

**POLITICS OF LANGUAGE IN THE ACT REGULATING MATTERS
PERTAINING TO SPECIFIC AUTONOMY FOR PAPUA :
Critical Discourse Perspective**

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to illustrate that the politics of language marked power relations framed by a form of power between the dominating and the dominated in *the Act Regulating Matters Pertaining to Specific Autonomy for Papua* (hereinafter called *UU Otsus Papua*). The politics of language involves a high degree of knowledge and power that is marked by the symbolic interactions in the ethnic diversity of the archipelago *UU Otsus Papua* is a form of political discourse and the medium of language diplomacy containing an authority and political competence of the central government over the people of Papua; including a number of authorities and policies, as well as to explore the power of language in the language politics networks through the system of government of the Republic of Indonesia. Politics of language in this article will be disclosed through the paradigm of *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA). This article will focus on the efforts of uncovering: “Language Politics in *UU Otsus Papua*”, by projecting the problems including: (i) the form of the politics of language, and (ii) the political function of language in the *UU Otsus Papua*.

Keywords: *political language, Act, and specific autonomy for Papua*

1. Introduction

Indonesia as a great nation, has established language as a means of unifying the nation for ethnic and linguistic diversity that stretches from Sabang to Merauke, from Mianggas Island until Rote Island with the number of 17 505 cluster of islands comprising 13 466 islands in the archipelago that have been named and 4,038 were yet to be named. The government is administratively located at 529 local government autonomy, which is divided into 34 provinces, 402 regencies, and 93 cities in Indonesia (see Suprayitno, 2013: 1).

Language is a means used by the entire population of the archipelago to coordinate social relations. If language is seen as a means, then it becomes a place where the subject and object, mind and world, are interconnected, live, and meet. Historically, the language reflects the historical distinctiveness of the population of the archipelago, as the locus of history, traditions, prejudices and all the forces at work in the mind before doing self-reflection. In the political context, language is a medium of diplomacy that is expected to inform and disseminate the political interests of the holders of power. In addition, the language is also considered as a means of change, a means of political manipulation, and the means in social interactions.

In the perspective of Bourdieu (1982), language is not only a means of communication but as an instrument of action and power (Haryatmoko, 2010: 171). In line with the above view, the language can be used as a means of diplomacy for a variety of specific interests. To realize the goal of diplomacy, politics of language is needed to smooth the diplomatic purposes. Politics of language marks the power relations framed by a form of power between the dominating and the dominated. It involves a high degree of knowledge and power that is marked through a process of symbolic interactions.

In the perspective of Foucault, power is equal to great variety of power relations that work in one place or time. In political practices, power spread not only through the means of production including the bureaucracy, but also through language. The language used by politicians often reflect the building and the dominant process of power. This is in line with the view of Habermas, a critical theory and postmodernism figure that

language is the interest of anyone who uses it. Those who have the power also master the language to bring the benefit of their power (see Rahardjo, 2007: 48-49).

A few of the above phenomenon, become a fragment of fact that also takes place over the Land of Papua through the implementation of Law No. 21 of 2001 on Specific Autonomy for Papua. The Specific Autonomy Law for Papua hereinafter called *UU Otsus Papua*. It is a form of political discourse and the language of diplomacy that contain political authority and competence of the central government over the people of Papua.

Politics of language in this article can be revealed through the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This article focuses on the efforts of disclosure: “Politics of Language in *UU Otsus Papua*”, by projecting the problems that include: (i) the form of the politics of language, and (ii) the function of language politics in the *UU Otsus Papua*.

2. Concepts

2.1 Politics of Language

Politics of national language is essentially based on the vision of (government) of the existing language in the country, in this case Indonesian, the local languages, and foreign languages. The politics of national language is directed towards the realization of the vision of language and literature. The Ministry of Education and Culture as the government representative handles national language policy which is directed and focused on research activities and the development of language and literature (Lapoliwa, 2011: 202).

Politics of language considered as a national consensus by Kridalaksana (2011) basically aims to (1) maintain and develop Indonesian as the national identity, (2) improve usability in the life of the nation, (3) glorify the regional languages as a social and cultural wealth of the nation, (4) continue to orient themselves in the face of changing constellation of the world, especially to reinforce the function of foreign languages, and (5) make use of the language development in the world with literary and intellectual works for the progress of Indonesian civilization. In addition, Alwi (2011:

13), suggests that the politics of language should include a number of aspects which allow Indonesian serves as the national language; as a vehicle for the aspirations of the nation towards the democratization of society with characteristics as a democratic language, which does not reflect the status of social stratification.

2.2 Otsus Papua

Otsus Papua is a common phenomenon of emancipation from the domination of a social group over other social groups to ensure that (1) the entire population in Papua should benefit, and (2) groups in Papua, which have been marginalized even discriminated should be given attention specifically, the protection of human rights, and the rights of minorities, and ensure their safety that their political rights can be well and properly channeled and represented (cf. Warami, 2013a; 2013b and Salossa, 2005: 64).

3. Theoretical Framework

The basic framework as the reference in this article refers to the basic principles of the CDA proposed by Fairclough and Wodak, namely (1) oriented to social problems and not just focus on the use of language, but also the linguistic characteristics of the socio-cultural processes, (2) associated with the discourse of power, (3) the use of language can contribute in producing and changing the mindset of the public, culture, and power relations, (4) the ideology is produced through text dimension, practical discourse, and social effects that are owned, (5) associated with the discourse of history, (6) the connection between the social and cultural processes and properties of the structure of the text to see the “orders of discourse”, (7) runs interpretive principles, and (8) as a model of social scientific paradigm that is committed to bring a change in practice of political and social communication (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258-284). In addition, the paradigm of CDA in this article is expected to reveal all forms of confrontation of politics, law, and language in the UU Otsus Papua. This framework is considered strategic because it has the potential and capacity to project the facts in language politics and the tendency of legal politics in the UU Otsus Papua.

4. Discussion

4.1 Form of Political Language

Politics of language in the special autonomy law refer to the spirit of Law No. 22 of 1999 on Regional Government, which is in Chapter IV, Article 7, Section 1, which states that: “local authority includes the authority in all areas of government, except for the authority in the field of foreign policy, defense and security, justice, and fiscal monetary, religion, and authority of other fields”. The authority becomes a cornerstone of policy which is constructed as the birth of the politics of language in order to answer the conflict of interest that often occurs between the Central Government (Jakarta) and the Local Government (Papua). The legitimacy of local authorities becomes the foundations of the language policy and gave birth to great effect on the vitality of local political policies in the archipelago (cf. Warami, 2013b: 173). Construction of political language evoked in the UU Otsus Papua appears in the following quotations.

Excerpt (4.1):

Article 1 Item t: ***Orang Asli Papua** adalah orang yang berasal dari rumpun ras Melanesia yang terdiri dari suku-suku asli di Provinsi Papua dan/atau orang yang diterima dan diakui sebagai orang asli Papua oleh masyarakat adat Papua.*

‘Papua native is a person who comes from Melanesian race group consisting of native tribes in Papua and/or received and recognized as indigenous Papuans’

Article 1 Item u: ***Penduduk Provinsi Papua**, yang selanjutnya disebut Penduduk, adalah semua orang yang menurut ketentuan yang berlaku terdaftar sah bertempat tinggal di Provinsi Papua.*

‘The population of Papua Province, hereinafter referred to as residents, is everyone who is registered under the applicable provisions legitimately residing in the province of Papua’

Lexicon of **Native People of Papua** and **Residents of Papua Province** is a form of political discourse in the language on the subject of the UU Otsus Papua. The lexicons can be constructed on top of semantic features which became a symbol of language political power representation for the people of Papua, namely: (1) [+Papuan nationalism], (2) [+ reconciliation], (3) [+ rectification of history], (4) [+ Papuan identity], (5) [+ basic rights], (6) [+ Papua Special Autonomy], (7) [+ disintegration], (8)

[+ political ideology], and (9) [+ political status]. In addition, the lexicon of Papua native and residents of Papua Province is part of the subject of discourse containing semantic meanings as follows: (1) the people of Papua recognizes that the management and utilization of natural resources is not optimal and is unable to improve the lives of the people of Papua because of past policy which is centralized, (2) the people of Papua acknowledge that the Government ignores the well-being and the denial of basic rights of indigenous people, (3) the Papuan people are in need of reconciliation on the history of Papua unification with the Republic of Indonesia.

Excerpt (4.2):

Article 1 Item b : *Otonomi Khusus adalah kewenangan khusus yang diakui dan diberikan kepada Provinsi Papua untuk mengatur dan mengurus kepentingan masyarakat setempat menurut prakarsa sendiri berdasarkan aspirasi dan hak-hak dasar masyarakat Papua.*

‘Specific Autonomy is the authority that is recognized and granted to Papua Province to manage and take care of the interests of local people own initiative based on the aspirations and fundamental rights of the Papuan people’

Article 1 Item g: *Majelis Rakyat Papua yang selanjutnya disebut MRP adalah representasi kultural orang asli Papua yang memiliki wewenang tertentu dalam rangka perlindungan hak-hak orang asli Papua dengan berlandaskan pada penghormatan terhadap adat dan budaya, perempuan, dan pemantapan kerukunan hidup beragama.*

‘**Majelis Rakyat Papua** (Papua People's Assembly) hereinafter referred as MRP is the cultural representation of Papuans who have certain powers in order to protect the rights of the indigenous Papuan based on respect for the customs and culture, women, and strengthening religious harmony’

Article 1 h Item : *Lambang Daerah adalah panji kebesaran dan simbol kultural bagi kemegahan dan jati diri orang Papua dalam bentuk bendera daerah dan lagu daerah yang tidak diposisikan sebagai simbol kedaulatan.*

‘Regional symbol is honored banner and cultural symbols for the greatness and Papuans' identity in the form of regional flag and folk songs that are not positioned as a symbol of sovereignty’

Article 3 Paragraph 6: *Di dalam provinsi Papua dapat ditetapkan untuk **kawasan khusus** yang diatur dalam peraturan perundang-undangan atas usul provinsi.*

‘In the province of Papua a special area could be set regulated in the legislation based on the proposal of the province.’

Otonomi Khusus, Majelis Rakyat Papua, Lambang Daerah, Kawasan Khusus

in (4.2) above is the fact that the language is packed into a legitimacy of political language that is semantically interpreted as follows: (1) specific policy for Papua is inseparable from the long history of friction that occurs between the central and the regional governments, (2) sentiment of injustice that has spawned Papua political opposition in the past which led to the disintegration process, and (3) reflection of partiality and weakness of the state in realizing the ideals and objectives of the united nation of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

Excerpt (4.3):

Article 58 Paragraph 1: *Pemerintah Provinsi berkewajiban membina, mengembangkan dan melestarikan **keragaman bahasa dan sastra daerah** guna mempertahankan dan meningkatkan jati diri orang Papua.*

‘The Provincial Government is obliged to foster, develop and preserving diversity of languages and literature in order to maintain and enhance the identity of the Papuans’

Article 58 Paragraph 2: *Selain **bahasa Indonesia** sebagai **bahasa nasional**, **bahasa Inggris** ditetapkan sebagai **bahasa kedua** di semua jenjang pendidikan.*

‘In addition to Indonesian as the national language, English language is defined as a second language at all levels of education’

Article 58 Paragraph 3: **Bahasa daerah** dapat digunakan sebagai **bahasa pengantar** jenjang pendidikan dasar sesuai kebutuhan

‘Local languages can be used as a language of instruction in basic education as needed’

Keragaman bahasa dan sastra daerah, bahasa Indonesia, bahasa nasional, bahasa Inggris, bahasa daerah, and bahasa pengantar in the above quotation (4.3) is a language fact packed into a form of political legitimacy which is semantically interpreted not to reflect the kind of comprehensive language planning in the UU Otsus Papua, but instead ignore the five determinants of the implementation of language planning, such as (1) social demographics, (2) language, (3) psychology of the community, (4) politics, and (5) religion (cf. Ibrahim, 2013: 1). Referring to the quotation (4.3) above, in the perspective of linguistics (sociolinguistics), the people of Papua belong the two categories of linguistic situations, namely (1) personal bilingualism , and (2) communal bilingualism. Personal bilingualism is a category of people in which due to personal mobility, allow themselves individually acquire a second language after their native language (mother tongue). Meanwhile, communal bilingual category is a linguistic situation in which the public has been given or naturally formed using two or more languages.

4.2 Functions of Political Language

Politics of language in the UU Otsus Papua plays its humanitarian mission as a means of legal products legitimacy and as a result of value-free consensus because it has been distorted by the interests of the state with the aim of resolving political conflicts that occur in people of Papua. Language can be used as a means of political legitimacy for the user, development, enhancement, and protection of the people of Papua as a form of self expression in a space of nation and state experience within the framework of NKRI. On the basis of the legitimacy, it can be formulated that the political functions of language of the UU Otsus Papua as follows: (1) as a form of recognition and respect for the Papuans' identity, (2) a form of semantic-philosophical meaning dignified identity, (3) form of alignments as part of Indonesian citizens in the statutory provisions, and (4) a medium that bridges the gap central (Jakarta) and the regional (Papua). The construction of political functions of language in the UU Otsus Papua appears in the following excerpt.

Excerpt (4.4):

Preamble clause c: *bahwa sistem pemerintahan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia menurut Undang-Undang Dasar 1945 **mengakui dan menghormati satuan-satuan pemerintahan daerah yang bersifat khusus atau bersifat istimewa** yang diatur dalam Undang-Undang.*
'that the system of government of the Republic of Indonesia under the Act of 1945 recognizes and respects the local government units that are special or extraordinary stipulated in the Act'

Preamble clause d: *bahwa integrasi bangsa dalam wadah Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia harus tetap dipertahankan dengan **menghargai kesetaraan dan keragaman kehidupan sosial budaya masyarakat Papua** melalui penetapan daerah Otonomi Khusus.*
'that the integration of the nation within the NKRI (Unitary State Republic of Indonesia) must be maintained with respect to equality and diversity of social and cultural life of the community through the establishment of Otonomi Khusus (Specific Autonomy for Papua)'

Preamble clause h: *bahwa dalam rangka **mengurangi kesenjangan** antara Provinsi Papua dengan Provinsi lain, dan **meningkatkan taraf hidup masyarakat di Provinsi Papua, serta memberikan kesempatan kepada penduduk asli**, diperlukan adanya **kebijakan khusus** dalam kerangka Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia.*
'that in order to reduce the gap between the Province Papua province, and improve living standards for people in Papua, as well as providing opportunities to the natives, takes a special policy within the framework of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia'

Mengakui and menghormati satuan-satuan pemerintahan daerah yang bersifat khusus or bersifat istimewa, menghargai kesetaraan and keragaman kehidupan sosial budaya masyarakat Papua, mengurangi kesenjangan, meningkatkan taraf hidup, memberikan kesempatan kepada penduduk asli, and kebijakan khusus on citations (4.4) above are language facts that are packed into the legitimacy of the political functions of language of the Indonesian Government over the people of Papua that are semantically interpreted as (1) the guardian of national unity, (2) a political ties capable of knitting ethnic diversity in Indonesia, (3) a golden bridge for the entire region of the archipelago, and (4) a means to enclose the potential disintegration.

The political function of language in the lexicon constructions above, remind all components of the nation that anyone who calls himself "Indonesia", has to have the

same rights and obligations towards the nation, language and culture of Indonesia, i.e. has the right as a nation and the right to color the nation , language and culture with their colorful ethnic groups. To that end, the politics of language also serves as a means of maintaining the integrity of the Indonesian nation. Thus, the politics of language function remained significant in all aspects of national life.

5. Conclusions

Based on the descriptions above, some conclusions could be made. *First*, politics of language is a means of political legitimacy of regional government that becomes the foundations of the local language policy resulting in a large effect on the viability of local policy. *Second*, the function of politics of language consists of four, including (1) as a form of recognition and respect for the Papuans' identity, (2) as a form of semantic-philosophical meaning dignified identity, (3) as a form of alignments as part of Indonesian citizens in the statutory provisions , and (4) as a medium that bridges the gap between the central (Jakarta) and regional (Papua) governments. *Third*, the system of language politics constructed in the UU Otsus Papua guarantees equality, participation, and political freedom through language (discourse or text) in the space of democracy in Indonesia. *Fourth*, the establishment of political and legal discourse through politics of language is heavily laden with political hegemony and manipulation that would only result in “false understanding” in serving the interests of the ruler (the actor).

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