
A DISCURSIVE STRATEGY TO MAINTAIN THE CULTURAL ISLAM-POLITICAL ISLAM POWER RELATION IN INDONESIA IN TRIWIKROMO'S "LENGTU LENGMUA" (2012)

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to reveal the discursive play of the short story "Lengtu Lengmua" (2012) by Triyanto Triwikromo in maintaining the unequal power relation in Indonesia. The study is carried out on the basis of Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis that elaborates intertextuality theory and social theory of discourse. The research questions are what discourses influence "Lengtu Lengmua"'s *celeng* construction? and what political interests are supported and legitimized by "Lengtu Lengmua"'s *celeng* construction? It is a descriptive qualitative study for which data were collected using a note-taking technique. The relationships between data are elucidated by describing how the text of the short story, its production and the interpretation process are connected to the prevailing social conditions in Indonesia. The results show that: (1) "Lengtu Lengmua" represents, manipulates, negates, and transcends the discourse that sees that "*celeng* is a despicable animal" from the texts of *Berburu Celeng* (1998), *Celeng Dhegleng* (1998), and *Tak Enteni Keplokmu* (2000); and (2) to generate a notion of *celeng* as a noble animal, "Lengtu Lengmua" also configures the existing discourse conventions, namely conventions that are related to magical realism, Javanese society, children, Islamic shari'ah, and Islamic makrifat. These two results indicate that "Lengtu Lengmua" gives a new meaning to *celeng* and recontextualizes the *celeng*, which in previous texts is associated with human greed (i.e. capitalistic and corrupt), in religious issues especially those related to the contradiction between political Islam and cultural Islam. In turn, this discursive play has contributed to the formation of political Islam-cultural Islam power relation in recent years in Indonesia where cultural Islam occupies a dominant position.

Keywords: *Fairclough, discourse, celeng, political Islam-cultural Islam, "Lengtu Lengmua"*

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap permainan diskursif cerpen "Lengtu Lengmua" (2012) karya Triyanto Triwikromo dalam pemertahanan relasi kuasa yang tidak setara di Indonesia. Kajian dalam penelitian ini mengacu pada Analisis Wacana Kritis dari Norman Fairclough yang mengelaborasi teori intertekstualitas dan teori sosial wacana. Pertanyaan yang ingin dijawab dalam penelitian ini adalah wacana apa yang memengaruhi konstruksi celeng "Lengtu Lengmua" dan kepentingan politik apa yang didukung dan dilegitimasi oleh konstruksi celeng "Lengtu Lengmua". Kajian ini menggunakan metode penjabaran deskriptif kualitatif dan teknik pengumpulan data simak-catat. Hubungan antardata dikaji melalui deskripsi atau penjelasan bagaimana teks cerpen, proses produksi dan interpretasinya berkaitan dengan kondisi sosial yang melatar belakangi cerita dalam cerpen. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa (1) "Lengtu Lengmua" merepresentasikan, memanipulasi, menegasikan, dan melampaui wacana "celeng adalah hewan hina" dari teks *Berburu Celeng* (1998), *Celeng Dhegleng* (1998), dan *Tak Enteni Keplokmu* (2000); (2) "Lengtu Lengmua" juga mengonfigurasi konvensi-konvensi wacana yang ada untuk menghasilkan konstruksi celeng sebagai hewan mulia, yaitu konvensi wacana realisme magis, masyarakat Jawa, anak-anak, Islam

syariat, dan Islam makrifat. Kedua hasil penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa “Lengtu Lengmua” memberikan makna baru atas celeng dan membawa representasi celeng, yang pada teks-teks sebelumnya diidentikkan dengan kerakusan manusia yang kapitalistik dan korup, ke dalam konteks persoalan keagamaan khususnya yang terkait dengan pertentangan antara Islam politik dan Islam kultural. Pada gilirannya, permainan diskursif ini berkontribusi pada pembentukan relasi kuasa Islam politik-Islam kultural pada tahun-tahun terakhir di Indonesia di mana Islam kultural menduduki posisi yang dominan.

Keywords: Fairclough, wacana, celeng, Islam politik-Islam kultural, “Lengtu Lengmua”

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the Reformation Era, the idiom “wild boar” (“*celeng*”) as a symbol of greed has emerged. This begins with the painting *Berburu Celeng* (1998) by Djoko Pekik, which makes the fat black *celeng* an analogy for the ruler of the New Order. Pekik’s work was then followed by the puppet show *Celeng Dhegleng* (1998) by Ki Manteb Soedharsono and the fictional work *Tak Enteni Keplokmu: Tanpa Bunga and Telegram Duka* (2000) by Sindhunata. Both expand the meaning of the *celeng* symbol, not only referring to the ruler of the New Order, Soeharto, but also to all the greed that exists in every human being. This was popularized by the phrase “if one is a boar, everybody is a boar” (“*celeng satu celeng semua*”) in a sense of “one bad apple spoils the whole bunch”. These three works construct *celeng* as greedy animals, full of arrogant lust, dirty, disgusting, and thus, despicable.

Subsequently, in 2012, a work that contains the phrase “*celeng satu celeng semua*” appeared again, namely the short story titled “Lengtu Lengmua” (the acronym for “*celeng satu celeng semua*”) by Triyanto Triwikromo. However, instead of bringing back *celeng* as a symbol of greed, Triwikromo narrates the *celeng* as a heavenly animal, a noble animal. In so doing, he has taken a path that is opposite to the three works of his predecessors. If we see it from the perspective of Cultural Studies, particularly the Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Norman Fairclough, Triwikromo can be considered constructing a *celeng* symbolization through his textual practice (Fairclough, 2009). However, if we adopt Fairclough’s view, we can also say that there must be other forces outside Triwikromo, called discourses, which influence his way of constructing *celeng* symbolization (Fairclough, 2009). Furthermore, Fairclough adds that this construction will in turn lead to the legitimacy of certain political interests as a larger dimension that surrounds a literary work (Fairclough, 2009).

Norman Fairclough is a linguist and social scientist who tries to explore language more critically in relation to its existence in the social world. He focuses his research on language and its relationship with power, particularly the relationship between the use of language and the unequal power relations that occur in the modern world. The objectives of this study are (1) to explain the significance that language has in producing, maintaining and changing power relations in the social world and (2) to explain how language contributes to the domination of one party by another in the social world because awareness of this will lead to a form of emancipation (Fairclough, 1996) “publisher”: “Longman Inc”, “publisher-place”: “New York”, “title”: “Language and Power”, “author”: “{“family”: “Fairclough”, “given”: “Norman”}”, “issued”: “{“date-parts”: “[“1996”]”}”, “schema”: “https://github.com/citation-style-language/schema/raw/master/csl-citation.json” . Later, Fairclough refers to such language studies as critical language studies, which construes language as a discourse. This study implies three dimensions of linguistic analysis, namely textual practice analysis, discursive practice analysis, and social practice analysis.

This study will only focus on the discursive practice of “Lengtu Lengmua”. Discursive practice analysis has an important role in mediating the relationship between text and its socio-cultural context. Discursive practice is part of the hegemonic struggle that provides a role for the reproduction and transformation of discourse (Fairclough, 1996). In relation to the focus of this study, discursive practice analysis emphasizes what actually happens in the text production process that constructs the *celeng* as a noble animal.

Discursive practice analysis pays attention to the discussion of the intertextuality of the text. Kristeva proposed the term intertextuality in the late

1960s, which was developed from Bakhtin's thought that every text is a part of a large communication chain. Therefore, text is constituted by elements from other texts (Fairclough, 2009). In addition, Kristeva observes that intertextuality implies the linkage of history to the text and the linkage of the text to history (Kristeva & Moi, 1986). This linkage of text and historicity makes it play an important role in socio-cultural change. The tight transformation and restructuring of the textual tradition and discourse order is a striking contemporary phenomenon which suggests that intertextuality should be the main focus in the analysis of discursive practice.

Fairclough adopts the opinion of Maingueneau which divides the discussion of intertextuality into two, namely manifest intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality (interdiscursivity) (Fairclough, 2009). In manifest intertextuality, other texts are presented explicitly in the text being analyzed. Manifest intertextuality is in relation to discourse representation, presupposition, negation, metadiscourse, and irony (Fairclough, 2009). Interdiscursivity is the configuration of discourse conventions that takes place in the production process of a text. Interdiscursivity pays attention to the discursive formation of a text.

The collection of the verbal data related to the construction of *celeng* from the characters in "Lengtu Lengmua" was carried out using the note-taking technique. "Lengtu Lengmua" itself is included in the Collection of Short Stories *Celeng Satu Celeng Semua* by Triyanto Triwikromo, published by PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama in 2013. This book contains ten short stories by Triwikromo selected by Kompas from 2003 to 2012. The analysis of data is carried out by looking at the relationship between data. The relationship is revealed through a description of relationship between short story text, its production and interpretation process, and social conditions.

In order to explain the position of this study and its novelty among the studies that have been carried out on "Lengtu Lengmua", the researcher presents the following literature review. First, the article written by Fitri Sis Nariswari with the title "Kumpulan Cerpen *Celeng Satu Celeng Semua* Karya Triyanto Triwikromo: Sebuah Metafora Tuhan". This study reveals the position of "Lengtu Lengmua" in the realm of prophetic literature as suggested by Kuntowijoyo (Nariswari, 2019). Second, the article

written by Elen Anggun Kusuma with the title "World View about Spiritualism in the Short Stories Collection *Celeng Satu Celeng Semua* by Triyanto Triwikromo". This study focuses on Triwikromo's world view regarding spiritualism on the basis of the genetic structuralist theory (Kusuma, 2016). Third, the article written by Haerany Widiarti Eligia, A. Totok Priyadi, and Ahmad Rabi'ul Muzammil with the title "Unsur Retorika dalam Kumpulan Cerita Pendek *Celeng Satu Celeng Semua* Karya Triyanto Triwikromo". This study describes the use of rhetorical elements in *Celeng Satu Celeng Semua* in relation to the creation of aesthetic effects (Eligia et al., 2015). These three studies actually discuss a collection of short stories *Celeng Satu Celeng Semua* in which "Lengtu Lengmua" is one part of it. These three studies have not specifically focused on "Lengtu Lengmua"'s direct involvement in the social world. Therefore, the present study on "Lengtu Lengmua" with Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis as a methodological approach here seeks to contextualize the short story in the issue of social practice. It attempts to treat the short story as a discourse that is both formed by and forms the social structures and relations in which it is situated.

There have been a lot of researches using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis in Indonesia. The following works are some of those researches. First, the research entitled "Analisis Wacana Kritis Fairclough: Kasus Tajuk Rencana mengenai Bahasa Bali" conducted by Faruk from Gadjah Mada University in 2018. This research reveals the efforts to maintain dominant and hegemonic power and economic relations in Bali that are reflected in an editorial text about the Balinese language (Faruk, 2018). Second, the research entitled "Prinsip Jalan Tengah 'Zhong Yong' Lu Xun: Pendekatan Analisis Wacana Kritis" conducted by Neni Kurniawati. This research reveals Lu Xun's efforts, through his works of fiction and essay, in transforming Western values and Chinese traditionalism into an ideology that is more suitable for Chinese culture as well as a way to achieve harmony in Chinese society and women's emancipation after the 4-May-1919 Reformation (Kurniawati, 2018). Third, a research entitled "Bencana Lumpur Lapindo: Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough" conducted by Moulidvi Rizki Permita from Gadjah Mada University in 2019. This research reveals the efforts to maintain power relations between PT. Lapindo Brantas and the people affected by the Sidoarjo Lapindo mudflow that

are reflected in a news text published in *VIVAnews.co.id* (Permita, 2019). Fourth, research entitled "Korupsi dalam Wacana Pers Lokal: Analisis Wacana Kritis Norman Fairclough terhadap Teks Berita Kasus Hambalang tahun 2013 pada Surat Kabar *Malang Post*" conducted by Alda Laseta Ayatullah from Brawijaya University Malang in 2014. This study reveals the efforts to maintain power relations between capitalistic and politically oriented media owners and the *Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi* (KPK) that are reflected in a news text published in *Malang Post* (Ayatullah, 2014). From these studies, it can be inferred that Critical Discourse Analysis of Indonesian literary works has not been carried out so far, so the study presented in this article is a very important contribution to the discussion of the active role of literary works in maintaining unequal power relations in Indonesia.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to reveal the contribution that "Lengtu Lengmua" make to social change through its discursive play by presenting two research questions: (1) what discourses that influence "Lengtu Lengmua"'s *celeng* construction?; and (2) what political interests are supported and legitimized by "Lengtu Lengmua"'s *celeng* construction?

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

"Lengtu Lengmua"'s Discursive Strategy in the Symbolic Construction of *Celeng*

In order to comprehend Triwikromo's discursive play in constructing a new understanding of *celeng*, it is necessary to analyze the manifest intertextuality and the interdiscursivity of "Lengtu Lengmua". Manifest intertextuality is a way to see other texts that influence the short story.

The first discussion of discourse representation puts forward the idea that when someone 'reports' a discourse, he will necessarily choose to represent it in one way rather than another (Fairclough, 2009). Thus, discourse representation requires two components, namely 'representing discourse' and 'represented discourse'. The representing discourse forces its interpretation of the represented discourse. In this context, the representing discourse is "Lengtu Lengmua", while the represented discourses are *Berburu Celeng* (BC), *Celeng Dhegleng* (CD), and *Tak Enteni Keplokmu: Tanpa Bunga dan Telegram Duka* (TEKTBDTD). *Berburu Celeng* presents the *celeng* as

a symbol of greed. In the painting, a fat black *celeng* is tied up to a bamboo pole which is carried by two men who have been emaciated from hunger. Surrounding them is a big crowd of people, rejoicing. Their *celeng* hunting is successful. The social context of the painting is the fall of the New Order and its greedy ruler. The fat black *celeng* is a symbol of that ruler. The play "Pandu Swarga" in the puppet show *CD* also tells the story of Pandu Dewanata as a *celeng* because in order to indulge his desires, he makes a fatal mistake of shooting a pair of gazelles who are in love and turning the sacred Andini Ox into a ride to have fun with his queen, Madrim. The *celeng*, which in *BC* was a symbol of the greedy New Order ruler, is featured by Sindhunata in his novel, *TEKTBDTD*, but its meaning is extended to include greed that actually exists in every human being. In 2012, these significations are represented by Triwikromo in "Lengtu Lengmua" through the following clause: "Atau mereka menolak berdekatan dengan *celeng* karena satwa itu dianggap sebagai simbol kerakusan dan keserakahan (Or they refuse to be close to *celeng* because the animal is considered a symbol of greed)" (Triwikromo, 2013).

"Lengtu Lengmua" represents the discourse of "the greedy *celeng*" in *BC*, *CD*, and *TEKTBDTD*, but modified its meaning by the reinterpretation of it and the particular tone in conveying the discourse. There are indications of scorn against the discourse in the text of "Lengtu Lengmua".

The second discussion on presupposition deals with ways of presenting propositions that are based on other texts that reflect public opinion, what people tend to say, and an accumulated textual experience (Fairclough, 2009). In Fairclough's perspective, presuppositions are an effective way to manipulate people because they are often difficult to argue against. "Lengtu Lengmua" contains a presupposition in its narrative text which says that the children in the village, who are full of *zikir* and *sholawat*, are happy with the arrival of the *celeng*. In this regard, the author espouses the general assumption that children are honest human beings and thus implies the presupposition that only dishonest humans dislike *celeng*. Another similar presupposition that the text of this short story creates is to be found in the part where Kiai Siti, who is said to be a polite scholar, does not reject the presence of *celeng* in his village. This part presupposes that only people who are immoral and stupid reject the presence of the *celeng*.

The third discussion on negation highlights the incorporation of other texts into a text only in order to contest and reject it (Fairclough, 2009). "Lengtu Lengmua" contains intratextual negation which then moves to intertextual negation. In the short story's text, Triwikromo presents one part that rejects the other parts. The sentence "Dalam mimpi mereka, *celeng-celeng* itu adalah raja *imut* yang sama sekali tidak akan pernah menusukkan taring kepada satwa lunak bernama manusia (In their dreams, the boars are the cutest creature who would absolutely never thrust their fangs into human)" (Triwikromo, 2013) is a negation to the previous part of the text which appears in the sentence "Semua itu bermula dari Ustad Rosyid, seorang yang dianggap paling suci di kota, pingsan setelah diseruduk *celeng* yang terlepas dari pusat pembiakan babi liar (It all started when Ustad Rosyid, who is considered the holiest man in the city, fainted after being rammed by a wild boar that had escaped from a wild boar breeding center)" (Triwikromo, 2013). Likewise, the following Kiai Siti's statement rejects the previous part of the text in the form of an uproar among the villagers about the presence of *celeng* as well as Rajab's concern and prejudice against *celeng*: "*Celeng-celeng* itu akan mati kalau Allah tak menghendaki! (The boars will die if Allah is not willing!)" and "Kalau Allah tak menghendaki wabah itu datang, kampung kita akan aman... (If Allah doesn't want the plague to come, our village will be safe...)" (Triwikromo, 2013). In this case, there is a dispute regarding the *celeng*, whether it is dangerous or not. Triwikromo tries to negate the view that *celeng* is a dangerous animal by presenting another view that is contrary to it, namely the view of the children and Kiai Siti. Triwikromo seems to side with the negation to the view that *celeng* is dangerous and have to be eliminated. This inference is based on the implication that he relies on the truth of the negation for which the children serve as a symbol of honesty and Allah, the God, is construed as a symbol of the highest authority of truth, as affirmed by Kiai Siti.

From the intratextual-negation relationship, the researcher moves to the intertextual-negation relationship in which "Lengtu Lengmua" is put into perspective with the texts that preceded it, namely *BC*, *CD*, and *TEKTBDTD*. "Lengtu Lengmua" rejects the previous texts that view *celeng* as a creature that must be hunted down and eliminated (Pekik, 1998); a creature that is closely associated with

mistakes, depravity, and lust (Soedharsono, 1998); and a despicable and dirty creature (Sindhunata, 2000). By using the narrative of Kufah and other young children in the village as well as the narrative of Kiai Siti, "Lengtu Lengmua" rejects the meaning of *celeng* in the previous texts. *Celeng* is constructed as a heavenly animal through the eyes of children who are innocent. The presence of *celeng* in the village is also constructed to contain a value of goodness because, based on the views of Kiai Siti, the village elders and the polite cleric, everything that Allah wants to happen must have a purpose for the good of humanity itself.

The fourth discussion of metadiscourse implies that the speaker is positioned outside his own discourse, and in a position to control and manipulate it (Fairclough, 2009). "Lengtu Lengmua" tries to go beyond the discourse that considers *celeng* as a haram, unclean, and despicable animal as believed by villagers who obey Islamic law. For this, Triwikromo uses a way by which the expression of *celeng* as a haram, unclean, and despicable animal is described as the one belonging to another text, namely the text of Islamic law, particularly *fiqh*. In the text of Islamic law, some animals are forbidden to eat because of several reasons, including because of their fangs and filthiness. *Celeng* is one of those animals that fit the criteria. Al-Qur'an surah Al-Baqarah verse 173 states: "Surely Allah only forbids for you carrion, blood, pork, and animals which (when slaughtered) are called names other than Allah ...". Likewise, the Al-Qur'an surah Al-An'am verse 145 states: "Say: I do not get in the revelation given to me, something that is forbidden for people who want to eat it, unless the food is carcass, or blood that is flow, or pork, because actually they are dirty...". Furthermore, this short story also presents a certain convention against the *celeng* that Triwikromo brings up to generate a metadiscourse. It presents the convention about the *celeng* as a thief and a greedy animal, which is full of lust and noisy, but at the same time asserts that the author is outside the convention. This is indicated by the word "considered (dianggap)" which appears in the phrase: "...hewan yang dianggap sebagai paling rakus, suka mencuri, gemar kawin, dan selalu berisik itu (...the animal that is considered the greediest one; it likes to steal, likes to mate, and is always noisy)" (Triwikromo, 2013).

The fifth discussion on irony, which relates to the fact that a text ironically 'echoes' other texts (Fairclough, 2009), is not present in "Lengtu Lengmua".

Next, the analysis moves to the configuration of discourse conventions involved in the production process of "Lengtu Lengmua". This interdiscursivity analysis is related to the analysis of genre, type of activity, style, and discourse (Fairclough, 2009). "Lengtu Lengmua" deviates from the realism genre. It mixes real and magical elements that make this short story a literary work of magical realism. The characteristics of magical realism genre can be seen in how Triwikromo uses realist details to describe the miraculous phenomenon of *celeng* occurrence in the city. "Lengtu Lengmua" also contains magical expressions, such as 'mantra pembunuh (killing spell)' and '*celeng-celeng* yang telah kerasukan iblis (wild boars possessed by devil)' as well as comparison that jump into mythological realms, such as 'perahu Nuh (Noah's boat)'. "Lengtu Lengmua" also has a narrative element of defocalization, an element that offers various perceptions in seeing one thing, both realistic and fantastic perceptions. The magical world in "Lengtu Lengmua" interrupts the realist world that has been the center of modern thought. The realist, empirical and positivist that monopolize the authority of truth are shaken by dividing the truth into the mystical, supernatural, and spiritual that have been marginalized so far.

Certain genres are associated with certain types of activity. Type of activity implies the presence of 'structure' and 'subject position' (Fairclough, 2009). "Lengtu Lengmua" presents a structure that is composed of five elements, namely irreducible elements, phenomenal world, unsettling doubts, merging realms, and disruption of identity (Faris, 2004). The spread of the *celeng* plague that cannot be explained according to the laws of nature (irreducible element) but occurs in the real world (phenomenal world) lead the reader to an unsettling doubt in categorizing these events. "Lengtu Lengmua" also merge the two worlds (merging realms). This precipitates a confrontation between real world norms and supernatural norms, which in turn disturbs the reader's accepted ideas about identity (disruption of identity). The phenomenon of the spread of the *celeng* plague blurs the identity of the humans who are hit by the *celeng*. They are somewhere between their identity as human and their identity as *celeng*. Next, the structure of "Lengtu Lengmua" leads us to the problem of subject positions. Triwikromo incorporates magical and supernatural aspects that are marginalized in

the daily life of modern society into his narrative and put them in an equal position with aspects that have been placed in the central position in modern society, namely logical, realistic, and scientific aspects. This is Triwikromo's emancipatory action to elevate the position of tradition over the legal-formal-exclusive Islam.

Moreover, Halliday explains that a genre also tends to be associated with a certain style. Styles are categorized into tenor, mode, and rhetorical mode of the text (Fairclough, 2009). The style, in terms of rhetorical mode, constructs a relationship that tends to be asymmetrical between the author and the reader, but not completely because it still opens space for the subjectivity of the reader. In terms of tenor, "Lengtu Lengmua" uses a casual style characterized by the use of popular speech which implies a symmetrical relationship between the author and the reader. Likewise, in terms of mode, "Lengtu Lengmua" uses a written-as-if-spoken style and a conversational style which also imply a symmetrical relationship between author and reader.

The fourth type of element in interdiscursivity is discourse. Discourse points out the relevant area of knowledge as well as the particular way it is constituted (Fairclough, 2009). In "Lengtu Lengmua", the area of knowledge is *celeng*. It is constituted in four main perspectives, namely the perspective of Javanese society, the perspective of children, the perspective of Islamic shari'ah, and the perspective of Islamic makrifat. Regarding the perspective of Javanese society, Javanese people in general rank '*celeng*' in the first place for the strongest or most offensive type of curse word, surpassing '*asu* (dog)', '*kadal* (lizard)', and '*jangkrik* (cricket)'. Frequently, when a person is emotionally irritated or deeply upset because of a particular person, he would say "*celeng kowe!*" ("you are *celeng*!") to that person he is angry with. Javanese people are also familiar with the proverb "*cedhak celeng boloten*" in Javanese language and literature, which means a prohibition. This proverb signifies that if we get close to bad people, we will become an evil person. Here, *celeng* is considered analogous to the evil nature, because this animal is perceived as a destroyer and a thief (*babi ngepet*) in the Javanese life cycle (Kurnia, 2013). "Lengtu Lengmua" presents the discourse about *celeng* with the perspective of the Javanese society by pointing out a number of reasons why the government, the employees, the

city residents, Rajab, and the villagers repel *celeng* so strongly.

From the children's point of view, the *celeng* as an area of knowledge appears as a beautiful toy, a golden animal, an inseparable friend, the cutest creature, and a paradise animal. "Lengtu Lengmua" juxtaposes *celeng* with children. *Celeng* is narrated as a friend for children, and children are perceived as humans in a stage of development where they are still pure, innocent, honest, authentic, and not yet sinned. If they die, they would be sent to heaven right away. Pairing *celeng* with children raises the *celeng's* position. It is no longer a dirty and despicable animal because it has ascended to be a clean and heavenly creature.

From the perspective of Islamic shari'ah, *celeng* is classified as an unclean and haram animal. One of the arguments is found in the Al-Qur'an surah Al-An'am verse 145. "Lengtu Lengmua" presents Rajab as a representation of radical Islamic shari'ah. He strongly rejects the existence of *celeng* in his village. By pairing *celeng* with holy children and clashing *celeng* with Rajab, Triwikromo has purified *celeng* and at the same time polluted radical Islamic shari'ah.

From the perspective of Islamic makrifat, *celeng* is constituted as a noble animal because it is marginalized by the dirty world (Taimiyah, 1991). "Lengtu Lengmua" presents a narrative in which *celeng* is not rejected by Kiai Siti. Kiai Siti, as a representative of Islamic makrifat, shows an attitude of tolerance towards all differences in belief (Afifi, 1963). Kiai Siti is said to be a polite *kiai* by Triwikromo. He narrates Kiai Siti as a good person. Thus, if the *celeng* is accepted by someone who is socially constructed as a good person, then it has elevated by Triwikromo to be a good being too.

The Influence of "Lengtu Lengmua"'s Celeng Construction to the Cultural Islam-Political Islam Power Relation in Indonesia

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis implies the existence of a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure as well as a relationship between social practices in general and social structures because actions are conditioned by and at the same time have an effect on social structures (Faruk, 2018). Discursive practice analysis has shown that Triwikromo gives a new meaning to the *celeng*.

He recontextualizes the *celeng* in religious issues especially those related to the conflict between Islamic makrifat and Islamic shari'ah, in the sense of cultural Islam and political Islam. This is the *celeng* that have been featured in the works of Pekik, Soedharsono, and Sindhunata that identify it with human greed, i.e. the capitalistic and corrupt behavior. If we look further into the past, we will find a contradiction between traditionalist Islam and modernist Islam (Thaba, 1996), or in other terms, universal Islam and local Islam respectively (Azra, 1999). Traditionalist Islam is an act of accommodating old traditions into Islam while modernist Islam is a movement of renewal, reformism, orthodoxy, and revitalization as an attempt to reconcile the past and the future on the basis of the Qur'an and Sunnah. Modernist Islamic movement in Indonesia was marked by the establishment of Muhammadiyah in 1926 with the main goal of eradicating superstition (*khurafat*) and heresy (*bid'ah*). Historically, this movement drew a significant reaction from traditionalist Islamic groups, and as a result, a rival social organization was established, namely Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which seeks to bring local culture and Islamic teachings together. Through NU, the concept of Islam Nusantara was born (Ubaid & Bakir, 2015). However, these two organizations still do not run on the basis of commitment to nationalism. Both fight for the betterment of society through cultural channels, not politics.

"Lengtu Lengmua" was born in 2011, during the Reformation Era which has replaced the repressive and authoritative New Order Government since May 1998. The Reformation era was the beginning of a liberal and open democratic system. Through the civil society movement (Hikam, 1996), the Reformation Era succeeded in turning the situation around, from what was previously the State at the top to the people at the top. In this era of freedom, several radical and fundamental transnational Islamic groups emerged (or re-emerged) such as the *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (IM), *Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia* (HTI), and *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI). The emergence of these Islamic groups has in turn become the impetus to the birth of horizontal conflicts because of the political Islam movement they brought about (Islamism) (Adiwilaga, 2017). While NU and Muhammadiyah continue to make national commitment their main grounds, transnational fundamentalist Islamic groups want to maintain

ukhuwah Islamiyah (Muslims brotherhood) more than *ukhuwah wathaniyah* (national brotherhood), which has a number of implications for the stability and existence of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia (NKRI).

Myengkyo Seo says that the Asian financial crisis in 1997 and the fall of Soeharto in May 1998 brought about an increase in violence and crime, which emerged from Indonesia's religious area (Renhoard, 2019). After the Reformation, Islamist groups became in opposition to NU and Muhammadiyah (Rafiuddin, 2015).

Daulay observes that in the Reformation Era, there were efforts to replace the first principle of Pancasila with the first principle set forth in the *Piagam Jakarta* and to propose laws that were based on Islamic sharia in various regions, which were considered successful in the 1998-2013 period (Renhoard, 2019). In addition, several mass organizations have also put pressure on and closed down churches using SKB No. 1 of 1969, which was revised in 2006, regarding the construction of houses of worship as a legal basis. This act exemplifies discrimination against minority religious groups. Other discrimination was affected by the 1973 Marriage Law.

During the New Order era, public activities were censored by the State, whereas during the Reformation Era, they were censored by Islamist mass organizations. *Front Pembela Islam* (FPI) is a phenomenal example. Claiming that they use sharia as a guideline, they decide to become a kind of moral police who can judge whether particular individuals and groups, or even companies, have violated Islamic law (Administrator Tempo, 2000). Besides FPI, there is also MUI, an authoritative religious organization that can determine whether particular products, actions, knowledge, and thoughts are halal or haram using sharia as a guide too. Several MUI products—such as the *fatwa* about the negative effects of pornography; the *fatwa* about deviant sect; the *fatwa* on the prohibition of pluralism, liberalism and secularism (Rahardjo, 2005); and the *fatwa* prohibiting collective prayer, especially those led by non-Muslims—has a lot of influence on the government's policies and in turn threatens the survival of the marginalized groups such as victims of sexual exploitation and adherents of certain religious beliefs (Rosyada, 2020). In relation to the media, after the downfall of President Soeharto, printing and literature were free to publish left-wing

books, writings containing criticism of the authorities, works of women writers, works with LGBT themes, and so on for about five to seven years. However, three or five years later, publishers and writers were again getting constrained with the increasing number of works that breathed Islamic sharia as well as the outbreak of religious-based violence (Prasetya, 2018).

"Lengtu Lengmua" was born in such a situation where the New Order had collapsed, the State weakened, and horizontal conflicts between civilians increased. Media and companies were not protected by the State. Those that later predominated in number were mass organizations based on Islamic shari'ah with a focus on the application of guidelines that are superficial rather than substantial in nature.

Such social structures and relationships show their influence clearly in the discursive practice of the short story, which puts the meaning of *celeng* in a religious context instead of associating it with greed.

However, this short story, of course, together with various other forces, also generate hopes for a return to a powerful State that can control civil society organizations, especially those which are religiously based and oriented towards Islamic radical and fundamental movement. For this reason, Triwikromo mobilizes a discourse of nationalism by raising the issue of nativism. The issue of nativism was raised by mobilizing the discourse of *Islam Nusantara*, presented by Gus Dur. In relation to nationalism, *Islam Nusantara* was a movement that wanted to maintain *ukhuwah wathaniyah* (national brotherhood) over *ukhuwah Islamiyah* (Muslims brotherhood) as mobilized by transnational fundamentalist Islamic groups. Efforts to unite Islamic values with local values and to take the essence of Islam and filter its Arabic culture created the term '*Islam Indonesia*' which was then positioned in the context of modern Indonesia as a nation-state based on Pancasila with a democratic government system (Ubaid & Bakir, 2015). Thus, the discourse of *Islam Nusantara* is expected to be able to oppose and suppress the discourse of Islamism.

However, Triwikromo's action to bring back the issue of nativism turns out to be a form of mindset that is hegemonic by the discourse of colonialism, especially Orientalism. The act of defending Islamic makrifat (cultural Islam) more than Islamic shari'ah (legal-formal-exclusive political Islam) has actually been carried out by a French Orientalist, Massignon. He focuses on Islamic mysticism which he claims truer

than the orthodox Islam. The implication of his study is that the essence of the difference between West and East is the difference between modernity and ancient tradition. From Massignon's perspective, the Islamic East is connected to ancient times, while the West to modern age (Said, 2003). "Lengtu Lengmua" adopts Massignon's view.

Furthermore, Samsul Maarif explains that the defense for political Islam rather than non-political Islam was a product of Dutch policy which began in 1901 on the advice of an Orientalist named Snouck Hurgronje to perpetuate the stability of colonial power in the Dutch East Indies. Political Islam should be suppressed, whereas non-political Islam was allowed to develop by the colonial government. By cooperating with traditional groups, the Dutch warded off political resistance from militant Islam groups. This policy eventually gave birth to a strong polarization in Indonesian society, namely that between Islam and tradition (Amrullah, 2017).

This mindset played a role in what happened in the 2014 and 2019 political contestation between Joko Widodo's camp, which was mostly supported by nationalist and traditionalist groups, and Prabowo Subianto's camp, which was mostly supported by Islamist and modernist groups. Thus, this short story can certainly be seen as participating in shaping the perception of Joko Widodo and his support groups (dubbed *cebong*) and Prabowo Subianto and his support groups (dubbed *kampret*) as well as in the victory of the Joko Widodo camp and his government's decision to re-acknowledge groups that have been marginalized due to the dominance of political Islamic groups like the *Aliran Kepercayaan* that has its root in the Nusantara tradition as well as to the weakening of the power of political Islam.

In November 2017, the Constitutional Court approved a lawsuit by adherents of *Aliran Kepercayaan* in accordance with *Undang-Undang Nomor 24 Tahun 2013* (Law Number 24 of 2013) regarding Population Administration which requires filling in the religion column on the KTP (id card). With this legal approval, adherents of *Aliran Kepercayaan* could finally list their belief in the religion column after a long period of time their belief was discriminated against by the government by not allowing it to be included in their id cards (KTPs). At the 2019 National Christmas celebration, Joko Widodo said that in this Pancasila country the State guarantees freedom of religion and

faith (Faiz, 2019).

At the same time, during the first period of Joko Widodo's administration, there began to be a resentment from the political Islam that Joko Widodo's political policies were detrimental to Muslims' position (Sahid, 2019). In Joko Widodo era, *Perppu Nomor 2 Tahun 2017* (Government Regulation Number 2 of 2017) concerning Mass Organization was issued. With this *Perppu*, the government has a legal basis to dissolve any mass organization that is not approved by the regime. HTI is the first Islamist movement to be imposed by the *Perppu*. The dissolution did not go through a court process (Stefanie, 2017). Joko Widodo signed this *Perppu* on July 10, 2017 to replace *UU Nomor 17 Tahun 2013* (Law Number 17 of 2013) because this law was considered less effective in regulating matters that are contrary to Pancasila and UUD 1945. Attacks against Islamist movement then continued in the second period of Joko Widodo's government. On December 30, 2020, his government officially banned all the activities of FPI and dissolved it. The termination of activities and dissolution are stipulated in *Surat Keputusan Bersama* (SKB) or a Joint Decree signed by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Minister of Law and Human Rights, Minister of Communication and Information Technology, Head of the Indonesian Police, Attorney General, and Head of the National Counterterrorism Agency (Yahya, 2020).

Unlike the FPI, NU and Muhammadiyah are still legally in existence because of their strong commitment to the State and their willingness to negotiate their values with the national values that exist in NKRI. With NU's four social attitudes (*al-tawasuth*/middle *wa al-i'tidal*/straight, *tasamuh*/tolerant, *tawazun*/balanced, and *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar*) (Muhammad, 2017) and with Muhammadiyah's inclusive attitude (Tanthowi, 2019), both have the aspiration to build civil society through the cultural realm. Their policies are accommodating to the State's values, but they are critical to the various policies taken by the government. The submission of political aspirations is also not carried out in legalistic-formalistic-exclusive forms by presenting strong religious symbols as is done by transnational fundamentalist Islamic groups.

CONCLUSION

Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis of "Lengtu Lengmua" results in the conclusion that

Triwikromo, through his discursive practice, gives a new meaning to the *celeng* and recontextualizes the *celeng*, which has been featured previously in the works of Pekik, Soedharsono, and Sindhunata to signify human greed that is capitalistic and corrupt, in religious issues, especially those related to the conflict between political Islam and cultural Islam. In the context of the structural and social relations that existed when “Lengtu Lengmua” was born,—in 2011 or 23 years after the exhibition of Djoko Pekik’s *Berburu Celeng* was held—this short story is not only a discursive practice, but also a social practice which is influenced by and at the same time intends to influence the existing social structures and relations. This short story is a social practice that is influenced by social structures and relations in the early Reformation Era where conflicts between civilians were heating up, especially those based on religion. A lot of violence in the name of Islamism occurred when this short story was born, which in turn sacrificed followers of minority beliefs in Indonesia.

However, this short story also forms the structure and social relations in which it is situated. By mobilizing discourses of nationalism, nativism, and *Islam Nusantara*, which are actually hegemonic acts of the Orientalist discourse, Triwikromo defends cultural Islam more than political Islam which is identified with the transnational fundamentalist movement that is seen as endangering the stability of NKRI. “Lengtu Lengmua”’s contact with this polarization represents its participation in Indonesian political atmosphere in recent years, to be precise in the 2014 and 2019 political contestations. “Lengtu Lengmua” has contributed to the formation of the subject *cebong*, that is supported by nationalists and tradisionalists, and the subject *kampret*, that is supported by Islamists and modernists. Furthermore, “Lengtu Lengmua” also contributed to the adoption of policies during the Joko Widodo Era which strengthened the existence of the tradition, like *Aliran Kepercayaan*, and at the same time weakened the position of the radical, fundamental, transnasional, and political Islam-based groups.

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