

## SOCIAL CLASSES AND OCCUPATIONS OF JAVANESE SOCIETY IN 1950's PORTRAYED IN "CIGARETTE GIRL" BY RATIH KUMALA

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### ABSTRACT

This study aims to identify the types of social classes and occupations represented in Javanese society in the 1950s as portrayed in Ratih Kumala's *Cigarette Girl*. The study employs Max Weber's theory of social class and Allan Swingewood's sociology of literature. The data source is the novel *Cigarette Girl*, while the data consists of passages and dialogues related to social status and occupations. Data were collected through close reading and note-taking techniques and analysed using a qualitative descriptive method. The findings reveal three social classes: lower, middle, and upper classes. The lower class is represented by cigarette rollers, laborers, and servants, the middle class by teachers and educated workers, and the upper class by business owners and factory proprietors. These occupations reflect the social hierarchy of Javanese society in the 1950s. The study implies that literature can function as a social document that preserves historical representations of social class and occupational structures in society.

**Keywords:** sociology of literature, occupation, social class

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Literature has long functioned not only as a source of aesthetic pleasure but also as a medium through which societies record, question, and reinterpret social realities. Literary texts frequently represent social institutions, economic relations, cultural values, and patterns of human interaction that exist within historical contexts. Consequently, literature can be understood as a social product that reflects the conditions of the community in which it is produced and consumed (Siahaan & Arianto, 2020; Wahyudi, 2013).

Contemporary literary scholarship increasingly emphasizes the relationship between literary narratives and issues of social inequality, occupation, and class identity, especially in societies experiencing economic and cultural transformation. Social stratification remains a significant issue in many communities, including Indonesia, where occupation and economic status continue to influence social mobility, prestige, and interpersonal relationships. According to Weber (1978), social class is shaped not merely by ownership of property but by

individuals' life chances in the market, while status and social honour also determine their position within society. Such multidimensional understandings of class remain relevant for interpreting literary representations of social hierarchy and labour relations.

Novels, as one of the most popular forms of prose fiction, often portray these social realities through characters, settings, and conflicts. Although fictional, literary works may mirror actual social conditions and historical experiences (Andriyani et al., 2021). One notable Indonesian novel that strongly reflects social and economic structures is *Cigarette Girl (Gadis Kretek)* by Ratih Kumala. First published in 2012 and later translated into English in 2017, the novel presents the development of the kretek industry, family enterprises, gender relations, and class mobility during periods of political and social upheaval in Indonesia. The narrative depicts how occupational roles within the tobacco industry determine social position, economic opportunities, and family prestige. Recent studies have also highlighted the novel's rich portrayal of social conflicts and cultural practices surrounding kretek production and consumption in Indonesian society. These characteristics make *Cigarette Girl* an appropriate data source for examining the intersections between occupation and social class in literary representation.

This study employs the sociology of literature proposed by Alan Swingewood as its primary theoretical framework. Swingewood argues that literary works may function as social documents that record the values, institutions, and class structures of the societies from which they emerge (Wahyudi, 2013). Through this perspective, literature is not merely an imaginative creation but also a reflection of social realities and historical experiences.

To analyse social stratification more specifically, this study integrates Weber's theory of social class, particularly his concepts of class, status, and life chances. Weber contends that social position is determined not only by economic ownership but also by occupational opportunities, prestige, and access to resources within society. The combination of these theories enables a comprehensive analysis of how occupational roles and class distinctions are represented in the novel.

Several previous studies have investigated *Gadis Kretek* from different perspectives. Fitriani (2024) examined social conflict in the novel through a sociological approach and focused on the forms, causes, and impacts of interpersonal and communal conflicts. Another study by Mugijatna (2024) explored the social functions of smoking and kretek culture represented in the narrative, emphasizing cultural identity and communal values rather than class relations. Earlier research by Yusuf and Susilo (2020) primarily discussed gender struggles and historical memory in the novel. Although these studies contribute significantly to understanding *Gadis Kretek*, they pay limited attention to the relationship between occupational structures and social class formation. Furthermore, none of them combine Swingewood's conception of literature as a social document with Weber's multidimensional theory of class. This absence constitutes the research gap addressed in the present study.

Therefore, this research aims to identify and analyze the forms of social class and occupations represented in *Cigarette Girl (Gadis Kretek)* by using Swingewood's sociology of literature and Weber's theory of social class. Specifically, the study seeks to explain how

occupational positions influence social status, economic opportunities, and interpersonal relations within the narrative, as well as how the novel functions as a reflection of Indonesian social structures during a particular historical period. The findings are expected to contribute to literary studies by demonstrating how fiction serves as a social document that records class dynamics and labour relations while enriching discussions on Indonesian literature and sociology.

This research applies the sociological approach to analyse the novel. A sociological approach is used because it connects the story with the society where it belongs. It focuses on how literature reflects the social conditions, cultural values, and human interactions within a community (Inghilleri, 2023). Through this perspective, literature is not seen only as a fictional creation, but also as a representation of real social life. By using this approach, the analysis can show how the novel mirrors real-life social realities and how social issues are portrayed through the characters and events in the story.

The objectives of this study are to identify the types of social classes and the types of occupations represented in literary work, as reflected in the social structure of the society depicted in the text order to understand the social structure reflected in the novel. Based on this sociological perspective, the research focuses on specific social issues presented in the novel, particularly social class and occupation, which are closely related to sociology of literature (Barbieri et al., 2020). The differences in class and labour create conflicts among the characters and drive the story forward. These elements are important because they show how society shapes people's lives, identities,

and relationships. The analysis will focus on how the novel reflects these social structures.

The significance of the novel comes from its ability to entertain while also delivering social messages. Readers can enjoy the story while learning about the realities of life and society. Meanwhile, the significance of the research is to provide an understanding of how literature can represent social issues, especially class and occupation, and to show how novels can serve as a mirror of real-world conditions.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Sociology of Literature

This study employs Alan Swingewood's sociology of literature as its primary theoretical framework. Swingewood (1972) argues that literature and society are inseparable because literary works emerge from particular social, historical, and cultural circumstances. He proposes three major perspectives in the sociology of literature: literature as a social document, literature as a reflection of the author's social situation, and literature as a manifestation of historical processes. The present study adopts the first perspective, namely literature as a social document (Satria, 2017).

According to Swingewood (1972), sociological approach is used to analyse literary works in terms of its societal context, emphasizing that literature serves as a reflection of real life within its social context. This approach produces the theory of the sociology of literature, which largely derives from the societal problems found in literary works. These problems include social stratification, marriage, labour, economy, slavery, class conflict, and many more.

### 2.2 Weber's Theory of Social Class

Social class in literature describes social stratification of the society within

the novel. This term itself refers to the difference of social class as a product of an individuals' status and power within the society. There are generally three social classes like the upper class, middle class, and lower class. Weber (1978) explained that social classes are divided based on individuals' economic position and access to resources, which influence their opportunities in life.

The upper class consists of people who possess significant wealth, property, and influence, often controlling major economic and political power. The middle class includes professionals, small business owners, and skilled workers who have moderate income and education, typically striving for stability and social mobility. Meanwhile, the lower class represents individuals with limited access to economic resources, education, and social opportunities, often facing job insecurity and financial struggles. These distinctions, according to Weber (1978), influence not only people's lifestyles but also their chances to gain power and prestige within society.

### 2.3 Occupation in Literature

Swingewood (1972) explained that the sociology of literature can be viewed from three main perspectives: literary works as reflections of the era in which they were produced, as mirrors of the author's personal life, and as representations of historical moments. Although these perspectives differ in focus, they are all connected by a common concern with society. The first perspective views literature as a product of its time, reflecting the social, political, and cultural conditions of the period in which it was written. The second perspective sees it as a mirror of the author's life, revealing the writer's personal experiences, emotions, and beliefs within the story. Meanwhile, the third perspective considers literature as a

record of historical moments, preserving collective memories and showing how events in history influence social values and human behaviour.

The first perspective views literature as a reflection of the era in which it was produced. It positions literary works as valuable social documents that reveal the realities of their time (Abdurrasyid, 2024). Through the depiction of characters, settings, and daily life, literature gives insights into the social structures, occupations, and class systems that existed within a particular period. For instance, novels often portray the kinds of jobs people held, their working conditions, and the social values attached to different professions. By examining these details, readers and researchers can better understand how economic and occupational roles shaped people's identities and interactions within society. Thus, literature serves not only as an artistic expression but also as a historical record that helps us study the social and occupational life of past eras.

### 2.4 Previous Studies

Some previous studies are relevant to this analysis and support the discussion of social class and occupation in literary works. Research by Siahaan & Satria (2022) analysed "The Notebook" by Nicholas Sparks using a sociological approach to analyse social class differences and conflicts. The study focused on how upper-class and middle-class divisions influence relationships, especially in romantic and family contexts. Using the theories of sociology of literature and social class proposed by Weber and Marx, the research found that differences in wealth, power, prestige, and social status create strong class boundaries. These boundaries lead to conflict, as upper-class families refuse to accept individuals from lower social

classes, showing how social class influences behaviour, lifestyle, and social acceptance.

Another research is done by Lumbantoruan (2021) who analysed “Oliver Twist” by Charles Dickens to understand the social activities and occupations of British society in the 19th century. Using a qualitative descriptive method and Swingewood’s sociology of literature, the study analysed the novel as a social document that reflects real social conditions. The findings show that “Oliver Twist” portrays various social activities and occupations, such as doctors, police, shop owners, waiters, maids, and gardeners, showing how literature represents everyday life and work in a specific historical period.

Another study by Natasha (2020) analysed “The Notebook” by Nicholas Sparks using Max Weber’s theory of social class. It focused on the main characters, Noah and Allie, and their social positions based on wealth, education, and lifestyle. Noah starts as lower-class but later moves to middle-class, while Allie is upper-class and Lon is upper-upper class. The study also points out how social class affects relationships and social acceptance in the story. Despite these differences, the novel shows that respect, love, and personal choices can overcome social barriers.

Wilujeng, Suaedi, and Susetyo (2025) investigated social dynamics in Gadis Kretek by focusing on the interaction between traditional cultural values and modernity in Indonesian society. Their study examined social change, family relationships, and gender equality through a literary and cultural perspective. The findings indicate that the novel portrays tensions between preserving local traditions and adapting to modernization. However, the research emphasizes cultural transformation rather than analysing social

stratification or occupational structures within the narrative.

Larasati, Sadida, and Sudiatmi (2025) explored gender conflict in Gadis Kretek using a feminist approach. The study revealed that female characters experience patriarchal domination and social inequality while simultaneously demonstrating resilience and agency in the kretek industry. Although the research contributes to understanding women’s roles and gender relations, it mainly concentrates on gender issues and does not examine how occupations and economic positions shape class identities among the characters.

Faisal (2024) analysed environmental and gender issues in Gadis Kretek through Karen J. Warren’s ecofeminist framework. The findings show that women in the novel maintain close relationships with nature and resist ecological and patriarchal oppression. The study highlights environmental consciousness and female empowerment as central themes. Nevertheless, it pays little attention to social hierarchy, occupational divisions, and Weberian concepts of class and status that emerge from the representation of the kretek industry.

Therefore, unlike previous studies that focus on social conflict, gender inequality, ecofeminism, cultural modernity, and historical representation, the present research specifically investigates the relationship between occupations and social classes in Cigarette Girl (Gadis Kretek). By integrating Alan Swingewood’s sociology of literature with Max Weber’s theory of social class, this study seeks to explain how occupational roles determine social status, economic opportunities, and life chances within the social structure represented in the novel.

Based on previous studies above, most research focuses either on social class

differences, like in “The Notebook”, or on occupations in historical settings, like in “Oliver Twist”. None of these studies analyse both social class and occupations together in modern literary work. Therefore, this study on “Cigarette Girl” fills this gap by analysing how characters’ occupations reflect their social class and how both influence their daily lives, relationships, and interactions in contemporary Indonesian society.

Previous studies, mostly concentrated on specific sociological issues, particularly social class differences or feminist perspectives. Many studies on Cigarette Girl primarily discuss feminism, gender inequality, and women's experiences within patriarchal society, emphasizing female agency, identity, and social roles. Therefore, the present study on Cigarette Girl toward class and occupations seeks to fill this gap by investigating how characters' occupations reflect their social class and how these two aspects influence their daily lives, social relationships, and interactions.

By employing Alan Swingewood's sociology of literature and Max Weber's theory of social class, this research offers a more comprehensive understanding of the social hierarchy and occupational structures represented in the novel.

### 3. RESEARCH METHOD

This study employed a qualitative descriptive research design to examine the representation of social class and occupation in Ratih Kumala's Cigarette Girl. According to Creswell (2014), qualitative research seeks to understand social phenomena through detailed descriptions and interpretations rather than numerical data. Merriam (2009) further explains that qualitative inquiry focuses on meaning construction within specific contexts. The primary data source of this research was Cigarette Girl (Kumala, 2017), while

secondary data consisted of books, journal articles, and previous studies related to sociology of literature, social class, and occupation. The study adopted Alan Swingewood's sociology of literature, which views literary works as social documents reflecting societal structures and values (Swingewood, 1972), and Weber's theory of social class, which emphasizes the relationships among class, status, occupation, and life chances (Weber, 1978).

The data were collected through library research and documentation techniques by reading the novel repeatedly, identifying passages related to social class and occupations, classifying the findings according to the research objectives, and gathering supporting references from scholarly sources (Moleong, 2018; Sugiyono, 2019).

The data were analyzed using the interactive model of Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014), which consists of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing. The identified data were interpreted through Swingewood's sociological perspective and Weber's concepts of class and occupation to explain the social structures represented in the novel.

Finally, the research findings were presented descriptively in the form of thematic explanations and textual interpretations supported by quotations from the novel, following the informal presentation method proposed by Sudaryanto (2015) and the qualitative reporting principles suggested by Creswell (2014).

### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 Results

The findings of this study reveal the representation of social class in Cigarette Girl through selected passages that reflect

the social stratification depicted in the narrative. A total of fifteen passages were identified as illustrating different social classes. The lower class appears most prominently, indicating the novel's strong emphasis on the lives, struggles, and everyday experiences of working people. The middle class is represented to a lesser extent, while the upper class appears only occasionally. These frequencies are intended only to show thematic tendencies within the text and do not constitute statistical generalizations. Overall, the distribution suggests that the novel foregrounds lower-class experiences as an important aspect of its social commentary.

The analysis also identified eighteen passages related to occupational representation. Among these, cigarette rollers emerge as the most recurrent occupation, reflecting the central role of the kretek industry in shaping the characters' identities and livelihoods. Other occupations, including stall or shop owners, business owners, and labourers, also receive considerable attention throughout the narrative. The presence of these occupations demonstrates the diversity of economic activities portrayed in the novel and highlights the interconnected relationships between work, social position, and community life.

#### 4.2 Discussion

This discussion focuses on analysis of selected passages to explain how social class and occupation are represented in "Cigarette Girl". From the amount of data identified, several passages were chosen for discussion because they show the clearest and most representative examples of lower, middle, and upper social classes, as well as key occupations such as cigarette roller, stall or shop owner, business owner, and labourer.

These passages were selected based on their clear descriptions of economic

conditions, types of work, and social relations. Although the number of analyzed passages is limited, they show consistent patterns found across the data, such as class inequality, occupational hierarchy, and differences in access to power and resources. Therefore, the discussion aims to deepen the understanding of how social class and occupation function within the novel and how they give insight into broader social realities.

##### 4.2.1 Social Classes

According to Weber (1978), social class is determined by an individual's economic position, access to resources, and opportunities in life. Differences in wealth, education, and occupation create social stratification, which greatly shapes people's living conditions, life chances, and social relationships. In "Cigarette Girl", social class is clearly reflected through the characters' economic situations, types of work, and daily lives. The novel portrays how class differences influence personal experiences and social interactions, particularly through the representation of lower, middle, and upper social classes.

##### 1. Lower Class

The lower class refers to a social group characterized by economic hardship, limited access to education, and restricted opportunities for social mobility. Individuals in this class often depend on manual labour or low-paid service work and may be forced to enter the workforce at an early age in order to survive. These conditions result in limited life chances and long-term economic insecurity. This understanding aligns with Weber's (1978) view that social class is determined by an individual's economic position and access to resources, which directly shape their opportunities in life. This condition is portrayed in the lives of Idroes Moeria and his family, as illustrated in the following passages.

*“His mother worked as a servant in their rich neighbour’s house, and what she earned was hardly enough for the two of them.”*

(Kumala, 2017, p.3)

This passage clearly shows that Idroes Moeria and his family belong to the lower social class. Idroes is forced to work at a very young age, which indicates economic pressure and lack of access to education. His mother’s occupation as a servant further reflects low income and dependence on others. In line with Weber’s theory, their limited economic resources reduce their chances for social mobility and force them to rely on manual and service labor to survive.

*“At the crack of dawn, Idroes Moeria visited the labourers as they were starting work in the cornfields. He bought some cornhusks from them for a cheap price.”* (Kumala, 2017, p.11)

The quote above shows labourers working early in the morning in the cornfields, which indicates agricultural manual labour. Working at dawn suggests long working hours and physical effort, which are common features of lower-class work. The fact that Idroes buys cornhusks from them at a cheap price also shows their weak economic position and limited bargaining power. According to Weber (1978), such dependence on physical labour and low-income places individuals in the lower social class due to limited access to resources and reduced life chances.

## 2. Middle Class

The middle class refers to a social group that holds a relatively stable economic position, supported by education, professional skills, and regular income. Individuals in this class usually have better access to education and social respect, which allows them to maintain

stability and improve their life chances. Although they may not possess great wealth, their economic security and social status place them above manual laborers. As Weber (1978) stated that education and occupation influence social class and social prestige, which is reflected in the quote below.

*“As the daughter of a scribe, Roemaisa’s life was fairly prosperous, much more so than that of a labourer’s.”* (Kumala, 2017, p.5)

This quote indicates the middle-class position of Roemaisa’s family through her father’s occupation as a scribe. Being a scribe requires literacy and education, which provide economic stability and social respect. The comparison with a labourer shows the class difference between educated professionals and manual workers. In line with Weber’s (1978) theory, access to education and skilled work allows Roemaisa’s family to enjoy better living conditions and higher social standing.

*“At first, the ladies working at the shops didn’t trust his product because his packaging looked amateur.”* (Kumala, 2017, p.13)

The quote above shows people who work at shops and are involved in selling goods. Their role in judging the product suggests regular work in trade rather than heavy manual labour. Working in shops usually gives more stability than daily labor. According to Weber (1978), this kind of work is linked to the middle class because it brings steady income and participation in commerce.

## 3. Upper Class

The upper class represents the highest level of social hierarchy, marked by strong economic power, social influence, and control over resources. Members of this class usually do not rely on physical labour,

as their wealth allows them to employ others to manage work and daily affairs. Their position is often maintained through ownership, authority, and inherited

prestige rather than personal effort. In line with Weber (1978), such control over economic resources and social recognition places individuals firmly within the upper class. These characteristics are reflected in the following quote.

*“Finally, the Chinese man who owned the shops became involved. He proposed that he would be willing to sell the klobot if he could try one of them for himself first.”* (Kumala, 2017, p.13)

This quote shows the presence of an upper-class figure through the ownership of multiple shops, which indicates strong economic power and control over trade. Owning several shops places the character above workers and small traders because he has greater access to resources and influence over the market. His ability to decide whether to sell the product also shows authority in economic decision-making. According to Weber (1978), such ownership and control over resources are key features of the upper class, as they provide higher social status and better life chances.

*“Idroes Moeria had even picked out a name for his business and had ideas for unique packaging that would make people take notice of his product.”* (Kumala, 2017, p.3)

The quote above shows Idroes Moeria acting as a business owner by planning a name and creating unique packaging for his product. These actions indicate ownership, creativity, and control over how the business is presented to consumers. Having ideas about branding suggests that he is no longer only focused on production but also on marketing and business growth. According to Weber (1978), this

level of control over economic activity points to increased economic power and improved social position.

#### 4.2.2 Occupations

According to Weber (1978), occupation is an important factor in shaping social class because it determines income, access to resources, and life chances. Different types of work reflect differences in economic power, social status, and opportunities within society. In literary studies, occupation also functions as a reflection of social reality. As explained by Swingewood (1972), literary works can be viewed as social documents that record everyday labour and economic life. In “Cigarette Girl”, various occupations such as cigarette roller, stall or shop owner, business owner, and labourer are used to represent social hierarchy and class relations.

##### 1. Cigarette Roller

Occupation is closely related to social class and reflects an individual’s position within society. Types of work, especially manual labour, often show differences in economic power and access to resources. According to Weber (1978), occupations that rely on physical labour

and offering low income tend to limit individuals’ life chances and social mobility. In literary studies, occupation is also important because it allows literature to represent real social conditions. As explained by Swingewood (1972), literary works can function as social documents that record everyday labor and economic life. These ideas are reflected in the portrayal of Idroes Moeria’s occupation as a cigarette roller in the following quote.

*“At thirteen, Idroes Moeria had started working for Pak Trisno, rolling klobot, cone-shaped cigarettes wrapped in dried-out cornhusks and tied with twine.”* (Kumala, 2017, p.3)

This quote clearly shows Idroes Moeria's occupation as a cigarette roller, which is a form of manual labour. Beginning work at a very young age reflects economic necessity rather than personal choice, indicating a lower-class position. In line with Weber's (1978) theory, this occupation provides limited income and restricts access to education and power, which reduces Idroes' life chances. From Swingewood's (1972) perspective, this depiction reflects the real labour conditions of the era, showing how literature records everyday working-class occupations as part of social reality.

*“Carefully, she began to roll the cigarettes by hand, making twenty little cylinders, shaping them as neat and nice as she could.”* (Kumala, 2017, p.101)

The quote above directly describes the act of rolling cigarettes by hand, showing that the character's work depends on careful, repetitive manual labour. The focus on shaping the cigarettes “as neat and nice as she could” requires skill and patience rather than authority or creativity, which suggests a working-class occupation. In Weber's (1978) view, this type of hand-based labour is linked to a lower economic position because it offers limited income and little job security. From Swingewood's (1972) perspective, the detailed depiction of this activity shows how the novel records everyday labour practices, presenting work as part of the social reality experienced by lower-class individuals.

## 2. Stall or Shop Owner

Shop or stall ownership is different from business ownership in terms of scale and economic power. While business owners usually control larger production, wider distribution, and higher profits, shop or stall owners operate on a smaller scale and rely on daily sales for income.

According to Weber (1978), both occupations are related to ownership, but shop or stall owners have more limited economic resources and social power compared to larger business owners, placing them in a smaller position. From a literary perspective, Swingewood (1972) explains that literature reflects social reality by portraying different levels of economic

activity. Through shop and stall owners, novels show everyday trade and local commerce, showing how small-scale economic roles function within the broader social structure.

*“The shop owner snatched back her pack of Lady cigarettes from Lebas as if she was retrieving something incredibly valuable from his clutches.”* (Kumala, 2017, p.189)

This quote identifies the character as a business owner through his ownership and control of valuable goods, shown by his protective reaction toward the cigarettes. The act of reclaiming the cigarettes suggests that they are part of his merchandise and source of income. While the quote does not mention prices or wages, it clearly shows possession of commodities, which distinguishes the owner from laborers who do not control goods. According to Weber (1978), ownership of economic resources contributes to higher social status and authority. From Swingewood's (1972) perspective, this quote reflects real economic relations in society, where business owners hold power through ownership and control of trade goods.

*“There were a few shops that sold wajik, sticky rice with palm sugar, the other signature snack of the town. One of them, called Mrs Pang's Wajik, sat on the left side of the street like an ancient hermit*

*made of stone...*" (Kumala, 2017, pp.182-183)

The quote above describes the presence of shops that sell wajik, including a named shop, Mrs Pang's Wajik, which clearly indicates small-scale shop ownership. The existence of a permanent shop suggests a stable form of trade and regular income, distinguishing shop owners from wage-dependent laborers. According to Weber (1978), ownership of a business, even on a small scale, sets for greater economic security and social standing compared to manual labour. From Swingewood's (1972) perspective, this quote gives understanding to everyday economic life in the town, showing how the novel records local commerce and small businesses as part of its social reality.

### 3. Business Owner

Business ownership is an occupation closely linked to economic control and social power. Unlike manual laborers, business owners have authority over production, pricing, and income, which places them in a higher social position. According to Weber (1978), individuals who control economic resources and decision-making processes tend to occupy higher class positions because they possess greater power and better life chances. From a literary perspective, occupation also reflects social structure. As explained by Swingewood (1972), literature often portrays economic roles to show how power and class relations operate within society. These ideas are reflected in the following quote.

*"Idroes Moeria ran into her a few weeks after the wedding, when he was collecting his profits at the market."* (Kumala, 2017, p.89)

The quote above shows Idroes Moeria's role as a business owner by showing that he personally collects profits at the market. Collecting profits indicates

ownership of goods and involvement in trade rather than wage-based labour. This distinguishes him from laborers who depend on daily or fixed wages. According to Weber (1978), control over income and economic activity increases an individual's social status and life chances. From Swingewood's (1972) perspective, this quote shows how the novel portrays entrepreneurship as a form of occupational change that enables social mobility within its social context.

*"Djagad had started Proclamation cigarettes in M Town initially, but had decided to move to Kudus to develop his business."* (Kumala, 2017, p.197)

This quote shows that Djagad is a business owner because he started a cigarette business and later chose to move it to another town to grow it. Making decisions about where and how to develop the business shows control over his work and income. According to Weber (1978), owning and managing a business gives a person more economic power and better life chances. From Swingewood's (1972) perspective, this passage shows how the novel reflects real economic activities, where business owners play an important role in shaping local economic life.

### 4. Labourer

Labourers represent occupations that rely mainly on physical strength and offer little economic security. Such work is often unstable, low paid, and controlled by others, which places laborers in a vulnerable social position. According to Weber (1978), individuals who depend on manual labor and daily wages usually have limited access to resources and power, resulting in reduced life chances. From a literary perspective, occupation helps reveal social reality. As explained by Swingewood (1972), literature can function as a social document by recording

the everyday experiences of working-class life. These ideas are reflected in the following quote.

***“Sometimes he would be hauling sacks for stand owners. Other times, as the day turned to dusk, he could be found helping them set up a stand and then, as morning approached, he would be there breaking it down again.”***

(Kumala, 2017, pp.131-132)

This quote shows the character doing heavy physical work for stand owners, such as hauling sacks and setting up and taking down stalls. The repeated tasks and long hours suggest temporary and unstable work rather than a fixed occupation. This kind of work depends on

physical strength and offers little control over income or working conditions. According to Weber (1978), such dependence on manual labour places the character in a lower-class position due to limited economic power and life chances. From Swingewood's (1972) perspective, the quote portrays everyday working-class labor and shows how the novel records the harsh and demanding nature of manual work as part of social reality.

***“The employer apologized to his workers, for he wouldn't be able to pay them for their last week of work.”*** (Kumala, 2017, p.9)

This quote shows the workers' dependence on wages for their livelihood, as they rely on the employer to be paid for their work. The fact that they are not paid for the last week points out their weak economic position and lack of security. Such wage-based work puts them in a lower social position because they do not control income or working conditions. According to Weber (1978), this dependence on employers reflects limited economic power and reduced life chances. From Swingewood's (1972) perspective,

the quote relates to real working conditions, showing how literature records the insecurity faced by laborers in everyday life.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings and discussion in the previous chapter, this study concludes that “Cigarette Girl” presents social class and occupation as important factors that influence the characters' lives and social relationships. The novel shows clear differences between lower, middle, and upper classes through economic conditions, types of work, education, living environments, and access to power. Lower-class characters are mostly connected to manual and service jobs such as cigarette roller and labourer, which are marked by physical work, low income, and limited opportunities. Meanwhile, middle and upper-class characters are represented through occupations like shop and business owner, which offer more stability, respect, and economic control. In general, the findings support Weber's (1978) theory that social class is related to economic position and occupation, and they also align with Swingewood's (1972) view that literature reflects real social conditions by portraying everyday work and class relations in society.

For future researchers, it is recommended to explore Cigarette Girl from different sociological perspectives, such as gender relations, cultural identity, industrial history, or power dynamics within the kretek industry. Comparative studies involving other Indonesian literary works may also provide a broader understanding of how social class and occupation are represented across different historical and cultural contexts. In addition, future studies could employ alternative theoretical frameworks, including Marxist, feminist, or postcolonial

approaches, to enrich the interpretation of the novel and contribute to the development of sociological literary criticism in Indonesian literature.

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