

# Education Fiasco Discursive Strategies

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**Submission date:** 22-Nov-2022 01:21PM (UTC+0700)

**Submission ID:** 1961055263

**File name:** education\_fiasco\_discursive\_strategies.docx (49.51K)

**Word count:** 3832

**Character count:** 23220

# Education Fiasco: *Discursive Strategies of School Zone System in Tempo*

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**Keywords:** discursive strategies, education fiasco, school zone system, *Tempo*, discourse historical approach

**Abstract :** The Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture made a controversial decision of *school zone system* to equalize the educational rights of the Indonesians. Unfortunately, the decision generates a dilemma. On the one hand, it can distribute the students evenly based on their particular residences. On the other hand, it raises a long queue of registration, parents' protests because of 'back door allowance', victims of its constants experimental regulations, insufficient socialization to local educational services, unskilled officials handling the registration system, inadequate registration period and unprepared schools for applying school zone system. One of the media massively reporting such an issue was *Tempo* which showed contradictory viewpoints with the government. With this in mind, Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) was utilized to uncover such a controversial issue through the discursive strategies proposed by Wodak (2001), namely *nomination*, *predication*, *argumentation*, *perspectivization* (*discourse representation*), and *intensification* and *mitigation*. Specifically, this study examined how *Tempo* represented its ideology, power and critique. The findings revealed that *Tempo* strictly criticized and resisted the government's decision on legalizing *school zone system*. However, the government endeavoured to uphold the Constitution (*UUD 1945*), notably, article 31 about the equal rights of the Indonesians to gain education.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Education in Indonesia takes a long history for the development started from the *Wijayan* era to the millennia. Today, it is under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Religious Affairs. All citizens must undertake twelve years of compulsory education which consists of six years at elementary level and three each at middle and high school levels (Wikipedia, 2018). This education is based on Pancasila as the foundation of the Indonesians' rules. However, Baedowi (2016) said that Indonesia itself, geneologically has an ideological content that combines the lines of Islam (right), socialist (left), and nationalist (middle) since long, in its practical political implementation is still difficult to accommodate this political ideology in a political party system. To date, Education and Culture Minister, Muhadjir Effendy, released a controversial issue as one of his novel educational policies, namely school zone system (*Tempo*, 14 July 2017).

School zone system refers to a school enrolment system for the prospective students who want to continue their education to the higher levels based on the consideration of distance between their residences and the target schools (Indonesian Ministry of Education & Culture, 2017). This policy is constructed based on Education and Culture Minister Regulation (*Permendikbud*) no. 17 in 2017 about prospective students' enrolment at all levels of education in Indonesia. This implies that the entire schools should consider and comply with such a regulation when selecting and accepting the freshmen in their schools.

In particular, the government (Indonesian Ministry of Education & Culture) has emphasized that the zone radius of schools and residences are determined by the local government. As a matter of fact, the school enrolling allocation is regulated based on three major criteria, namely the students living nearest to school (90% allocations), the students having good academic achievements (5% allocations) and the students migrating from their domiciles (5 % allocations) (Indonesian Ministry

of Education & Culture, 2017). Nonetheless, it arises a number of problems for the parents and prospective students themselves. One of them is the people's (students & their parents) perceptions asserting that such a governmental policy impedes them to study in the desired schools (Nofitra, 2017). Likewise, the supervising team of freshmen enrolment, notably at senior and vocational school levels in West Java noted that there were approximately 12 private schools in Bandung refusing poor prospective students because of the loaded allocation (Siswadi, 2017). This presumably appears due to misunderstanding and resisting of such private schools towards this school freshmen enrolment (Siswadi, 2017). Further, it raises a long queue of registration and parents' protests because of 'back door allowance' (*Tempo*, 14 July 2017). It means that this prescriptive policy (school zone system) generates another controversial issue in Indonesian educational context. In addition, Indonesia government has ruled Indonesian education since 1950's (Forumbitcoin, 2017).

For these reasons, *Tempo* arises the problem in Indonesian education as the criticism to the government policy in running the constitution related to education. It is the consistency of its fundamental principle as the critical media since it is released for the first time in 1970's until now. Because of the government's and the certain parties' coercion in 1980's to 1990's, this media was muffled or even eradicated to sound its critical voices. Nevertheless, since the downfall of New Order on May 21<sup>st</sup> 1998, *Tempo* has revived and turned to be one of the widest-circulated and greatest media in Indonesia.

In fact, a little attention has been addressed to the examination of how *Tempo*, one of the largest circulated media in Indonesia, representing its critique, ideology, and power through its framing. Their history of surviving it has faced many challenges from the government. In the 1982, 1994, and 1998, these are the years of how they have been considered making controversy to the government rules (*Tempo*, 2018). Although a variety of critical-oriented studies emerged in terms of the linkage between news and discourse (e.g. Richardson, 2007; Montgomery, 2011; Idrus & Ismail, 2013; Eissa, 2014; Kim, 2017; Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017), there might be a few studies employing Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) to uncover discursive strategies within Indonesian-based news (for instances, Razzaq, 2012; Susilo, *et. al.*, 2016). As

a result, the current study aimed at dismantling how critique, power and ideology were represented in *Tempo*, particularly in terms of the implementation of school zone system policy.

## 2. METHODS

Critique, ideology, and power are the key topics for Discourse Historical Approach (DHA). Reisigl & Wodak (2009) gave the summaries of some analytical tools and general principles of the concept. To deal with it, a concept of critique is integration of discourse-immanent critique aimed at discovering inconsistency, socio-diagnostic critique focused on demystifying manipulative character in discursive practices, and prospective critique contributed to improvement of communication (Reisigl & Wodak in Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Ideology has been considered as a central notion that represents how relations of power are established, maintained, and legitimised (Poppi & Piazza, 2017, p. 45). Ideology in DHA is a worldview composed of related mental representation, convictions, opinions, attitudes, and evaluations shared by members of a specific social group. Power relates to an asymmetric relationship among social actors assuming different social positions or belonging to different social groups (Reisigl & Wodak in Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The power relationship obtaining between the participants in an interaction and the institutional norms within which that interaction takes place are central to the way in which the discourse is developed and individual utterances interpreted. All the interactions take place within social institutions where the role-relationships between members of that institution are clearly defined and where the power differential and social distance between the interactants are great (Thomas, 1985, p. 766). Power in discourse is concerned with discourse as place where relations of power are actually exercised and enacted; power behind discourse focuses on how certain types of discourse are shaped and constituted by relations of power. In other words, power behind discourse means that the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power (Negm, 2015, p. 285). From these three concepts, the discursive strategies are developed to identify critique, ideology, and power in the text entitled 'Another Education Fiasco' released on Friday, July 14<sup>th</sup>, 2017 in *tempo.co*. The discursive strategies were categorized and analysed based on

nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization and intensification and mitigation. Through this study, language can represent critique, ideology and power.

Technically, this study was driven by five questions anchored in 2<sup>nd</sup> HA. Such questions are specifically presented as follows:

- (1) How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
- (2) What characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/event, and actions?
- (3) What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
- (4) From what perspective are these nomination, attributions, and arguments expressed?
- (5) Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated? (Reisigl & Wodak in Wodak & Meyer, 2009)

### 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Findings and discussion in this study follow the discursive strategies in DHA to discover how the representation of the critique, ideology, and power in the text 'Another Education Fiasco' affirming that the policy of the Indonesian government in Education went wrong and completely failed.

#### 3.1. Persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically (Nomination Strategies)

Muhadjir Effendy, Education and Culture Minister, was nominated as the proper name of social actor becoming the first sight in the first line of the text. We, as the deictic, was found in the text to show the relation between writer and the reader. As defined by Peirce, indexicality is a relational notion; it is the kind of relationship between a signifying event, i.e., communicative, discursive event, on the one hand, and a signified 'object', which may be an event, state of affairs, entity, social identity, social category, etc., on the other, that is characterized by contextual contiguity or connectedness, as opposed to (contextually perceived) 'similarity' (degrees of sameness; 'iconicity') or (potentially) decontextualized 'convention' (stipulation, intension, conceptual stereotype,

semantics; 'symbolicity') (Koyama, 2009, p. 80).

The inclusive 'We' interconnected the writer and readers in the same position as the victims of the decision of school zone system. Then, students, parents, and schools were the objects of the implementation for the system. The paragraphs of those objects are as follows:

The too-short period for a proper introduction of this new system also made victims of students. (line 27, paragraph 7)

Confusion has ensued in several regions. In Bekasi Senior High School I, there was a long queue of people waiting to register their kids, and many parents protested. (line 16, paragraph 5)

All state schools are obliged to enroll 90 percent of their students from a zone close to the school. (line 12, paragraph 4)

The objects were drawn as the parties coercing to comply with the prescribed policy without any resistance although chaos, protests, long queue were the problems of the system.

The school zone system itself is underlined as the events of government regulation which is as the result of policy in education. Director General of Primary and Secondary Education Hamid Muhammad reasoned the policy to accommodate students unable to get school (Antony, 2017). As the process, the writer aroused reasons, debates, and arguments to this condition for showing that the system is conjuring trick and too-short period for a proper introduction of new system. There is contradiction to this point that the government states the policy to support the unable, on the contrary, *Tempo* states that the policy makes the unable unsupported from the negative sides from the system. To this contradiction, it generates the ideologies between the two parties to uphold their principles. Martin (2015) argues that political ideology can best be understood as actors' theorization of their own position, and available strategies, in a political field.

#### 3.2. Characteristics, qualities, and features attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/event, and actions (Predication strategies)

Social actor, Education and Culture Minister, Muhadjir Effendy has been awarded



Satyalencana Karya Satya XX (2010) as the civil servant who performed its duties and has demonstrated loyalty, dedication, competence, honesty, and discipline and has worked continuously for at least 20 years. With his competence (Sholih, 2017), he was captured as the policy maker who did not have many considerations to decide a certain regulation. He was powerful to change the policy. In fact, School zone system aroused complex problems for people as the policy consumers. Those problems were a long queue of registration, parents' protests because of 'back door allowance', victims of its constants experimental regulations, insufficient socialization to local educational services, unskilled officials handling the registration system, inadequate registration period and unprepared schools for applying school zone system.

### 3.3. Arguments employed in the discourse (Argumentation strategies)

The writer stated the arguments in the paragraph 8 and 9. He argued that there was a good purpose in the new regulation for the students and reduce traffic congestion (paragraph 8).

There is a good aim behind this new regulation, namely to ensure that students with good grades do not all enroll at popular schools. The zoning system can also help reduce traffic congestion caused by students traveling long distances to school. The confusion over the new regulation could have been avoided if the Education Ministry had drawn it up more carefully...(paragraph 8).

The Education Ministry should stop changing regulations at short notice. Education is not a conjuring trick: change the rules for instant results. The results of a new education system are seen in the long term-not in the blink of an eye (paragraph 9).

However, in paragraph 9, he contradicted this good intention by arguing that the system should be stopped because of its ineffective implementation (paragraph 9). This implies that the policy needs to be studied further and represents a doubtful action of the Ministry of Education & Culture to implement it.

### 3.4. Perspectives expressed nomination, attributions, and arguments (Perspectivization strategies)

This text generated head to head relation of media and government. *Tempo* was a representative of critical media and Education and Culture Minister Muhadjir Effendy was as the government party imposing the implementation of school zone system.

*Tempo* has set itself to be critical. It thinks and writes critically against the government's policy. By thinking critically it should be the intellectually disciplined process of actively and skillfully conceptualizing, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and/or evaluating information gathered from, or generated by, observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action (criticalthinking.org, 2018). For these reasons, *Tempo* expresses their critical statement seemingly to be based on universal intellectual values transcending subject matter divisions: clarity, accuracy, precision, consistency, relevance, sound evidence, good reasons, depth, breadth, and fairness (criticalthinking.org, 2018). By CDA, it was also found to have the highest impact of two components of critical thinking; interpretation and recognizing unstated assumption (Hashemi & Ghanizadeh, 2012, p 37). Therefore, implicitly, this is the struggle of freedom to criticise and request for consistency of the system implementation.

### 3.5. Respective utterances articulated overtly; (intensified or mitigated) (Intensification and mitigation strategies)

The flow of arguments was stated explicitly with the intensification of the worse thing of school zone system implementation. The emergent benefits of school zone system were only for mitigating that actually the system should be stopped without any further considerations. In this argument, *Tempo* resisted the policy and insisted the government to discontinue it. The bravery to insist is the realization of their power equality to the government that they have freedom to speak up. Therefore, they feel free to criticise. On the other hand, government has its own constitution (UD 45) to run each policy. In this case, the government exercised its power to rule the people through its policies although those policies can make them perplexed and victimized.

Viewed from the critique, *Tempo* positioned its arguments proportionally towards the issue of school zone system. To illustrate, it has been typical communication strategies of *Tempo* to directly and explicitly criticise the government not only in this current era but also since its first edition in 1971. Historically, *Tempo* was ever allegedly accused to imitate *Time*, one of the influential mass media in U.S.A. The accusation was based on its institutional label apparently possessing similar equivalence in Indonesia. *Tempo* means time in English. Another reason was anchored by the facts that *Tempo*'s communication strategies seem to replicate the *Time*'s, namely direct, explicit and critical news presentation including to the government as the policy maker (Pontoh, 2015).

As an example, *Tempo*'s criticism on the Indonesian government has revealed myriad controversial issues which may be confidentially kept by the rulers. As a result, in 1982, *Tempo* was officially suspended to operate. Nonetheless, it has revived after the downfall of New Order in 1998.

Ideologically, *Tempo* upholds the freedom of speech as the most pivotal goal of performing its journalistic activities. It claims that the truth should be considered as the truth even it may risk its existence. Therefore, its movement in journalistic realm was regarded to have a strong influence and similarity to the nation's ideology, democracy. Constitutionally, *Tempo*'s has implemented the values implied in the Constitution (*UUD 1945*), article 28 about freedom to unite, gather and express the ideas. Thus, *Tempo* as an influential mass media in Indonesia has been establishing its identity as a media bridging between the government and people to gain the social justice.

In relation to power, *Tempo* attempted to equalize the power between the government and the people. It underlies its idealism based on the national's ideology, Pancasila Democracy in which the power is from the people, by the people and for the people. In essence, *Tempo* extracts such a democratic value to enable the people gain their own rights and social justice.

Social justice is the concept of fair and just relations between the individual and society. This is measured by the explicit and tacit terms for the distribution of wealth, opportunities for personal activity and social privileges. In Western as well as in older Asian

cultures, the concept of social justice has often referred to the process of ensuring that individuals fulfill their societal roles and receive what was their due from society. From these critique, ideology, and power, *Tempo* mirrors itself by its interpretation and recognition to the school zone system which is argued that the program making new problems. The problem consideration comes from the different ideology between *Tempo* and Indonesia Government. This difference put the contrast perspectives in positioning the view and power. Government always stand at the powerful side, on the other side, *Tempo* establishes the power to be equal. However, the equality in the case of *Tempo* is considered the effort to dismiss the power of government.

## 5 CONCLUSION

*Tempo* as one of the widest-circulated mass media in Indonesia has proven its quality in reporting a controversial issue in an enchanting package. As a matter of fact, it can attract the readers' attention through miscellaneous discursive strategies on exposing school zone system as one of the debatable issues in Indonesian education. To illustrate, *Another Education Fiasco* as the title of newspaper article seems to strictly criticise the performance of Indonesian Education and Culture Minister for his careless decision to apply school zone system without sufficient considerations. In addition, the writer tends to influence and lead the audiences (the readers) to have a similar perspective towards school zone system as a disadvantageous policy for them because of a number of facts, such as a long queue of registration, parents' protests because of 'back door allowance', victims of its constants experimental regulations, insufficient socialisation to local educational services, unskilled officials handling the registration system, inadequate registration period and unprepared schools for applying school zone system.

Briefly stated, *Tempo* resists the implementation of school zone system and insists the Indonesian Education and Culture Minister to discontinue applying such a controversial policy. Therefore, as the note that education is for everyone and everywhere and this is empowered by the Indonesian Constitution (*UUD 45*) article 31 which gives Indonesian the right to get education.

Nevertheless, this study only examined a single source for discovering a newspaper article discourse so that prejudice, stereotype and imbalance perspectivization potentially emerge. Therefore, further research is expected to see a discursive issue through involving various mass media and a mixed investigative lens of critical discourse studies to gain intertextual and interdiscursive viewpoints.

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