocratic treatment and lose job opportunities.</p>
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Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

The problem of poverty was once special in Jakarta. The Jakarta regional government is always looking for ways to evict poor people who live in Jakarta because their existence makes the face of the city of Jakarta a slum. Many poor people live on the land illegally according to law, disturbing the order, cleanliness, and beauty of the city. The presence of poor people is due to the uneven distribution of the population. The level of work wages in cities is considered higher and the availability of facilities such as education, health, housing, and others. So, villagers are competing to move to the city, hoping to change their fortunes for the better. However, not all villagers are lucky, because most of them are stuck in poverty. The dialogue about the lives of the common people who have never received welfare guarantees from the government can be found in the scene where Gempol tells his uncle that his dog is missing.

Table 7 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Dialogue and Symbols

Signifier	Signified
<p>Uncle’s dialogue “Not only dogs, but it’s also normal to lose houses in Jakarta”.</p>	<p>This scene depicts discrimination through dialogue and symbols that there is no welfare for the poor. The material wealth they have is as if it means nothing because it can be obliterated in the blink of an eye by the government. Gempol was very sad because he lost his parents and his house.</p>

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

The expulsion of poor people living in Jakarta is a violation of human rights and is the result of the failure of the state to provide welfare for its citizens. Although the act of destroying these illegal houses has received protests from various groups such as the national commission on human rights, the Indonesian Child protection commission, and the national commission on Women, the government continues to carry out these actions to uphold public order, removing illegal residents from privately owned land or state land, or clear land for infrastructure projects. As a result of the eviction and destruction of illegal houses, sometimes children’s education is disrupted because their parents are unable to pay the enrollment fees at the new school and the books and school uniforms are lost. This forced eviction only moved other problems from the city, victimized the poor community, and very clearly showed violations of human rights are common. John Locke said that apart from general basic human rights, the right to life, the right to freedom, and the property right is a human right to live properly. The state must provide a proper life for its



citizens, not chase away and burn residents' settlements just because they are considered to violate the order.

Table 8 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Dialogue and Characters

Signifier	Signified
Uncle Gempol's dialogue with Andri and Pak Dimik, "We have lost our home, but we still have the sky. As long the sky still exists, we will not be afraid of losing our homes". Just like in the dialogue when his uncle consoled Gempol "As long as there is sky, you do not need to cry. It means we still have a home. Our house is big. My sky is my home".	This scene depicts discrimination through dialogue and the characters Gempol and his uncle who are described as ordinary people as well as being a basic criticism of the existence of social criticism in the socio-political situation in Jakarta that the fate of the poor has no power and only surrenders to accepting all government policies. They are always oppressed and expelled, finally living a new life bitterly because their suffering is never heard by the government because the human rights of the poor are always ignored.

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

The director shows the suffering of the poor in the film when he takes a montage of the city of Jakarta at night which is filled with development. The director then moved to Andri's house, which was celebrating the graduation of Mbak Peris (Andri's sister). Drinks of wine, delicious food, and the humor of the rich are used as a symbol of the life of the real rich. At the same time, the director then showed Gempol who was cold, had no shelter, no food, and did not know where to sleep that night.

Table 9 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Dialogue

Signifier	Signifier
Uncle Gempol's dialogue "We are a society of snails, they stick everywhere, it's a sight to behold. They do not like us, so we were evicted." Meanwhile, Gempol could only accept his fate, saying "Every Jakarta's day celebration, Jakarta is always dressed up, our house is gone again".	This scene illustrates discrimination through dialogue that the suffering of the poor never ends. They just want to feel secure to work and have a place to live that is free from eviction.

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

In the story, this film revives an unsuspecting friendship. Even though Andri comes from a rich family, Andri is described as very simple, caring, and understanding.

Table 10 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Characters

Signifier	Signified
The scene of Andri giving Gempol a lot of old magazines to sell and sometimes giving him food.	This scene depicts discrimination through character and is a criticism of the elite who like to think of the poor as dirty, but it's different from Andri's attitude. This satire is brought to life by the director through the character of a child whose heart is nobler than the government because he is willing to make good friends with the poor. Even though they are still children, they help each other, provide support, still appreciate and respect each other, and are willing to learn from one another. The first meeting at the park, when Andri gave Gempol old magazines, made the friendship between the two children through the symbol 'Tok' and the greeting 'Bung'.

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)



After getting to know Gempol, Andri can appreciate how it is to live as a poor person, always living in misery and restlessness.

Table 11 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Characters

Signifier	Signified
When Andri and Gempol went to Surabaya, Andri felt how it was like sleeping on the streets and then being kicked out.	This scene depicts discrimination and criticism through the characters that the fate of the poor is never calm, they are always squeezed by difficulties and have to live life bitterly.
When they are robbed and run out of money, they finally decide to work by washing dishes, becoming parking guards, and feel being chased by thieves.	This scene depicts discrimination and criticism through the characters because the government does not take serious action against crimes and violence that are increasing in society.
In another scene, when Andri sees a thief in the market being beaten inhumanely as an 'ordinary sight'.	This scene illustrates discrimination through the character that apart from the problem of poverty, Gempol as a poor citizen cannot live quietly in Jakarta because he is always harassed chased by police, and forcibly evicted.
The suffering of the poor is also shown in the scene where Gempol's afraid when he meets the police is the fear of the poor towards the policies carried out by the local government.	This discrimination is very relevant to the socio-political situation in the Suharto era through his authoritarian actions against the poor.

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

The difference between the lives of the poor and the rich is depicted in the film through the different facilities received by Gempol and Andri.

Table 12 Criticism of the New Order Government Through Characters

Signifier	Signified
Gempol's poverty makes him unable to understand scientific developments. The scene of Gempol getting into Andri's car and being amazed by the sophistication of Andri's car that he has never seen before. Gempol feels that being rich is much better than being like the bird that Andri wants.	This scene illustrates discrimination through the characters that the life of the poor never enjoys facilities while the rich can enjoy their luxuries.

Table Source (Processed by Researchers, 2023)

The friendship that feels each other's pain is increasingly clearly described by the director when Andri and Gempol have to be separated when they arrive in Jakarta. Andri had trouble sleeping because he felt that Gempol also had trouble sleeping. Even though Gempol is poor, his character and heart are not poor. He does not give up easily and looks for other options although he lost his house and couldn't find his parents.

CONCLUSION

Langitku Rumahku symbolically breaks down illusions and exposes the false consciousnesses created by the New Order political regime by revealing the hidden real situation, especially for those who live in the lower class. Their suffering is the hidden suffering, their fear and trauma, and their dreams which often do not come true. Various regulations made by the government to protect children's rights are not in favor of poor children. Every child has become the responsibility and obligation of the government and the state by the objectives of Constitution



number 34 in providing health care facilities and proper public services, as well as developing a social security system for all people and helping the weak and incapacitated by human dignity. (Freire, 2001) believes that human nature can change destiny. Constitution number 34 has not been implemented because there is still a very wide social gap. The government of the New Order era seemed to deliberately design policies that were not serious so that they were free to rule and oppress and leave their people in backwardness to maintain the status quo by creating social gaps which eventually became criticism through the discrimination experienced by Gempol through the characters, symbols, and dialogues in the film.

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