# Sociological Analysis of "Abandon The Old in Tokyo" Comic Story by Yoshihiro Tatsumi

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Abstract. This study aims to compare the social life of Tokyo workers and what Yoshihiro Tatsumi describes in the comic gekiga "Abandon the Old in Tokyo" in the period of Japan's rapid economic growth (mid 1950-early 1970) using the sociological approach of literary works. Social life that will be studied is specifically on the social interactions of Tokyo workers with society, employers, colleagues, parents and also the form of the worker's family system at that time. The method used in this study is the qualitative descriptive method. The findings showed that the comic story, despite being a work of fiction, does indeed depict the real social conditions of Tokyo workers during a period of rapid economic growth where workers tend to be individualistic and hedonistic. The rapid changes in Tokyo at that time does not carry over into the work environment where workers still adhere to patrilineal management which is very formal, however between colleagues some form of informality and intimacy still exists in the face of extremely difficult working conditions. Meanwhile, the neglect of parents by the younger generation occurs a lot due to changes in the family system changing from the IE system to the kazoku system, the economic and the housing situation, as well as the relationship between family members is no longer close. Marriage no longer occurs to maintain the IE system and customs, rather, marriage occurs on the basis of love between husband and wife

**Keywords:** Sociological Analysis, Abandon the Old in Tokyo, Gekiga, Workers

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#### **INTRODUCTION**

Through literary works, the author tries to express the life that someone has experienced or felt or even experienced himself. Literature contains the subjective experience of the creator, the subjective experience of a person (individual or libidinal facts), and the experience of a group of people (Sangidu in Selawati, 2016). Comicsare one of the forms of literature that attracts literary enthusiasts. Not only that, comics have been able to attract many people around the world, including children, teenagers and even parents. According to Bonneff in Aziz (2014), "comics are one of the end products of the human desire to tell their experiences, which are expressed in pictures and signs, which lead to thoughts and contemplation."

Comics or in Japanese is called manga (漫画), developed during the Edo period, at which time the form of manga was still very simple and not as complex as modern manga. Manga continued to develop and in 1958, Japanese manga faced a crisis of maturity because, at that time, the target readers of manga were children. Gekiga, a term coined in 1957 by Yoshihiro Tatsumi, and literally translated as "dramatic picture" was introduced to describe a darker, more mature and realistic cartoon style. Tatsumi and his colleagues used the gekiga to experiment with the physique of the manga, expanding the stylistic origins by moving beyond panelbased work that relies on humor and more to a dramatic movement.

One of Tatsumi's works entitled Abandon the Old in Tokyo (2006) or the original title Tōkyō Ubasuteyama tells of the life of the capital's working class people who lived a life under full pressure during a period of rapid economic growth in the mid 1950-early 1970. One of the things that makes Tatsumi's work stand out is the realistic picture of the life of the people of Tokyo who are immersed in the rush of working to improve the economy after World War II, but who do not feel the modernization process itself. Abandon the Old in Tokyo is a depiction of workers in Tokyo in a period of high economic growth when Japan was desperately trying to boost its economic growth after its wartime fall. In connection with the drastic development of the capital as a background, the characters in the stories are people who are busy workers in the megapolitan life of Tokyo and alienated from social life. Economic development is considered more important than how to live right. Disappointment, selfishness, moral decline, Western attitudes seem to drown society, especially the worker, in the rapid modernization. The comic depicts imaginative scenes based on real life of the main characters in eight short stories namely, Occupied, Abandon the Old in Tokyo, The Washer, Beloved Mongkey, Unpaid, The Hole, Forked Road and Eel. Through these stories, Yoshihiro Tatsumi attempts to reveal the conditions of Tokyo workers in a period of high economic growth. Through the fictional characters he created, Tatsumi wanted to project his anger on the discrimination and inequality that are rampant in society.

There are several studies that have also discussed some of the works of Yoshihiro Tatsumi. For example, research from Aprilwanda (2014) which discuss the existencial crisis of characters in the comic Abandon the Old in Tokyo. The author uses Satre's existentialism theory and McCloud's comic theory. In addition to that, there is another research by Wilmot (2008) which uses Yoshihiro Tatsumi's work

entitled Drifting Life. This study discusses how the editorial process of a graphic novel (gekiga) can change conventional practice of text editing and how to respect cultural differences when translating a graphic novel (gekiga) from Japanese to English. Then, there is the study by Bastian (2013) that raises the issue of the influence of the gekiga and its emergence and analyzes the holistic criticism of the Occupied story from Abandon the Old in Tokyo.

A common approach to the relationship between literary works and society is to study literature as a social document, specfically as a portrait of social reality (Wellek & Warren in Anjari, 2015). Literary works are considered to be able to reveal the socio-cultural conditions and the spirit of the times that exist in a society within a certain period of time. Therefore, many studies have tried to reveal the sociocultural conditions of a society through literary works. The function of literary works as social documents can be found in any literature in various societies of the world.

The relationship between literary works and society has invited a lot of research on it, such as research conducted by Purnamasari, Hudiyono and Rijal (2017). Their research analyzes social facts, social behavior and social events that occur in society and social changes in the main character in the novel Bekisar Merah. A research by Hennilawati (2011) aims to analyse the reception of Indonesian children towards the manga of Narutoby Masashi Kishimotoand its moral values contained in the Naruto comics such as empathy, respect and respect for others, self-control and justice. Finally, a research by Darmawan, Rukhyana and Haryati (2019) discuss the social conditions of Japanese society in the 1990s when the Tokyo subway gas attack took place which is contained in a Japanese realist literary work entitled Underground by Haruki Murakami.

This research is important because Tatsumi's stories are taken from the realities that occurred in Japanese society at that time. A collection of short stories in Abandon the Old in Tokyo tells the dark side of the life of Tokyo workers who lived in a metropolitan city when Japan was experiencing rapid economic development which was admired by the world but as it turned out, industrialization had sacrificed the social and human values of the people of Tokyo which perhaps many have overlooked.

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Comic

Comics should be understood as a document that cannot be restricted in its view by merely judging whether it is good or bad. To understand the society that produced it, all comics are the same where non is good or bad. Compared to other literary works, comics have several advantages due to the personality of the writer. The author tries to express his or her originality more through pictures and not stories (Bonneff in Aziz, 2014).

Comics or in Japanese called manga are a form of literary work found in Japan. The term manga is written in kanji (漫画), in hiragana (まんが) and in katakana (マンガ), is the Japanese word for comics and cartoons. Manga are constantly experiencing development and refinement of images and stories so as to present more complex and highly imaginative stories. Manga quickly took over the Japanese publication industry. Illustrative narrative techniques have long been a part of Japanese culture, but it was after the development of manga styles in the World War II years that defined the contemporary comic environment.

Yoshihiro Tatsumi is the one who pioneered the birth of the gekiga. Gekigacan be literally translated as "dramatic picture". However, best described as a style or subset under the umbrella of the term "manga", gekiga is Tatsumi's answer to being able to use the underground American comic scene and the emerging graphic novelizations to create a way of dividing the market into traditional manga on one hand, and for more mature topics, the gekiga experimental works on the other. Tatsumi's different views on manga and his seriousness in changing the perception that comic books are only for children can be seen from how he introduced gekiga to other comic writers. Tatsumi in Bastian (2013) says "More Recently, in the mid-fifties, the story manga has been vitalized through the influence exerted by the supersonic development of other media, such as film, television and radio. This vitalazation has given birth to something new, which is gekiga. Manga and gekiga perhaps differ in methodology, but more importantly in their readership. The demand for manga written for adolescent, i.e., those readers between childhood and adulthood, has never been answered, because there has never been a forum for such works. This hitherto neglected reader segment is gekiga's intended target".

# The State of the Japanese Economy in the Period of Rapid Economic Growth (Mid 1950-Early 1970)

Reischauer (1981), "Once the change in occupation policies and the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950 had started the economy rolling it continued to pick up speed, and in the mid-fifties it raced past the prewar peak levels established two decades earlier and maintained for the next decade and half an average rate of growth of close to 10 % percent a year in real terms-that is, after discounting inflation. This was a speed of economic expansion no major country had ever approached before." Japan entered a period of high growth from the mid 1950s to the early 1970s. Real growth averaged around 10%. This very high and sustainable growth changed the Japanese economy and society in a significant way. Around 1970, Japan took over West Germany and became the second largest economy in the capitalist world, as measured by GNP after the United States (Ohno, 2018).

The 1969 government's economic white paper announced that Japan was ranked second highest among countries in national income and twentieth in per capita income; despite that life for residents of Tokyo was certainly not easy. Housing is the worst problem, but besides that, the economy has noted that there are many important commodities whose retail prices are either the highest or close to it. The prices of meat, eggs and butter were very high and although it was said that the purchasing power of the yen was high and life in Japan was easy, that era was over, at least in Tokyo (Nagai, 1969).

# Tokyo Worker Life and the Development of Tokyo as the Capital of a Period of Rapid Economic Growth (Mid 1950-Early 1970)

Although Japan, after rapid economic growth, owned an equivalent to onetenth of the residential assets of the United States and about one-third of West Germany's assets, there is no doubt that its living environment is grossly inadequate (Fukutake, 1988). The article written by Kakumoto in Nagai (1969) discusses the other side of the Japanese economy. The population of Tokyo within its administrative area is 11 million borders however, the actual population of this metropolitan area is 23 million. Various urban problems occur, one phenomenon not limited to Tokyo is the sharp increase in population and the proportion of space connected to highways. Due to the sharp increase in cars, the number traffic accidents have also increased. In addition, the land value in Tokyo is very high and housing problems are also severe. It is said that the price of 1 tsubo of land (approx. 3.9 square yards) is around \$ 20,000 in the Shinjuku Station neighborhood.

In a study conducted by Zhang (2017), under the desperate socio-economic situation in the post-war period, housing reconstruction was clearly a heavy burden. The central government did not have a clear vision for housing restoration and was acting passively. "Financial hardship" is used as an excuse for the delayed housing recovery. The fundamental reason is the desire of the central government to restore industrial development as soon as possible.

According to Ohno (2018), during the development of Japan (1956-1957 and 1960), Japan experienced a period known as the "consumption boom". Around 1952, when Japan theoretically became an economically thriving country, the total national amount spent on private consumption goods, amounted 3,837,000,000,000 USD and in 1957, it increased to 6,461,000,000,000 USD ,indicating an increase of 62.50%. The consumptive life begins first with an increase in the purchasing of food, followed by spending on clothing and repairs in housing. To elaborate, the restoration of personal consumption in the first phase of the post-war period was characterized by a large share of income devoted for the necessities to maintain a minimum standard of living; food, fuel etc. However, after the economy reached pre-war levels, the direction of spending shifted towards secondary necessities of life such as clothing and necessities other than basic food and housing costs. The goal of Japanese family life is stability and this is thought to be attainable through an increase in material life, both in quality and quantity. At that time, families was surrounded by comfortable and attractive items. Concrete and steel apartments with blinds became popular. Urbanization is growing. The extended family is replaced by the nuclear family. In all periods of Japanese history, the era of high growth had the greatest impact on changing lifestyles. During rapid economic growth, environmental damage caused by rapid industrialization became inevitable. The quality of water and air has also deteriorated.

Japanese sociologist, Fukutake (1988) mentioned that employees and unskilled laborers increased enormously along with the decrease in the number of self-employed entrepreneurs and family workers. In addition to that, the differences between employees and manual laborers have diminished since the war. Neither

group has any hope of obtaining long-term social security, but both have sufficient income to finance massive consumption in an advanced industrial society.

The use of computers and the rapid turnaround towards automated machines have forced work to be increasingly rationalized. Workers must submit to machines, carry out full repetitive activities or just supervise the activities of machines. The simple work is repeated over and over again to the rhythm of the machine. Work is only a means of getting wages to make ends meet. These workers can even lose their human personality. Handwork has been greatly reduced but on the other hand, workers are forced to do the tedious job of supervising the operation of the automatied machine process. While working, workers are forced not to look away from measuring needles even for a moment which alienates them from normal human relationship. Workers are more mentally exhausted than physically. Such a worker must seek something refreshing outside of their job. Thus, workers often try to rediscover their personal identity by having fun or gambling. Japanese factories still worked longer hours than in other developed countries, although by early 1979 they had been reduced to 41.1 hours which meant a reduction of 7 hours compared to the 1960 average working hours whichwas 48.1 hours. Improvements in terms of employment will free the worker to some degree from the isolation they suffer while working. However, there are no remedies to bring workers closer to their families but government policies only provide opportunities to redeem the frustration caused by the working atmosphere with entertainment in the spare time only, so that the problem of personal identity at work is not resolved. Also, social insurance in Japan has a very young history. It was initiated by annual employee benefits insurance in 1942, but was established as a means of raising funds for military financing purposes rather than worker welfare and the annual rate of benefits is very low.

# Tokyo Workers' Relationship with Society in the Period of Rapid Economic Growth (Mid 1950-Early 1970)

Fukutake (1998) states that the traditional social framework of society is getting weaker accompanied by the mass migration the population leaving their hometowns. Capitalist society which is based on mass production by means of machines brings man into an increasingly specific process of division of labor and increasingly loses their consciousness as a person. Impersonal social relations in a mechanical society leave feelings of alienation and loneliness akin to being part of an anonymous collective who have lost all intimacy and security. In the past, family relationships and a sense of belonging to the local community were effective in controlling this tendency. But now, family ties have weakened and community structures have collapsed. Since the lack of community cannot alleviate feelings of alienation and an atmosphere of helplessness and with no shared traditions or habits, they live in an anonymous atmosphere. The hustle and bustle and congestion of the big cities is an important addition, but after fully immersing themselves into an overcrowded life, they remain lonely because of a lack of human relationship.

People live in apartments and dense residential areas with narrow living spaces. The "2DK" units (two rooms and a kitchenette) are so far considered standard residences equipped with electric appliances. The congestion of the city and the busyness of work made people not at all interested in the problems of their neighbors.

# Tokyo Worker Relationship with Employers in the Period of Rapid Economic Growth (Mid 1950-Early 1970)

Wibawarta in his research (2006) states that the relationship between companies and workers is more like a family relationship than a slave-employer relationship. The company demanded the same loyalty as the samurai of the past. The zen values of the samurai were well known to these workers where they were loyal and were required to be willing to make sacrifices for their company. Bushido's emphasis on loyalty to the leader of a group is still evident in the loyalty of workers to their work. These manifests in values such as working hard, respecting superiors or seniors, loyalty, and so on. The nenkojoretsu (seniority) system that exists in Japanese companies is also one form of this ethic.

Meanwhile, Amelia (2014) in her research said that Japanese society is known as a vertical society, or based on top-down relationships. This system is not related to classes within classes in society, but rather an emphasis on seniority. Senior relations can be interpreted as the relationship between superiors and subordinates, it can be said that, in the reality of Japanese life, awareness of seniority plays a very important role in Japanese society, especially in maintaining the good social order. For that there are moral rules that keep the relationship smooth.

In general, paternalistic management has been a hallmark of Japanese companies from their inception. This leadership system is usually referred to as onjoshugi, which according to Vogel (1982), the attention of a superior to his subordinates is close to what the Western world call mothering or motherhood which Americans usually regard as "women". Criticism is usually made one-on-one from superiors to solve a problem that is bothering their subordinates.

Wahyuningsih and Aryanto's research (2016) found that hourensou is a very fundamental communication system in the management of Japanese organizations and companies. Hourensou consists of Houkoku or reports which means that all developments in the field of work that are being carried out must be reported to the responsible supervisor, either verbally or in writing. Renraku which means that all information related to the work environment must be conveyed to all relevant personnel and Soudan which means consultation. While working, it is possible that the human brain will have a decreased performance. Therefore, when faced with problems one must perform Soudan. By discussing problems with other parties, it is possible to gain new ideas or insights from others and furthermore to be able to see the problem more holistically from several angles. It also means that doing Soudan will help to avoid making bad decisions.

# Tokyo Workers' Relationships with Colleagues in the Period of Rapid Economic Growth (Mid 1950-Early 1970)

The anthropologist Nakane (1981) states that the relationship between people in Japanese society is divided into two categories, namely vertical and horizontal relationships and these two relationships are linear. Both of these relationships also apply to relationships between superiors and subordinates as well as horizontal relationships such as relationships between coworkers. Theoretically, horizontal ties between those of the same layer function in the development of castes and groups, while vertical bonds function for group formation that emphasizes the top-down hierarchical arrangement.

In the work environment, there are three categories, namely sempai, namely seniors who have worked at the company for a long time and held a higher position and are considered to have had a lot of work experience. There is Kohai or people who have just started working at a company and are considered to have a lot to learn from their seniors. Finally, doryo which means colleagues for those of the same rank though not for everyone with the same job in the same office. Among doryos, the word san in front of the name is used for those who are not very familiar, while kun and the first name are used among those who are more closely related than other people who are called san. For example, former school friends or friends from childhood are considered to be close. Among colleagues, they can escape from the politeness and are able to use words considered disrespectful around people they are familiar with and it is not uncommon for Japanese people to talk about domestic matters and their love with colleagues who they feel close with.

# Tokyo Worker Relationship with Parents in the Period of Rapid Economic Growth (Mid 1950-Early 1970)

Fukutake (1988) states that it is the urban working class who were the quickest to initiate changes towards the nuclear family. Many people from this class live in concrete building spaces which are becoming more and more prevalent even though these rooms only provide a narrow living space. "2 DK" units (two rooms and a kitchenette), which are considered standard living quarters so far are equipped with electric appliances. In order to have these items, often both the husband and wife decide to work so that they do not have time to take care of their children or their parents. Before the war, people with physical and mental disabilities, orphans and lonely elderly people without families were able to support themselves through the help of relatives or by accepting support from their neighbors.

In the IE family system, having a biological child means having a requirement to be guaranteed a place to live in the family. However, in urban areas, the tendency of newlyweds to move to their own house contributes to a lack of housing. There is an annual increase of 300,000 families looking for homes, and the housing industry cannot keep up. Under such conditions, married couples are often "forced" to live with their parents. With all the changes in lifestyle and attitudes, there is a lot of tension arising. The problem of supporting elderly parents has become acute. The younger generation prefers to spend their money rather than support their parents (Matsubara, 1969). Whereas the government social security system for corporate pension funds is not developed enough to provide true security for retirees, parents are often neglected or taken out of the household and experience economic and psychological insecurity and social isolation (Befu, 1980).

# Working Class Families in the Period of Rapid Economic Growth (Mid 1950-Early 1970)

In Anwar's research (2007) it is stated that the traditional extended family system of IE is a family and kinship system that prevailed in the Tokugawa era (1630-1867) which was mainly applicable among the Bushi (Samurai) and aristocrats. In Japanese, the word IE has two meanings, namely IE as a house and IE as a system of limited extended family which is structured patrilineal. The IE system affects all aspects of Japanese life; from daily life of marriage, way of thinking and even all work activities are closely tied and cannot be separated from the IE structure. They live together from generation to generation and continuously, and are bound by a lineage that is categorized as fukeiseido (patrilineal) or by gijifukeiseido (pseudo patrilineal).

In line with the development process of modern Japanese society, especially after World War II, the traditional IE family system has slowly been abandoned by the Japanese younger generation who tend to prefer a modern family system that is based on the nuclear family system which is known as a kakukazoku. Kakukazoku is a family system that is gaining popularity in Japanese society, as a substitute for the IE system. According to him, there were three main factors that caused the IE system to be displaced by the KakuKazoku system. Namely: (1) The loss of legal basis in 1946, as well as changes in the Civil Law regarding family and inheritance in 1948; (2) The growth of ideas about democracy in various layers of society after World War II through a modern education system that is evenly distributed throughout Japan, thus forming a general opinion that considers the IE system to be less democratic, and (3) There has been a drastic change in the pattern of life in Japan after the year 1955. Between 1920 and 1955, the average number of family members was 5 (five) per family, between 1956 and 1964 the average number per family shrank to 3.20 (father, mother and two children).

The changing process in the family structure in Japan from the IE system to the kazoku system, of course, had both positive and negative impacts. The positive impacts include: (a) the rights of every individual in the family are more respected; (b). wives have the right together with their husbands to manage their own household without interference from in-laws; (c) Boys and girls have equal rights to inherit from their parents. On the other hand, the negative impacts include: (a) the life of the elderly is less secure, while the burden on the state to solve this problem becomes bigger; (b) the socialization process of values that emphasizes hierarchical factors in the family and in society is disrupted and this will gradually affect the character of the Japanese people in the future.

The "era of consumption" has increased the importance of the secondary function of the family. The white book on national life shows changes in people's attitudes towards life: 1. Emphasis on a more pleasant life, 2. Interest in improving life (convenience, comfort) 3. Influence of freer, material-oriented youth. The popularity of television sets has focused the family's attention on the living room and has provided the basis for equal demand for all age groups. Electrification and household simplification have freed mothers and wives from traditional domestic work. This increases the status of women in the family as well as strengthens men's interest in family life. Since the consumption boom continued, it has created serious and unsolved social problems. For example, excessive consumption often results in economic hardship or even bankruptcy. Family tensions have developed because of the unsolved housing shortage problem. As a result of the practice of married boys living apart from their parents, housing problems multiply. (Matsubara, 1969).

#### **RESEARCH METHODS**

The research method used in this research is descriptive research in a sociological approach and qualitative coverage that focuses on the social interactions of the main character. The characters in the comic are Tokyo workers in the period of the rapid economy growth (mid 1950-early 1970) and the object of this research is the comic "Abandon the Old in Tokyo" by Yoshihiro Tatsumi which discusses the lives of Tokyo workers during the period of economic growth.

The data in the comic that will be used are excerpts from the characters' dialogues plus the narratives in "Abandon the Old in Tokyo". The data used for this research are primary and secondary data. The primary data is "Abandon the Old in Tokyo" by Yoshihiro Tatsumi published by Drawn and Quarterly Publication which has been translated into English plus secondary data from books and studies that have theories relevant to this research.

Meanwhile, the data collection technique is the literature study method with regard to the library data collection method, namely books, literature, notes and reports related to research. Meanwhile, the method of analyzing data is the dialectical method with the stages of reading comics carefully and understanding them, identifying and then processing data by classifying data related to the object of research, then highlighting words, sentences or narratives in comics related to social interactions of workers and describing the results of the analysis.

#### RESULT AND DISCUSSION

## A Glimpse of Abandon the Old in Tokyo

Comic Abandon the Old in Tokyo is a graphic novel, that is, a comic that contains a collection of eight short stories. The eight short stories include Occupied, Abandon the Old in Tokyo, The Washer, Beloved Monkey, Unpaid, The Hole, Forked Road and Eel. One of the titles of this short story was made the main title of this graphic novel, namely a short story called Abandon the Old in Tokyo.

In the eight short stories, social changes in society are raised, such as changes in social stratification in society, changes in the form of a family ie (one lineage family) to kaku-kazoku (nuclear family), increasingly consumptive behavior in society, a tendency for Japanese young generations to ignore their parents because of busy work and expensive living costs as well as a lack of social interaction between individuals and made the working community feel isolated from the feeling of a sense of belonging. In addition, the government is only concerned with improving the economy and neglecting social security for its people.

# **Sociological Analysis of Stories**

#### Relationship of Workers and Society

After World War II, Japan entered a period of rapid industrial development. The population of people moving from villages to cities to find work in factories and offices have increased dramatically. Tokyo residents slowly lost their impersonal social life in a society that used to have a sense of intimacy. This is illustrated in the excerpt below:

#### Excerpt 1

Shimokawa

: "Now that the serial I relied on to make ends meet had been canceled, I was out of work, I was burnt out, I stayed in bed a couple of days and started feeling better. Now then, I'll have to wrap this one up. A man's got to know when to call it quits, hm..hm.."

Shimokawa just remembered what his boss ever said, "You're letting the kids influence you."

Shimokawawas just daydreaming and completely uninspired. Then, he decided to go and get some fresh air and his next destination was a night bar (Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 19-21).

# **Analysis:**

Shimokawa is a children's comic writer who is in danger of being fired because his comic series has been at the bottom of the reader's poll. Writing comics had always been Shimokawa's dream and the threat of being fired was really stressful for him. He had tried to make a better story for the next issue so he would not get fired, but to no avail. Shimokawa didn't know how to make a series that could attract children's hearts despite his superior's input, so he tried to refresh his mind and went to a nightclub.

Gans in Urry (2017) observed that most city dwellers were often isolated, highly individualized and lived autonomously. According to him, not a few urban areas have turned into centers with complex sociality. Durkheim in Tarigan (2015) viewed that organic solidarity is commonly found among urban communities as a modern society characterized by increasing heterogeneity and individuality where individuals are different from one another. As they become more individualistic, the collective awareness mindset in turn becomes less. This is illustrated in the figure of Shimokawa who was told not to live close to his family and to have no interaction with anyone except his superiors.

Wirth in Kartono (2019) also adds that the bigger the city, the greater the possibility of differentiation and the increase in secondary relationships between humans that become non-personal, flat, cursory, and compartmentalized. The workers who were lonely and have lost that impersonal social relationship finally choose to seek something else outside of their work such as having fun and gambling. Night entertainment is one example that is expected to relieve fatigue. In the case of Shimokawa, he had a problem in his office and got a warning from his boss so that he could work more productively. At the beginning of the story, Shimokawa was tired that it interfered with his health, resulting in dizziness and nausea which made him lose weight within a few days. However, Shimokawa who was frustrated at that time tried to relieve his fatigue by going to a nightclub. It was not shown that Shimokawa came back to his family or friends to just talk or exchange ideas. This further illustrates that Tokyo workers at that time had lost their sense of intimacy and impersonal social relations.

Hikmat (2019) said that humans in industrial societies are humans who are not complete with their human values. They are trapped in a hedonistic consumeristic culture that is driven by factors of production. Progress in the material field is inversely proportional to the decline in moral, cultural and religious values. The state of Tokyo at that which was advancing with technological development and the support of capitalism seemed to be present to help fill the void in people's lives. Instead of relaxing after working, the people of Tokyo spend their money in places that have been prepared to relieve fatigue, one of which is night entertainment.

In addition, Tokyo workers at that time did not receive guarantees for environmental quality improvement and social safety from the government. The government had made policies to reduce working days and hours, but the government does not provide solutions for improvements that bring workers closer to their family or social community, rather, they unwittingly made up for the frustration of workers by encouraging them to seek night entertainment in their spare time.

#### Excerpt 2

Kenichi Nakamura is doing his laundry in his small apartement.

Paper on wall: Note, Keep sink clean. No noise, please. Turn off gas.

Suddenly, a woman stops the water flowing from the tap.

Woman: "Mr. Nakamura, please be careful, you have to be more considerate towards the other tenants. Just because everyone has the same water bill doesn't mean you can use this much also, your room really stinks. Have you been cleaning it up?" (Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 38-39).

# **Analysis:**

This excerpt is taken from one of the short stories entitled Abandon the Old in Tokyo, which is also the main title of this comic. A young man named Kenichi worked as a cleaning service worker and lived in a small apartment. The apartment building was packed with residents, but the small apartment he lived in was only facilitated with a bathroom for bathing and washing as well as a shared kitchen which was used by all residents of the apartment. Suddenly, a neighbor asked him not to use clean water excessively and also asked him to clean his room more regularly because his room often smelled bad. In actual fact, Kenichi does not live

alone in his apartment, but lives with his mother who is paralyzed and often wets the bed.

During Japan's rapid economic growth, environmental damage caused by rapid industrialization became inevitable. Water and air quality also deteriorated. The problem of massive urbanization resulted in pollution due to industrial activities and at that time the Japanese population had problems with sanitation. The rapid growth of cities brought along urban problems in the industrial era which were dangerous to health and safety.

Hikmat (2019), said that the decline in the quality of settlements is one of the impacts of urbanization. This results in overcrowding of buildings and the disappearance of parks, open spaces, inadequate water supply, electricity and sewage construction. Furthermore, Jamalludin (2017) emphasized that the uncontrolled urbanization process indicates a spatial demographic imbalance, which is often referred to as excessive urbanization or over urbanization. As in this story, it is described that at that time the people of Tokyo were experiencing increasingly worrying sanitation problems and lived in overcrowded places, reflected in the short dialogue above between Kenichi and his neighbour.

During Japan's rapid economic growth, Tokyo residents lived in apartments and dense residential areas with cramped living spaces in so-called "2DK" units which usually consisted of two rooms and a kitchenette. The city's dense and busy population had caused people to not be interested in the problems of their neighbors. Kenichi is supposedly not familiar with his neighbors. When his apartment neighbor scolded him, Kenichi remained quiet and did not explain to his neighbors the reason for his smelly room was because he lived with his mother who was paralyzed and often urinated on her bed.

According to Tonnies in Tarigan (2015), urban communities interacted on the basis of interests (gesellschaft). In a gessellschaft society, family relations have faded, social relations tend to be impersonal with a complicated division in labor. This form of society is commonly found in industrial societies. In this society, the sense of community disappears and impersonality rises. Simmel in Urry (2017) develops several more specific arguments about space and cities. First, because of the richness and diversity goes in hand with the metropolis design, one must develop an indifferent attitude towards their feelings. Without such an attitude, people will not be able to survive the events triggered by the high population density. The urban personality is defined, separated and saturated.

It seems that the people in the industrial society described in this story can generally take care of themselves without depending on others. What is more important is the individual. The pattern of rational, systematic and objective thinking is generally adopted by the urban community which causes the interactions that occur to be based on self-interest rather than personal factors. Kenichi who lived alone with his paralyzed mother, does not have a warm relationship with anyone even with his neighbors and made no attempt to ask for help from others because the residents of Tokyo are used to an individualistic, independent life and tend to take care of their own problems.

The government's neglect of the problems in environmental damage, uncontrolled urbanization and urban growth is also quite disturbing, because basically the construction and development of residential areas is a precondition that can improve people's welfare, because human productivity is very dependent on the availability of adequate places to work and also rest with family.

## Excerpt 3

A factory worker is operating machines.

Factory labor

: "Habit can be a scary thing. When you're surrounded all day by noise at work, silence almost seems creepy. It's too loud to talk, so there's no need for conversation. The noise of machines overtakes the world as everyone becomes isolated. The more people flock together, the more alienated they become." (Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 86-87).

## **Analysis:**

The excerpt above is taken from one of the short stories entitled Beloved Monkey. It tells about the feeling of a factory worker who every day works among the sound of loud machines that do not allow them to chat with other people. Every worker must constantly supervise the operating machines which in the end made workers feel like they are isolated.

During Japan's period of rapid economic growth, technical reforms have increased the mechanization of work in large factories. In heavy industry, machines are introduced to shift labor, forcing workers to adapt their movements to the machines. Hand labor has been greatly reduced, but instead workers are forced to do the tedious work of supervising the operation of automated machine processes. Workers are forced to perform simple activities over and over again to the rhythm of the machine and this creates a feeling of alienation in an anomie atmosphere.

Quoted from Libretext, Sociological Perspective on Urban Life (2021), Karl Marx in his theory argues that alienation is endemic in any system based on capitalism. Marx argued that in the emerging capitalist system of industrial production, workers inevitably lost control of their lives and themselves by having no control over their work. As a result, workers have never been autonomous and self-aware human beings in any significant sense. As depicted in the excerpt where factory workers seem to be controlled by machines. Factory workers cannot take their eyes off the machine and are required to do the same work over and over again to the rhythm of the machine, as if humans are not controlling the machine but machine is controlling humans. Karl Marx also has the view that the process of specialization of work is alienation. Workers become more and more specialized and their work becomes repetitive and eventually completely alienated from the production process.

As a result of always working with machines without contact with other people, workers experience great pressure every day. They have to adjust to the rhythm of the machine every day and it is difficult to have a connection with their co-workers due to the noise of the machine every day around them. Their work conditions made them increasingly lose social relations with other people, lose

social relationships in the family environment and where they live, also lose social relationships in the places where they work.

Meanwhile, anomie describes the lack of social norms or the breaking of social ties between individuals and their community ties, which results in the fragmentation of social identity. In Libretext, Sociological Perspective on Urban Life (2021) Durkheim theorizes that when a person is trapped in a nameless state, he will have no parameters to hold onto and therefore, cannot place himself in society, and thus become adrift and socially isolated. Whereas, before the war, there were family ties and being part of a community would be able to control this tendency. However, without community, one cannot relieve the feelings of alienation and without shared traditions or customs, Tokyo residents live in an atmosphere of anomie.

#### **Relationship Between Workers and Employers**

# Excerpt 1

: "Are you all right, Mr. Shimakowa?" Editor

Shimokawa :"I'm sorry."

: "As I was saying, we can't publish your work anymore. You're ranked Editor

at the bottom according to our reader polls."

Shimokawa :"I worked on this serial day and night. Trying to entertain children."

Editor :"That's your problem, you're letting the kids influence you. It should be

> the other way around. The writer has to influence the kids. In anycase, we need you to end the story with our next issue." (Abandon the Old in

Tokyo: 13-14).

#### **Analysis:**

Shimokawa is a children's comic writer who gets reprimanded by his superiors for his series constantly ranking at the bottom of readers' polls. His boss had repeatedly reminded Shimokawa to make a series that was more interesting for children, however, Shimokawa had not progressed and this could threaten his job. Shimokawa received a warning to improve his performance through a one-on-one conversation with his superiors to find a way out of Shimokawa's problems, even his superiors also gave suggestions that could help, but Shimokawa's performance did not improve.

Paternalistic management is the hallmark of Japanese companies and this has been implemented long before Japan experienced rapid economic development. Usually, in paternalistic management, the attention of superiors on subordinates is very close. Criticism is usually done one-on-one from superiors to solve a problem that plagues subordinates. This is the case for Shimokawa who received a warning from his superiors but was done privately, so Shimokawa did not feel publicly humiliated by his superiors.

According to Hikmat (2019), the process of change that occurs in job differentiation results in a hierarchy of prestige and income which then leads to stratification in society which is usually in the form of a pyramid. This social stratification determines the strata of community members which are determined based on the attitudes and characteristics of each group member. In addition, urban areas also affect the relationship of individuals to each other. Economic problems and power dynamics are intensified in a small spatial area. The stratification that occurred in this industrial society further strengthened the paternalistic management that had previously been applied to ancient Japanese society. Strata in society and industry are not separate from situational factors in society. Stratification in Japanese society lies in the majority of its members who legalize the difference in authority over power in each stratum. The top positions in the highest strata are in managers, leaders and so on, and this is impossible without the support of the majority of the lowest strata/executive staff, subordinates and so on.

Bushido's emphasis on loyalty to a group's superiors is still evident in employees' loyalty to their jobs. The embodiment is more on the values contained in it, such as working hard, respecting superiors or more seniors, loyalty, and so on. The nenkojoretsu (seniority) system that exists in Japanese companies is also a form of this ethics.

# Excerpt 2

A labor factory got an accident in factory while he was operating machine and cause the loss off his left arm. Now, he stays in a hospital for a couple days to heal and reads a newspaper to spend his free-time.

Caption: "Current price, The 3 Million Yen Dog."

Then, he receives a guest. In fact, his guest is his boss.

: "Sir" Labour

Boss : "Looks like you're recovering. Here's your workers' compensation

> insurance money. 300.000 Yen. Your carelessness has really hurt us financially. We're going through hard times. But don't feel to bad. Cheer up, I wish you well. Oh that's right. We've accepted your letter

of resignation." (Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 105-106)

#### **Analysis:**

The dialogue excerpt above tells of a worker who had an accident while working in a factory and the accident caused him to lose his left hand. After being hospitalized for several days, the worker received a visit from his boss. He was given his work accident insurance money and said that the company accepted the resignation letter that the worker had written prior to the accident, but it was just a subtle way of saying that the worker was no longer needed at the company because he had lost his left hand. After some small talk, his boss left him with

300,000 yen in compensation, no more than a dog would cost (after reading the news in the newspaper).

Hikmat (2019) says urban communities who are closely related to industrial life have their own dynamics, because urban communities as industrial societies have the same theology that everything is measured by money. This can be seen in how the boss of the factory worker only came as a formality and shows how the relationship between individuals is only limited by contracts and interests, as there is no personal connection between them.

As Urry (2017) states, cities are based on the money economy, which is the source and expression of rationality and intelligence for cities. Money and intelligence provide a very important behavior for people and things. Money produces a tiered feeling and attitude. The money economy drives a concern for precision and timeliness, because it makes people more aware of their various activities and relationships. The response given by superiors and the company through this story is only a modest compensation fund and the company immediately removes the main character from the company because it is considered to be a burden for the company and uses the resignation letter that is in the main character's pocket as an excuse for his 'resignation' even though the letter has never been submitted to the company. The main character's boss even seemed to blame him for the accident by saying, "Your carelessness has really hurt us financially. We're going through hard times. But don't feel too bad. Cheers up, I wish you well". No feelings of empathy and compassion are shown. Although paternalistic management is still applied by Japanese companies, the relationship between the company and workers are no longer like a family relationship. The relationship seemed to have shifted to a relationship between slaves and masters because at that time the company was trying hard to make as much profit as possible because improving the economy was the only thing that was of concern to the government.

In addition, social insurance in Japan also had a very short history. Employees and unskilled laborers have no hope of long-term social security. From this short story, it is shown that the welfare of workers and especially workers who are at high risk of accidents at work escape the attention of the government which is only obsessed with improving the Japanese economy but, ignores the people who make a big contribution to the country's growth.

#### **Relationship of Workers and Co-workers**

#### Excerpt 1

Two factory workers just finished their work in the factory.

Labor

: "You've been smiling all day, something good happen? So you got a girl. You might not believe me but, you better watch out. Hehehe..."(Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 99)

## Excerpt 2

Sewer cleaner: "You're gonna quit this job, right? Well, it shouldn't be permanent. You're still young. Besides, you're gonna be a father soon." (Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 186)

## Analysis:

The excerpt above is taken from a short story entitled *Eel and Beloved Monkey*. In the two excerpts above, it can be seen that there is still communication that occurs among fellow workers, although minimal. The topics discussed when communicating are also about personal matters such as love or household problems.

Human relations in Japanese society are divided into two categories, namely vertical and horizontal, and both of these relationships are linear. For example, horizontal relationships are relationships between coworkers. In the work environment there are three categories, namely *sempai* (senior), *kohai* (junior) and *doryo*, which means colleagues and only shows those of the same rank. Among colleagues, they can get away from the politeness and formality if they are familiar to each other and it is not uncommon for Japanese people to talk about their household and love life with co-workers who they feel are close with.

Jamalludin (2017), states that friendship, association and communication have changed a lot in urban communities. Urban people tends to only be friends with their fellow workers or the equivalent. As in the excerpt which shows that workers still maintain social relations with their co-workers, this is because everyday workers spend more time in the office and interact more with their office friends than neighbors or family. Still, it is shown that a little sense of familiarity in the social life of the Tokyo workers at that time still exists through relationships between co-workers who still greet each other and talk about their personal relationships such as love or household problems.

#### **Relationship of Workers and Parents**

The neglect of old and helpless parents has become a scourge of concern at a time of rapid economic growth in Japan. In addition, the consumptive mindset of society and tendency to throw away obsolete goods and replace them with new goods made the elderly residents of the capital Tokyo increasingly abandoned.

## Excerpt 1

Kenichi is reading a newspaper.

Caption: "Senior Citizen Discovered Two Weeks After Death in A Downtown Apartement."

Then, Kenichi remembered what his friend once said "People get rid of anything old. That's modern life for ya."

Kenichi also remembered what his fiance once said. "I can't wait to leave home. I can't wait to live with you."

When Kenichi sees his mother who is disabled, asleep beside him, suddenly he wanted to abandon her because he thinks that taking care of his mother is very burdensome (Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 54).

## Excerpt 2

An old manis walking back to his house located in a seedy neighborhood. When he opened the door to his house, he found his daughter in there.

Daughter: "Hi, dad. I wanted to borrow some soy sauce."

Father : "R-Ruriko."

Daughter: "Yes? What is it? You're being strange."

Her father doesn't continue his word and Ruriko walks away from her father's house and back to her luxurious apartement (Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 75).

#### Analysis:

In excerpt 1, it is told that Kenichi is a Tokyo city cleaning service worker whose lives from paycheck to paycheck and resides in a small apartment. One day, his fiancé urged him to get married so they could live together. However, unbeknownst to his lover, Kenichi lives with his elderly and paralyzed mother. Kenichi became confused because his fiancé urged him to get married so that they could live alone because his girlfriend was tired of living with her parents. In fact, Kenichi has a mother who depends entirely on Kenichi for his life. Then, Kenichi reads a news story in a newspaper that told of an elderly person who was left dead in an apartment and was only found two weeks later. This caught Kenichi's attention, especially when he remembered his friend's words that modern Japanese society is no longer compatible with old and obsolete goods, because old things should be thrown into the trash and replaced with new things. It tempted Kenichi to do the same as with what he read in the newspaper. He was already tired of living with his mother and wanted to marry his fiancé.

The consumptive behavior of Japanese society is shown through the profession of Kenichi, who is a Tokyo janitor and has to deal with electronic items that accumulate in garbage dumps every day. Junk such as electronic equipment and cars are also often depicted around the main character. A sentence from Kennichi's co-worker that says "People get rid of anything old. That's modern life for ya" shows the consumptive mindset of Japanese society at that time, especially in the younger generation living in urban areas.

Jamalludin (2017) said, as an industrial society, usually people's lives will increase sharply, especially regarding their status such as appearance, income, life behavior and others compared to before. People's economic behavior is more consumptive, such as frequent shopping after payday, watching movies, traveling,

etc. Likewise in attire, clothes that are branded, famous, dapper, stylish and fashionable have become part of the lifestyle as well as in the use of technology. This is also the case for residents of Tokyo at a time of rapid economic growth. Tokyo is filled with waste of electronic products from its consumptive society. The mindset is that modern life is surrounded by new high-end electronics and there is no place for old and worn out things anymore.

In addition, in urban areas, the tendency of newlyweds to live in their own homes also causes a shortage of housing for the elderly. In such circumstances, married children are often "forced" to live with their parents. The younger generation prefers to spend their money instead of supporting their parents. Whereas, traditionally, the extended family is primarily responsible for parental care, a fact that is no longer the case in society. In the old tradition, men were obliged to live with their parents after marriage and parents would be taken care of by the daughter-in-law while the son would work to earn a living. However, this is no longer possible due to the living conditions in Tokyo and the high cost of living there. The younger generation easily leaves their parents and lives with their new family. This is illustrated in excerpt 1 where one of the things that made Kenichi want to get rid of his mother because he wanted to get married to his fiancée and his fiancé also hopes that they will only live alone in Kenichi's apartment, plus Kenichi's fiancé wanted to marry Kenichi because she is also tired of living with his father. In excerpt 2 Ruriko also chooses to live in a luxury apartment alone and leaves her father who is only an office window cleaner and lives in a slum area in a nearby neighborhoods. This is in accordance with the opinion of Hikmat (2019) which says, from a social aspect, urban communities tend to have kinship groups that are starting to fade, replaced by groups based on the same interests, are more bound by contracts and are starting to leave old traditions.

In addition, the government's social security system of pension funds has not developed enough to provide true security for retirees during a time of rapid economic growth in Japan, parents are often neglected or taken out and experience economic and psychological insecurity. The story of Kenchi wanting to abandon his mother shows that at that time many parents were abandoned by their own children and those who were helpless as such did not get protection from the government.

Kenichi's story of abandoning his mother is similar to Ubasuteyama's folklore, namely, a Japanese folk legend about the tradition of throwing away old people in the mountains due to crop failures in the past. People in these communities would leave their old and frail parents to die in the mountains to reduce the number of people who had to be fed in the family. These two things happened in two different eras. However, it seems that Japan's rapid economic growth and modernization at that time had not been able to get rid of the problem of poverty. Jamalludin (2017) said that poverty can also hit urban communities. Poverty in urban communities leads to an individualistic mentality, unintegrated competition that tends to add to the gap between the rich and the poor. Then, conflicts arise as a result of natural selection (survival of the fittest), namely, the strong will survive and the weak will be excluded. Ironically, Tokyo is growing rapidly as a developed metropolitan city, on the other hand poverty and prosperity are mixed into one. The old and weak society lost in natural selection became forgotten by the younger generation and the government. The residents are also struggling with the high cost of living and limited housing. Japan grows in GDP however in fact the problem of poverty and social problems still haunts the country.

## **Working Class Families**

Industrialization has really changed the way of life of Japanese society. As it is known that Japan is a country that is close to the form of a family hierarchy or better known as the *IE* system. The traditional *IE* family system is a limited extended family that is calculated on a patrilineal basis. However, due to the massive urbanization that took place in big cities, this system is no longer being implemented. From 1955-1965, the Japanese family changed radically. The trend of separate and independent households after marriage, and having no more than 2 children in the household is increasing.

#### Excerpt 1

Kenichi and his fiancé promised to meet at a café.

A girl : "I'm sorry, am I late?"

Then, Kenichi's fiancé sat in front of him.

A girl

: "I can't belive how many you've smoked, it's bad for you besides, it's waste of money. Tee ..hee.., I'm sorry. A girl gets practical once she's engaged. Why don't you show me you apartment? I really want to see it. I want to see how a bachelor lives. It's probably because we didn't have any boys in our family. It's a drag living with my father. I can't wait to live with you." (Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 47-48).

#### **Analysis:**

Kenichi is a worker at the Tokyo city cleaning service and plans to marry his girlfriend. Kenichi still refuses to marry because of several considerations, namely he still has to take care of his mother who had been paralyzed, while his lover wanted to get married quickly and immediately leave her parents' house in order to live alone with Kenichi after marriage.

Among the younger generation, the *kaku-kazoku* (nuclear family) family system is more popular. This did not happen by itself, however, due to the loss of the legal basis governing family and inheritance, the idea of democracy was growing and the pattern of Japanese life after World War II such as the small living environment in Tokyo made it impossible to live with a large family. Thus, newly married couples choose to leave their families and live with their partners and form a new small family which usually consists of a father, mother and two children. As Hikmat (2019) points out, the influence of industry on family life may be direct. Simmel from Libretext Sociological Perspectives on urban Life (2021), adds that urban social relations are increasingly mediated by money and the loss of primary relationships such as family ties for goal orientation in urban capitalist environments.

#### Excerpt 2

Sewer cleaner's wife : "So you say you're gonna quit your job, but when? I'm so sick

of this life. Go ahead, be a sewer cleaner for the rest of your life. I'm sorry, but you're a loser. I'm going out with a

friend."(Abandon the Old in Tokyo: 191).

#### Analysis:

The excerpt above tells of a sewer cleaner who quarrels with his wife because he never got a better job than a sewer cleaner. His wife had asked him to find a better job so that their economic life could also be better because they would soon have children, but the sewer cleaner did not heed his wife's opinion. One time his wife slipped on some stairs while going to the hot springs because the sewer cleaner didn't have enough money to buy a heater. This caused a miscarriage in their baby and soon the sewer cleaner's wife asked him for a divorce because she couldn't stand living with the sewer cleaner.

Kartono (2019) asserts, the industrial society, both directly and indirectly will help shape the role played by husband and wife in a family and will also help shape the direction and style of the relationship between husband and wife regarding their role in the family. Generally, the family environment and the work environment will develop in different directions, mainly due to the specialization of work in their roles in society. In addition, taking a closer look at the relationship between work and family life, it turns out that the level of integration of work and family life at different socio-economic levels will show many different patterns. Whereas before the war Japanese people tended to marry to maintain the IE system, but during the period of rapid economic growth, this changed. Men and women marry because they are based on a love relationship and are no longer bound by customs. The husband-wife relationship is considered to be at the core and is placed on the principle of individual freedom and equal rights of men and women. In the kaku-kazoku family system, the rights of every individual in the family are respected and the wife has the right with her husband to manage their own household without interference from the in-laws. The position of the wife is the same as that of the husband in this system.

Hikmat (2019) explains that, in middle-class families, the financial situation and family status depend a lot on the work of the husband. For this group of people, their income level is relatively low and it is difficult to gain status in society in general, such as the family of the sewer cleaner. They are in the lower middle class economy and the sewer cleaner's wife is pregnant, therefore unable to work, so the economic burden lies solely with the sewer cleaner. In a traditional family, only the husband works and there will be a separation between work and family. However, in other community groups, where the wife also contributes to the income, the additional income earned is often used to buy better household appliances and equipment. In a family like this, the role of the wife is similar to the role of the husband. There is equality between husband and wife as told in the excerpt where the sewer cleaning wife is free to express her wishes to her husband and the decision to divorce also comes from the wife's side.

#### **CONCLUSION**

From the analysis above, it can be concluded that:

- 1. The social aspect that is raised in the gekiga comic Abandon the Old in Tokyo is a social fact that describes the sociological life of the people of Tokyo in the period of rapid economic growth (mid 1950-early 1970).
- 2. The social situation in the gekiga comic Abandon the Old in Tokyo depicts Tokyo workers who lose their impersonal social life, adhere to patrilineal management in the world of work, social relationships that tend to be more intertwined with fellow coworkers, neglect of parents by the younger generation and changes in the family system IE to become kaku-kazoku.
- 3. Literary works are not born purely from the imagination of the author but also by taking advantage of the social conditions around them so that literature and sociology complement each other in understanding society.

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