'WRITING LABORATORY': A POST-REFORMATION DOMINANT IDEOLOGY OF INDONESIAN STUDENTS PRESS

Critical Discourse Analysis of The Discourse of 'Pers Mahasiswa' in Poros Ahmad Dahlan University (UAD) Yogyakarta Student Press Organisation

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Abstract

This article explain the dominant ideology shaped of contemporary Indonesian student press. The study took the banning of Poros, Ahmad Dahlan University's Students Press in 2016, as the case. By using a three-dimensional analysis of Fairclough's critical discourse analysis, this paper questions three things; what is the dominant ideology of the student press represented in the text? How is this dominant ideology also shape the process of producing text? How does the ideology relate to the socio-cultural history of the Indonesian student press? This study found that the dominant ideology of contemporary students press was a 'journalism laboratory', which was actually an extension of the New Order's program to de-politising Indonesian student movement.

Keywords: *ideology, student press, discourse, Fairclough.*

1. Introduction

Student press is a press activity run by students. In Indonesian context, this press institution is considered as an ideal because it relies on the idealism of students in seeing problems that exist on campus and outside the campus. Perhimpunan Pers Mahasiswa Indonesia (The Association of Indonesian Student Pers) characterized student press with several 'noble characters' embedded in the organization such as; the spirit of intellectuality (critical), humanity (defending moral and ethics), populism (impartiality and concern for the people in the grass root), nationalism (democratization and state dignity), and independent (Fathoni, 2012: V). Student press then is a mixture of journalism activity and social movements.

Francois Raillon (1985) who examined 'Mahasiswa Indonesia' Student Press, wrote that Mahasiswa Indonesia concerned much more to political condition that beyond the campus boundaries. They enjoyed their "students" status that make them free to write reports, particularly during the New Order. They was more critical to government than the commercial press, because they took cover behind the university walls. Practically, by using their campus name which was categorized as academic institution,

they did not need to have SIUPP (Press Issuance Business License).

Student press was free to critics the government and, regarding to this freedom, attract many readers to produce a large circulation (Firdausi, 2017). Rizkiah (2014, p 118), who examined the Indonesian Student Press' in the beginning of the fall of new order, concluded that the student press took part in the process of reformation. During the time, its content was ideological and provide number of critics to the government.

After the succesfull of reformation, this condition had changed. The entire comercial press were free from the restraints and made student press loses its privilege and also its readers. The comercial press was considered more competent and professional than the student press. The decline of student press readers has effected to their decline in both of their production and publishing activity (Firdausi, 2017). The student press began to repositioned themselves as a 'campus-bounded press' or 'campus media'

Indonesian student press repositioning seems attracted the number of arguments. For a brief, we categorized those argument into three streams.

First was the research that seek how Indonesian contemporary student press attempt to face the repositioning. Shoqib Angriawan (2012) stated that generally there were 2 dimension from the Student Press to consolidate their institution, namely the internal dimension and the external. The internal focused in management within the organization, while the external was about how the student press developed social activities, sustained their editorial existence and maintained the readers (ibid: 8-9). Angriawan's findings show that the student press had the potential to think outside their journalism activities, even though they are identified by campus media.

Second was the research that seek effects of the reorientation in the student press. This second approach was represented by the research of Pratiwi (2013) and Zulfa (2014). By reading the student audience of the student press, Pratiwi (2013) stated that the student reader only saw the student press as the medium of the student press activist interests in journalism. Consequently, the student reader appreciation towards the student press was decreased. This lack of appreciation made the activists of student press involved in the campus political activities. Whereas, Zulfa (2014) suggested that even under the authority of the campus, the student press is still persistance by reporting idealist-value of news. However, Zulfa believed that the student press has not objectivity because their thinking bounded by university rules.

Third stream was the research that look forward how the student press related to the commercial press. The research compiled by the PPMI Yogyakarta Special Region Forum (DIY) in 2016 echoed this idea. In their report, the Research and Development (Litbang) Forum of PPMI DIY wrote that the student press organization loose their identity as a press. All activities that were once freely carried out by the student press, are now being taken away by the commercial media who have access to freedom in delivering news. (Litbang, 2016: 5-6).

Even though they marked the important developments of the presence of student press, those three streams had not answered the main problem of the student press; how the activists of student press defined their organization.

In this paper, we argue that repositioning of Indonesian student press as campus media is due to the idea of a student press as a 'writing laboratory' that is connected with their choice in study in college (literary students, or journalism students). Ironically, this facts indicate the strengthening of the discourse of Normalization of Campus Life (Normalisasi Kehidupan Kampus-NKK) and Campus Coordination Agency (Badan Koordinasi Kampus-BKK), that was a new order policy that categorizes student organizations as 'channels of student interest and talents'.

The study of ideas about student press is the study of ideology. It can be done by examining how a campus media represents a

particular events in the text, how they produces the text and relates these two dimensions to historical discourse in socio-cultural dimension. The complex set of links between text and cultural dimension is what Fairclough mentioned as 'media discourse'. (Fairclough, 1995: 54)

Fairclough itself understands ideology as 'the significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meaning of discursive practice and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination."(Fairclough, 1993: 87). By this understanding of Ideology, Fairclough rejected the definition Althusserian ideology that "contain an unresolved contradiction between a vision of domination as the one-sided imposition and reproduction of a dominant ideology in which ideology figures like a universal social cement" (ibid).

We took the banning Poros student press in 2016 as a case study. The banning of Poros in May 2016 due to their criticism to the Campus might be read as a manifestation of the reorientation of the student press, where the student press became 'campus media'. We assumed that the way they responded and avoided the banning represented their way to define the reality student press.

Poros is a student press organization of Ahmad Dahlan University (Universitas Ahmad Dahlan-UAD) Yogyakarta. Formed in 1998, it formally inaugurated in 2006. It was born in early Indonesian post-reformation, so unlike Balairung (Universitas Gadjah Mada student press) or Arena (UIN Sunan Kalijaga student press), Poros has no experience in the new order period.

To find out how the ideology of the student press among Poros' activist, we deployed a critical discourse analysis initiated by Fairclough (1993), where the ideology of media can be known by analyzing the 'language of a media' that consist of three dimension as mentioned above.

2. Research Method

The data collection in this research was done by interviews and studies literature. The interviews were conducted to the Chairperson of the 2013 Porod student press, the editorial chief of the 2013 shaft, and the head of the 2016 period to obtain information about the persistent bans that occurred. Interviews were also conducted with several members of the Poros student press. We analysed several documents mainly the text which published by Poros in respond to the banning, those were:

1) Dibredel: Nur dan Poros Yang Dibredel (Banned : Nur and Poros Banned) (01/10/05/2016)
2) Editorial: Salam Mahasiswa (Editorial: Student Greetings!) (10/01/2016)Freezing
3) Talk Shaft,Shaft (Survey leaflet without edition)
4) Opini : Pembredelan Pers Mahasiswa (Opinion: Banning Student Press) (01/10/05/2016)

We deployed Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough to connect text analysis at the micro level with a larger context social (Fairclough, 1989: 25-26). We conducted analysis on three levels of dimensions of Fairclough's CDA methods; texts, discourse practices (text production practices) and sociocultural practices.

3. Findings

a. The Ideology of Student Press as a Journalistic Laboratory in Text

In accordance with Fairclough text is a practice of particular ideology. In this case, a media text serves a function to represent groups or social actors involved in the event (representational function); to identify multiple positions (writers, readers and actors in the text) placed (Identity functions) and to relate text to *audiences*, texts with authors and actor relations in the text (relational functions).

Texts produced by Poros in respond to the banning generally represented the student press organization as a 'writing laboratory'. Texts published by Poros also formed the identity of

the reader with Poros perspective, means all texts interpellated the reader to understand the case of banning according to Poros' perspective rather than the campus

The idea of the student press as a ' writing laboratory' was dominant in the text entitled 'Dibredel: Nur and Axis Banned (01/10/05/2016)'. This article consisted of at least two main parts. First part focused on the personal story of Nur Rahmawati, her writing talent in her high school and eventually joined Poros, as an internship crew. Second part highlighted how Nur preparing the news which caused the banning.

Why the banning should represented by the story of Nur Rahmawati and of preparing the news carried out by Nur?

At first, Nur was described as someone who likes to read and write. She was fluent in reading and writing at the four of her age. When she was a child, she joined his father in reading a newspaper, even though she didn't know the letters. During high school, Nur was told that she had started to become famous as a writer;

> "From a very young age when she entered college, Nur was determined to study journalism. He finally joined Poros Student press. Nur said he had knew Poros long before Student Orientation (Ospek). She began to be interested in Poros because she wanted to learn to write..."

Nur finally got what she wanted and became a staff in the editorial, a division of Poros with a focus on writing. Nur realize her dream of developing journalism learning abilities.

Through the narration of Nur, Persma Poros is represented as a 'place to learning of writing' for Nur. Persma Poros is the only place that Nur wants because it was known long before the Ospek took place, even though the article did not tell the exact time.

Nur Rahmawati was positioned as a 'student' rather than a 'journalist'. She was a student who has enjoyed writing and has been eager to learn to write. With such identification, the text stated that banning is the extinguishing of the expectations of students such as Nur.

This is also emphasized in the title: "Dibredel: Nur dan Poros yang Dibredel". So in this case, the object of banning was not only Poros, but also students who wanted to learn and practice in writing.

The second part of the article mainly discussed on Nur's involvement in the production of news that caused Poros to be banned;

> Nur's reached her hope to develope her writing skill. She finally interned in the editorial division - divisions at Poros which focused on writing. Activities in the editorial division began with a meeting. During this meeting, Nur, for somehow, brought up the issue about the establishment of Medical Faculty (FK), which was applying for operation permit.

The sentences above tried to explain that Poros did the correct procedure for issuing the article which caused banned. They - organizationally, conducted editorial meetings. Evenmore, this article tried to show that this issue originated from Nur. With the word "somehow", the author tried to represent that Nur's idea was accidentally rise in that meeting. It was as "a form of learning process" from Nur.

From this narrative, the author would represent that the banning of Poros was identified with **"the removal of one of the student learning facilities"** rather than **"the elimination of student political rights"**. This discourse (the student press is writing laboratory; or it becomes an additional facility from the campus for students to learn) is probably typical of the discourse of post-reformation press student. The student press was not instrument for political practice, but a "learning facilities" or "campus laboratory" in media practice.

The representation of the student press as 'writing laboratory' was also found in the Poros Editorial entitled "Salam Mahasiswa!", written by Poros Editor in Chief, Fara Dewi Tawainella.

Fara, in her article, protested the banning by claiming Poros as a journalistic institution. This article has two main parts. The first part

focused in the selection of issue in editorial meeting and the second part contained Poros' right to answer that is not heeded by the campus. Overall, the text wanted to represent how the role of Poros as campus media.

Further, Fara stated that Poros want to publish a special edition, after the banning in April 27, 2016. This special edition was raised because of Poros' sense of love towards the campus.

> "Love is not always take a praise as a form. Borrowing Nur's word, this is the way we love campus, we do n't have to always praise the campus. Even behind our love, there is a sincerity to develope our campus "

The pronoun 'we' in the text showed that the writer was trying to represent herselves as a student who is part of the campus. A student participation in developing a better campus was to develop a readiness, a better mindset, not to participate to develop a material building of their campus in the strich sense. Poros was not attacking their almamater.

Furthermore, this editorial explained that the topic that caused the banning was choosen with some disagreements in the editorial meeting. Some argued that the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine (FK) in UAD will be good for campus imagery, as well as useful for cooperation between faculties.

> "After discovering new data during the reportage, the author said that the purpose of this report was not to reject the establishment of Faculty of Medicine, because several facilities were already available…. There are some complaints from students and lecturers,…. they hope that other facilities will also be considered fairly… "

The second part of this text issued that the bans posted by the campus authority without clarification. The editorial continued, the right of reply to topic issued by Poros was not used by the campus. The author tried to show that Poros had carry out correct journalistic procedures, and the campus authority did not understand how the process of journalism.

The third text is a graphic of the results of UAD student survey opinion entitled "Poros Bicara, Poros Dibekukan?" The survey was conducted by Poros Research & Development Division using a random sampling method, targeting UAD students in semesters 1,3,5, and 7. The text surveyed four questions as follows: 1) Do you know the persma Poros?; 2) Do you think the student press is important ?; 3) Do you think Poros deserves to be banned?; 4) Do you know the news about the banning to Poros?.
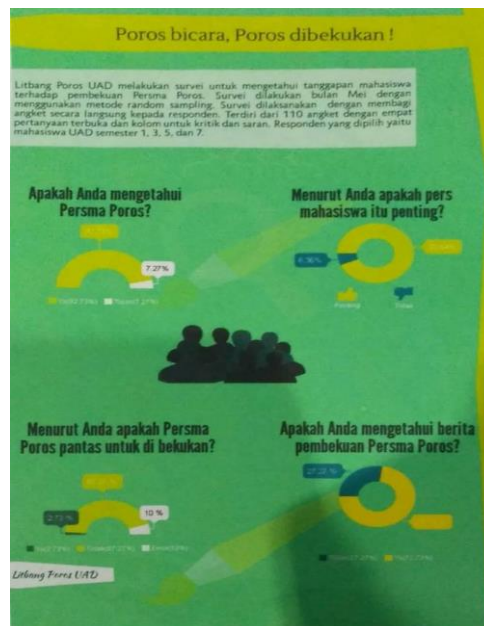
Graphic 1. Poros Speak, Poros was banned!

The survey graphic represents Poros as **important** for students. This is an **objective reality**, because it is obtained through a **research** based on scientific methodology. By this text, the reader was identified as a student, who wanted Poros to remain and the banning to Poros was wrong conduct. This research also confirmed that Poros was significant for students and thus breaked the opinion of the campus authority who considered Poros was not useful.

In essence, this survey further confirmed that the definition of the student press was campus media. The student press is talking to campus bureaucrats about what's important on campus.

The final text was entitled "Pembredelan Pers Mahasiswa" written by Wisnu Prasetya Utomo, former General Chair of Balairung, Universitas Gadjah Mada student press. He was presented as an outsider who was watching what was happening in Poros. The reader, in this case, was constructed as an 'observer' as the position of Utomo.

In the post-reformation period, according to Utomo, freedom of expression was opened, the student press was free to express and to write their aspirations. However, in the midst of post-reform, where freedom of opinion is no longer restricted, "Poros UAD was actually silenced by the campus authority itself". Utomo's texts concludes that the student press is ideally tasked with proclaiming what is happening on campus based on existing 'data and facts'. "The task of the student press was ideally to proclaiming what happens on campus based on existing data and facts." The student press, regarding to Utomo, was campus-oriented media.

b. Writing Laborary as a basic element in the process of text production

In the previous chapter, we examine how the ideology of student press as 'writing laboratory' in the text. This sub-chapter is intended to answer how the texts are produced. There are two dimensions explained. First, the situational dimension of text production; which refers to the situation when producing text particular, and secondly, the institutional dimension that refers to institutional structures that influence the production of texts.

Article entitled by "Dibredel: Nur dan Poros yang Dibredel" was written by Fara Dewi Tawainella, editor in chief of Poros. The article was written after the campus authority did not clarify the banning sanction. Fara, in the interview, admitted that the campus did not accept the Poros news which criticised campus. Representing Nur personality in her article, Fara wanted to show campus accusation that Poros refused the Medical Faculty was wrong. Poros is only writing laboratory for student.

> "The article was written by the internship member for learning in write. The issue was the material they wrote. It's not our intention to refuse (the campur regulation) or to drop the campus"(Fara Dewi Tawainella, interview September 24, 2018).

Fara used *features* in her writing to emphasize the *human interest* as a news value. Such technique, according to Fara, is a style of literary journalism. She learned that style during the Journalistic Training in Poros. Fara has been a member of Poros since 2013 until at the end of 2016. Fara chose to become Poros' member because she wanted to learn to write, and become a professional writer.She liked journalism at her high school and eagered to look for an organization where she able to learn about it. For her, the student press is a place for students to learn to write, but also plays a role in control and criticism of the campus.

The editorial text was also written by Fara Dewi Tawainella. If in the first article she represented the figure of Nur as a student. In this text Fara clarified the accusations delivered by the rector. With that clarification, Tara stated that Poros love campus by criticizing campus. This means that Poros, as a student press, was part of the campus and was indeed campus-oriented media.

> "By that article, I would like to straighten out the process. The features was more about how Nur reacted and how the process of the raising issue. The editorial was like an answer to campus accusations who think we do not love the campus. The editorial, we clarified what we have experienced during the time" (Fara Dewi Tawainella, interview September 24, 2018)

Meanwhile Bintang, Poros General Leader during the banning, confessed that he asked Poros' Research and Development Division to conduct an opinion survey after the banning. He argued that it was to give evidence objectively to the campus authority who told that Poros was not needed, that Poros was needed by students.

> "The survey goal was to make the campus authorities aware that Poros is important element of campus. Another goal was to make the students know about the banning…. Poros was a place for students to study journalism with alternative issues that may not be realized by college students and campus authority… To sharpen students' critical reasoning in the journalistic learning process. "(Bintang, interview)

The condition of text production shows the idea of a student press as a place to learn to write. Incidentally, most of Poros member were students of literary department, where writing was important. Why literary student to be more dominant in Poros than others?

> "In my opinion, because literary student has flexibilities among other departments students. They does not have lab work, which takes up a lot of time like an technical student. Literary department assignments are also more analytical, as well as a place for writing practice. Another factor is because some Poros members inviting their classmates to join, but I thought that was rarely the case… "(Fara, interview)

Another causes to define Poros as a 'writing/journalistic laboratory' was the regulation on student organizations at UAD. This regulation made student organizations as the channel for student interests and talents. This was stated in the Decree of the 2008 UAD Statute of the Dikti Council, article 32 concerning Student Organizations.

> "Student organizations in UAD were formed to improve and develop faith, reasoning, interests, talents, leadership abilities, practicing knowledge and/or provide devotion to society and prosperity."

In the institutional context of text production, Poros is indeed a 'field of intertextuality' regarding to journalism discourse. Most of Poros materials for new member training was material for writing/journalism techniques rather than political knowledge. The material consists of: 1) An Overview of POROS Student Press UAD; 2) An Overview of Interviews; 3) An Introduction to polling ; 4) Writing the news; 5) Journalistic Language Part 1; 6) Journalistic language Part 2; 7) Accuracy and quotations; 8) Writing features; 9) Writing opinions; 10) Writing essays; 11) Techniques of writing Article; 12). Artistic techniques for printed media; 13) Management of student press business

Before becoming a Poros member, a students must pass the internship stage. Internships are positions where Poros new member must go through the training and writing practice process. The aim of this stage was to improve the ability of new participants in writing technique.

c. The History of 'Writing Laboratory' in Poros

These sections are intended to explain the relations among text and discourse practice in text producion to the history or socio cultural practices. The purpose of this section is analysing 'order of discourse', a setting that might produce different meanings or 'genres' of social reality. Fairclough calls for three areas of history as the target: economic history, political history (which is concerned with power and ideology) and cultural history (where we can question values and identities).

Indonesian reformation in 1998 caused a reposition every student press on various campuses in Indonesia. The reformation was a victory for the commercial press in Indonesia, and, perhaps, a defeat for the student press. The student press, which had privilege to criticized the government before, has an unstoppable rival.

November 2nd 1998, a meeting was initiated by Balairung (Universitas Gadjah Mada Student Press) in Yogyakarta for Student Press organization from Java and Bali. Balairung initiated a discussion entitled by ""Orientasi Pers Mahasiswa, Mencari Ruang Baru dalam Era Keterbukaan" (Student Press Orientation, Finding a New Space in the Era of Openness). The meeting was held to disburse the disorientation that occurred in the student press after 1998. The attendee came from Jakarta, Bandung, Purwokerto, Semarang, Solo, Jember, Surabaya, Denpasar, and Yogyakarta. There are two position of student press offered "(1) as a Community Press; the student press must return to their community, campus, or (2) as a Press of discourse; the student press choose to reinforce their identity as a student. (Langit merah hitam. 2010)

Himmah (UII) in Yogyakarta, in 1998, began with a perspective in the selection of themes. They are not only engaged in politics and economic matters, but began to focus in cultural issues. Meanwhile Arena (UIN Yogyakarta), tried to use the investigative reporting model to present a story. But they, actually, only covered issues around their campus.

Poros was initiated in 1998 around Indonesian reformation. Poros was developed from discussion forums that crystallized and organized itself with publishing bulletins and their discussion resultss, addressing issues and other discourses. These activities run about one year. On August 28 2000, the UAD Student Congress inaugurated the Independent Student Institute (here in after referred to LIM) Persma UAD as the only independent student press institution at university level.

In their historical record, there was a sentence that attaches Poros to the Indonesian reformation event "The Student Press views the resistances for injustice were not yet finished, hence the partisanship for the oppressed has not ended ". Although attaching their identity to reformation criticism, the student press at UAD recognised as instrument for the development of journalistic cadres and skills. LIM Persma prioritizes the formation of character (cadre) and journalistic skills for its members (Materi Diklat Persma Poros UAD).

However, LIM Persma UAD developed by different dynamics each year. In 2008 the name POROS was established as the name of the 'UKM Persma' (in that year LIM and UKM were equal). This name had choosen because each year the names of the bulletins are different, and after the name assignment, Persma UAD products named with Poros.

Even though Poros had joined and were active in PPMI (Indonesian Student Press Association) since 2004, we have no find the record of the debate or dialectical discourse about Community press and Press of Discourse. However, by looking at 2008, where they were still trying to institutionalize the name Poros, it seemed to us that their orientation was their existence and problems of the campus.

In macro level, after the case of Malari in 1978, the new order government attempted to restore and normalize the university as a center for intellectual and cultural development. This attempt known by Normalization of Campus Life (NKK) and the Concept of Almamater in 1978 (Mustafidah, 2016: 101; Aria, 2018). The ministry of education issued a policy that limit student political activity. They wanted the students to prioritizes academic value.

This policy was responded negatively by students, until the government imposed the College Student Senate System (SMPT) in 1990. With a decree No.0457/U/ 1990 concerning General Guidelines for Student Organizations (PUOK) the government officially introduced the SMPT System (College Student Senate) (Maiwan, 2016). SMPT was an institution that oversees all activities or the formation of student organizations in a campus. The goal was that all campus organizations remain within the academic sphere.

Although SMPT was a New Order product, in fact, the idea that every student organizations are only a channel to students' interests and needs was accepted. It has not changed untill nowadays. If students like music, for example, then they have take part in a unit of activity in the field of music, and if a student wants to learn to write, then the place is in the student press.

Thus, the ideology of the 'writing laboratory" in Poros was the practice of the discourse of 'back to campus' in post-reformation. This was coupled with the discourse of NKK/BKK and SMPT which saw every student organizations as an instrument for developing student interests and talent. The return to campus was basically just the radicalization of the idea of the SMPT which was born in the NKK / BKK era, an idea that was much opposed by students in its era.

4. Conclusion

This research was conducted to find the ideas about Indonesian student press in post-reformation. We argue that the identity of the student press as a 'writing/journalistic laboratory' is a practice of the student ideology of post-reformation press. This ideology emerged because the discourse of back to campus that was merit to the effectiveness of the SMPT policy as an extension of the NKK / BKK program.

Regarding to this, the post-reform student press identity is a different genre that discontinued from its original. The current identity of student press is different from what Francois Raillon (1985) wrote about Suara Mahasiswa; as an important political force in Indonesia. They may recognize the history of the Indonesian student press in the past, but that history may only be a story, just mere encouragement.

In this case, research deployed by Rhesa Zuhriya Briyan Pratiwi (2013) needs to be discussed. Pratiwi (2013) found that student readers thought that the student press was only a channel for journalistic interests. As a result, the appreciation of the student press was declined. Pratiwi naturalized the idea of a student press as a channel for journalistic interests. This paper rejects the idea. The idea of the student press as a writing/journalistic laboratory is indeed the genealogical child of the SMPT which aimed to depolitize the students

Meanwhile, this paper supports Sriwidari Zulfa (2014) who doubt in objectivity of the student press. Seeing reality with the campus assumptions and rules is the effect of student press identity after the establishment of the NKK / BKK as well as the SMPT. This article also agree with the mainstream narrative in student press's; that is the student press' defeat to the commercial press. However, there seems to be something more powerful than the commercial press namely the 'ideology of student press as a writing laboratory' which continues to reproducing student as an apolitical subject. **[ ]**.

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