

The Ideology in "Culture, Education, and Intellectual Life?" a Book Chapter by Vltchek:

A political discourse analysis

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Abstract—Political literacy is one of the global literacy that requires understanding of one's ideology. The purpose of this research is to investigate the ideology represented a book chapter by Vltchek entitled "Indonesia: Archipelago of Fear". Drawing on Fariclough's 3D approach to CDA, this study found that this chapter promotes socialism to achieve equality of rights and freedom of opinion and expression. This is reflected in the way that the authors reject the notion that Indonesia is a democratic and tolerant country, rejects fascism in political value, and criticises Indonesia's government. These findings have confirmed the popular notion that no text is value-free but is always ideologically loaded.

Keywords—critical discourse analysis; political discourse; ideology

I. INTRODUCTION

Quality Improvement of Human Resources (HR) has been emphasized in Law No.20 of 2003 through education. Education can be obtained through formal and informal channels [1]. It needs to anticipate the negative effects of globalization, especially those related to information technology. One role education can play to minimize such negative effects is by fostering people's literacy which will allow people to be critical when dealing with information.

Literacy is a fun source of knowledge that can build our imagination to explore the world and science [2]. Literacy is one's ability to read and write [2]. Reading is a way to get information from something written by someone. The more we read, the more information we get, even though sometimes we get the information indirectly. Many people say that books are a warehouse of Knowledge, because they can give us insights not only into things about our country but also about the world, even the universe.

Books are a window of knowledge. By reading a book, we will get a lot of knowledge. Many knowledgeable people share their knowledge by writing it in book form [3]. From reading a book, we will know the knowledge it shares. We will also take important lessons from what they write. If the writing is very enlightening, we can usually get carried away with what the author says, making us unwittingly the followers of the book.

The book written by Andre Vltchek entitled "Indonesia: Archipelago of Fear" is a work about the world's most populous Muslim nation as it struggles to emerge from decades of dictatorship and the plunder of its natural resources.

According to Noam Chomsky, in this book, Vltchek brings together his research on Indonesia for decades, where he has visited various corners of the archipelago, some very remote places, and interviewed a number of people in almost all spots of the archipelago. The story he told about brutality, corruption and environmental destruction was shocking-in stark contrast to Indonesia's image conveyed by the mainstream media which is a democratic tolerant country [4].

This book discusses Indonesia through the point of view of the opposition in which the author gets most of his information from the "opposition" figures who have different views on Indonesia and through the trip made by Andre Vltchek himself to various regions in Indonesia.

In this book there are 11 chapters, namely Introduction, From Colony to dictatorship, Extreme Capitalism, Indonesian Style, Democracy and Human rights, Jakarta Bleeding the Islands, Corruption Kills, The Environment Pluering of Natural Resources and Consequent Natural Disasters, Collapse of Infrastructure, Islam: Culture, Education and Intellectual Life, Indonesia's Position in Southeast Asia, and Conclusion.

In this case the author is interested in analyzing in Chapter 10 entitled "Culture, Education, and Intellectual Life" which relates to the condition of human resources in Indonesia, how solutions are carried out by the government in optimizing human resources and how the government plays a role in preserving culture, forms of appreciation towards artists, as well as the quality and quality of Indonesian education produced by the system created by the Indonesian government. In this chapter political elements are very strong, because this is where there is politicization in a culture where inappropriate cultures are eliminated, and how the government indoctrinates its people through education. The author chooses chapter 10 because it describes the condition of Indonesians under the leadership of an era. That all drawn from Djokopekik's sentences below:

"They arrested all the artists, because the New Order system-the Suharto regime- destroyed political dissent to the roots (Djokopekik, Indonesia painter)"

The word ideology itself was created by Antoine Destutt de Tracy in the late 18th century to define "science of ideas". Ideology can be regarded as a comprehensive vision, as a way of looking at things (compare Weltanschauung), in general (see Ideology in everyday life) and some philosophical directions (see Political Ideology), or a group of ideas put forward by the dominant class of all members community [4].

Based on this thought, the phenomenon of language contained in the text is very important to study, especially for linguists because the text is not merely natural, but contains an underlying ideology. Therefore, one way to express it is to conduct critical studies.

One research tool that can be used to analyse ideology in texts is critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse that views language as a form of social practice. Scholars working in the tradition of CDA generally argue that (non-linguistic) social practice and linguistic practice constitute one another and focus on investigating how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use [5]. One approach to CDA is Fairclough's three dimensional approach [6].

Also known as 3D theory, Fairclough believes that CDA is consolidated as a three-dimensional framework where the aim is to map three separate forms of analysis onto one another: analysis of language text (written or spoken), analysis of discourse practices (text production, distribution and consumption) and analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural aspects [5].

First, description concerns Fairclough, "... formal properties of text" [7]. In other words, linguistic features of the text are to be explored in the descriptive stage. For the purpose that it can be understood more clearly, he also posts ten key questions together with more other sub-questions, which are mainly involved with vocabulary section, grammar section, and textual structures section [7]. The section of vocabulary mainly deals with the choice of different words; grammar is about the grammatical features, which has a close relation with Halliday's systemic-functional grammar whereas the textual structures part concerns the whole structures of the discourse [8].

Second, interpretation "is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction with seeing the text as the product of a process of production, and as recourse in the process of interpretation" [7]. In the interpretation stage, the relationship between the discourse and its production and its consumption should be interpreted. Besides, discourse is not only regarded as text but also a discursive practice in this stage, which means apart from analysing linguistic features and text structure, attention should be drawn to other factors such as speech act and intertextuality. These factors link the text to its context.

In other words, this step deals with the exploration of intertextual relations among discourse, texts and setting. That is, the discourse should not only be considered as the linguistic

version, but also a kind of discursive practice. Those factors which relate to how people produce and interpret the news discourse should be taken into consideration, thereby, the news source and reporting modes should be worthy of exploration in the interpretive stage of news reports.

Finally, explanation, according to Fairclough "concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the social determination of the process of production and interpretation, and their social effects" [7]. On the other hand, the analysis in explanatory part is in reference to the historical, social, and cultural contexts. Since news discourse can be considered as a kind of social practice, sociality and institution in fact, exert huge influence on news reports. In discourse analysis, especially news reports, the undiscovered information of power ideology and language will be investigated and explained in this part by two contexts, institutional context and societal context.

There are other studies dealing with Political discourse. First is the one by Bardici which aimed to establish, how and with what purpose in mind, the online media represent the relationship between social media and the Egyptian uprising and political transformation, a social relationship that seems to be overstated and constructed in various ways by different journalists. This critical reading reveals what is undervalued, overvalued and excluded, as well as the intersection between the media discourse, subjects and ideology. To achieve this aim, the discourse analysis approach was used to examine the set of selected media texts. This discursive research enhances the current understanding of the phenomenon of social media in relation to revolution and political change, although the findings may not be generalizable [9].

Another study came from Nirva which aimed to investigate the ideology, power, and rhetoric of Trump's interview answers. Based on the analysis, the researcher found the results that had been gained from Trump's answers. First, there was actually one major point on Trump's answer which was presumably to be his main ideology and power that was about Islamic Terrorism. Second, to gain his power Trump used rhetorical ways as he used many words/statements to show his concern related to the problems; used the statements to reassure people about his character; and he could get emotionally with the audience that the condition of most of American people are displeased with Muslim. Third, his answers implicitly contained to convey meaning as blaming Islam and persuading people to get down the problem as well as to be on the same side with him [10].

This study is to investigate the ideology of a chapter from the book entitled "Culture, Education, and Intellectual Life" by Vltchek.

Politics is a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice [11]. Language used in terms of political context as drawn at the sub-branch of CDA called by Political Discourse [11]. Political Discourse differs from CDA as being concerned with either formal or informal political context and political actors containing politicians, political institutions, government, political media and political supporters operating in political environment to

achieve a certain political goal. The study of political discourse should not be limited to the structural properties of text or talk itself, but also include a systematic account of the context and its relations to discursive structures.

The main purpose of politicians is to persuade their audience of the validity of their political claims. Political influence flows from the employment of resources that shape the beliefs and behaviours of others. Thus, Political discourse analysis (PDA) is an approach interested in the usage of language in politics. Ariadne Vromen highlights three areas that the analysis can focus on based on the 3D framework of Fairclough [11]. So Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) is the study of language in political context that not be limited to the structural written or spoken text, but also the context that relate to the aspects.

II. METHOD

This qualitative study has as its data the tenth chapter of a book by Vltchek entitled "Culture, Education, and Intellectual Life," in particular from the sentences that include ideology, power, and rhetoric.

The instruments utilized in analysing the data in this research were as follows:

Critical Discourse Analysis 3D Model Proposed by Norman Fairclough which consist of three layers of the analysis; **Text (description)**, **Discourse Practice (interpretation)**, and **Social cultural practice (explanation)**.

For text description analysis the study used Halliday's transitivity, in which he proposes six major processes proposed by Halliday: material, mental, verbal, behavioural, relational and existential [8]. The finding will be discussed in the following section, from the results of this transitivity analysis.

III. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Text (Description)

The first analysis applied to the data is textual analysis which in this part, the theory, especially transitivity analysis, proposed by Halliday [8]. There are five processes found in this chapter. The processes are as follows:

1) Material process: Material process is the process of doing or physical action. The process is usually signaled with verbs expressing an action, either concrete or abstract. This process is built up by three components which are Actor (Subject), Material process (Verb), and Goal (Object) as seen in Table 1.

Participants:

- Actor: the one who does the action
- Goal: The one who is affected by the action
- Recipient: the one who receives something
- Beneficiary: the one for whom something is done

TABLE I. THE COMPONENTS OF MATERIAL PROCESS

Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
Pram	shared	his thoughts with us in the	his last bitter testimony about the state of his country.
Java	controlled	everything.	

The use of actor 'We' is believed to persuade the reader that either Andre Vltchek or the other source (Christianty) are in the same level and the same position in opinion and solve the problem. Meanwhile, the use of pronoun 'They and them' is believed to refer to the Indonesian artist who are blamed as people that become opposition of government or called by provocateurs. The Pronoun "I" is refer to Andre Vltchek as the author when he shares his point of view or opinion also his experience. The pronoun "It" is talk about Indonesian condition that was described by the author, he will persuade the readers what was Indonesia happen. The other subject is Djokopekik the Indonesian painter, Pramoedya, Java, Education in Indonesia, Indonesian student were discussing about the main topic as being critics by the author about Indonesia.

2) Mental process: Mental process deals with the human's sense such as feeling, thinking, recognizing, etc. This process involves three aspects which are Senser (the subject experiences the phenomenon), Mental process (the action) and Phenomenon (see table 2).

TABLE II. THE ASPECTS OF MENTAL PROCESS

Senser	Process	Phenomenon
His books	were burned and banned,	
He	also believed	that because of javanism, it was very easy to colonize and rule the entire island of Java and the archipelago.
I	See	Indonesian thought in a constant process of rotting, and I can't do anything about it.

The use of Pronoun 'you' refers to Indonesian people and the readers. In this case, Andre Vltchek attempts to reader's emotion. The use pronoun of "I" refers to the author himself that giving his sence and experience. It reveals that mental process as a process of sensing functions to appeal the audience's inner heart and connect them with the writer's political beliefs and point of view. Hence, the audience's emotion of promotion and willingness to devotion will be aroused. This can be clearly seen that through this process Andre Vltcheck aims to connect the Indonesian condition and reader's emotion with his emotion through the statements of his answers about his beliefs and political ideas. The Pronoun of "They" refers to Indonesian and government, he will have described that Most Indonesian still not understand about their culture and still under controlled by government. "Them" refers to some artist that was famous before new order era, and sinking after new era order coming. The other sensers was talking about the experience that was author's felt and hear from his informant.

3) Relational process: Relational process is a process of "being", expressing possession, equivalence, and attribute as

seen in table 3. In other words, there are two relational clause types with different sets of participant roles. Attribute clause with carrier + attribute and identifying clauses with token and values. The participants involve:

- Carrier: An entity being described
- Attribute: The description of the entity
- Possessor: the one owning or containing something
- Possessed: the thing owned or contained.
- Token: an entity being equated with another
- Value: the other description

TABLE III. THE ASPECTS OF RELATIONAL PROCESS

Carrier/ possessor/ token	Process	Attribute/ possession/ value	Circumstance
He	was	referring	to the greatest writer in Indonesia and arguably in Southeast Asia, the author of the Buru Quartet and the most outspoken critic of Indonesia and Javanese Culture.

In relational process the process accounts for a large proportion in the addresses to elaborate the relationship between the existed ideas or traditional idea with the writer's beliefs (Vltchek's belief). In a simple sense, relational process can be employed as the process to bind the paradigm or points of view the Indonesia government; they grasp a new paradigm the author's holds. It can be seen from the use of pronoun 'we' which can be inferred that there is equality between the Author's and American citizen of owning the problem they face. While the use of pronoun 'they' is believed to refer the Indonesian government in which based on Andre's beliefs these Indonesia governments in Suharto's look like fascism. On the other side, pronoun 'they' also refer to the victims caused by the opposition although they just an artist whose convey their opinion doing art. In addition, the use of pronoun 'I' is used to build good image of Andre Vltchek that he was agree with most of artists as the intellectual's people who always against injustice. Also the other actors that describe about the consequent from some problem before.

4) *Behavioral process*: Behavioral process is a physiological process like breathing, laughing, looking, watching, etc. (see table 4). The participant is called as 'behave'.

TABLE IV. THE ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOURAL PROCESS

Behaver	Process	Circumstance
The everyday word for "teacher", guru,	still had	an impressive traditional aura.
Indonesians	Still believe	in myths.

The utterances are as follows:

- Private, religious, and even public schools (They, Behaver) do not always respect the set curriculum.
- Teacher's salaries are often not paid on time.

Through this process Vltchek attempts to convince 'they' (Private, religious, public school) to believe for the reason he gives toward his ideology about Most of education place not following the government system. Adding with the fact that teacher also does not get the salary on time. His ideology was opposite with Indonesia government as general.

5) *Verbal process*: Verbal process is the process of saying, but saying includes not only different models of saying (asking, commanding, offering, and stating) but also semiotic process that are necessarily verbal (showing and indicating). There are four kinds of participants in this process. They are: Sayer, receiver, verbiage, and target as described in table 5.

- Sayer: the one who communicates
- Addressee: the one who receives the message
- Verbiage: What they say

TABLE V. THE ASPECTS OF VERBAL PROCESS

Sayer	Process	Address	Verbiage
They	arrested	Suharto's colony	all the artists, because the New Order system-the Suharto regime- destroyed political dissent to the roots (Djokopekik, Indonesia painter)

By referring to 'I', Vltchek wants to show the readers that he has the right point in his views about Indonesia because he had asked to right interviewees. The use pronoun "She" refers to Arahmaini, the artist who was refused by her own place because of the different culture. "They" refers to Indonesian researchers." It", refers to Indonesian condition that make it different. Also the other actor that makes him have a sense and will do something for Indonesia

B. Discourse Practice (Interpretation)

Since discourse practices function to tie the textual analysis and sociocultural analysis, this pillar cannot be separated with the textual analysis done before. In this chapter, Vltchek has described how his perspective in looking at Indonesia in terms of culture, education, and the condition of intellectuals in Indonesia. The author describes how the condition of Indonesian culture is heavily influenced by artists, because the writer (Vltchek) is very interested in Lekra alumni artists, who consider that Indonesian culture is still too poor, because it has not fully given the freedom to think to bring creative ideas. The government is still interfering in responding to freedom of opinion. It can only be seen that things that are related to trust are still preserved, while the culture of thinking and creating is not given a place or even limited.

This book is also a criticism of education in Indonesia, which still doesn't have a clear system which evidenced from the content of the curriculum that always changes from one presidential era to another.

What is very terrible, this kind of thinking is a colonial Dutch heritage. The difference is, in the era of the Dutch East Indies, Indonesians who worked in companies or became civil servants of Ambtenaar had social influence in the community, now they were no more than messengers. As Pramoedya Ananta Toer said, when interviewed by Vltchek as can be seen in the following excerpts.

- “During the colonial period, those who worked for the Netherlands were respected and respected by the Indonesian people. Now the conditions are different. Those who work in foreign companies are just messengers, and everyone knows that. When I was a child, my goal was to finish school, study Dutch, and then work as a civil servant (Ambtenaar).”
- Indonesian culture is poor
- The state Indonesian schools is appalling, and the quality of teachers extremely poor.
- “Popular”, here means well-liked, not related to American pop music.
- Sadly, I can’t expect much from them. During the Suharto’s “New Order”. The intellectual life of Indonesian was thoroughly fucked up.

C. Social Practice (Explanation)

This country (Indonesia) has been regulated for too long by people who have sold this nation to foreign companies and governments. These people don't have morals and mercy. If people try to negotiate with them, then they will only do what they have done for decades: cheating and lying, trying to buy time. They don't care about Indonesia and the people of Indonesia! They want to provide Porsches and diplomas for their children, as well as luxury condos in Australia, the United States, Singapore and Hong Kong.”

From that above statement it is clear that one of the Ideologies understood by Vltchek is socialist. Where people have to ask and become active role in voicing justice. Artists and writers are one of the intellectuals in Indonesia who often voice their voices to the government. Things that can be done by the Indonesian people are learning, traveling and comparing the world, writing poems that are full of emotion, making revolutionary works of art, participating in demonstrations, holding accountable to the older generation (including their own parents and grandparents) for the destruction of the country this, and finally struggling for the purpose of building a just, friendly and beautiful nation called 'Indonesia'. All of the above is far better and more noble than sitting comfortably at Starbucks, staring blankly at the same smartphone as idiots, which is basically a waste of time and a waste of other people's time and nothing.

“People must be involved. Enough of being nihilistic! It's enough to live a vacuum and succumb! Fighting for a better world is not only worth doing, but also fun; life becomes more meaningful and satisfying.”

From the beginning, there were two main reasons why I wanted to write this book. I want to warn the world about what can happen to a poor country that is forced to undergo a fascist nightmare accompanied by an uncontrolled capitalist system. Another reason is emotional: I feel sad seeing tens of millions of people living without higher aspirations or dreams. I feel sad to see the islands that used to be beautiful and now only become islands that have been bare and their mines are taken out of the country, full of chemical spills, dirty and poor villages, and cities that are big but not worth living.

IV. CONCLUSION

In this book a lot is expressed about the true picture of Indonesia. Discussions on politics, economics, and social life and welfare as well as the topics that often appear in chapter 10 of this book. This book contradicts Indonesia's view in general. Criticism of the government as well as the defense of intellectual figures that were restricted in their movement and the defense of people's welfare became strength of this book. The ideology reflected in Chapter 10 by Andre Vltchek can be seen in the following: (1) the rejection of the notion that Indonesia is a democratic and tolerant country that was drawn by the government; (2) the rejection of fascism system in political values made by government system; (3) some critical opinion on Indonesian government system especially in culture and education which does not improve the Indonesian human resources. So this book is a campaign for socialism to achieve equality of rights and freedom of opinion and expression.

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