

Tinular Tutur: Audio Drama Media as Counter-Hegemony Ruler of The New Order (Critical Discourse Analysis)

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Abstract

Tinular Tutur: Audio Drama Media as Counter-Hegemony Ruler of The New Order (Critical Discourse Analysis). The heyday of the 1980-1990 audio drama created by the Sanggar Cerita and the Teater Sanggar Prativi, Jakarta, Indonesia, was an industrial production of drama initiatives synergize among drama creators, pharmaceutical companies, and herbal medicine as sponsors, and private radio companies which broadcast them. The productivity of audio drama works in the New Order era reached dozens of titles; some audio drama works produced up to 720 series or 24 episodes for two years broadcast. The audio drama of *Tutur Tinular* by S. Tidjab used the history in Java (Singasari, Kediri, Majapahit) as a source of creation. Critical Discourse Analysis (Norman Fairclough) is used to reveal texts, practices of discourse. Between social practices were resulting in the finding that in the audio drama, *Tutur Tinular* contains the behaviour of kings (rulers), royal authorities (patih, warlords), warriors (good people), criminals (evil people), and persecuted people. In the power of the New Order era, audio drama, which was considered an entertainment media and educational history of nationalism, was a media of resistance of the New Order military rulers. It contained the rulers' behaviour and soldiers who oppressed their people, but it never received a reprimand and a ban on the authorities until the regime subsided.

Keywords: audio drama; counter-hegemony; critical discourse

Introduction

Audio dramas (more popularly known as radio plays) in Indonesia in the 1980-1990s were widely liked by the public. Every day, in the morning, noon, and evening, even at night, residents of rural and urban communities, both children and adults, young and old alike, can't wait to listen to audio drama broadcasts from radio transmitters belonging to PRSSNI (National Private Broadcasting Radio Association, Indonesia), apart from the RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia) transmitter,

which broadcasts an audio serial drama set in the history of the past kingdoms in Java in the VIII century (Hindu Mataram) to the XVII century (Islamic Mataram). Audio dramas set in the history of past kingdoms in Java, such as Mataram Hindu, Singasari, Pajajaran, Majapahit, Demak, Pajang, and Mataram Islam use Indonesian and are made in serial or serial for 6 months, 1 year or 2 years broadcast.

The existence of an audio drama set in the history of past kingdoms in Java during the New Order government (since 1966-1998) and is now still broadcast on several

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radios, internet radio (streaming radio), and social media during the Reformation Order era. This audio drama, which combines the history of past work in Java with fiction, was produced by Sanggar Prativi Jakarta, which was founded in the 1960s by Romo Welbert Daneil, S.J. previously sent by the Indonesian Catholic Church to various countries to study radio programming when radio media played an important role when the Republic of Indonesia underwent a change of rulers from the Old Order to the New Order. In 1966, Peter Daniel founded the Sanggar Prathivi Recording Studio (an acronym for Lovers of Indonesian Radio and Television) to produce recordings of social education and moral development in general, one of which is an audio drama set in the history of past kingdoms in Java (Rosalia, 2017).

Prathivi studio began producing the children's drama *Samurai Hoidosato - Awan Putih Beranak di Fujiyama* (1974) on cassette tape by PT Swadaya Mandiri. In 1989 he produced the audio drama *Tutur Tinular* by S. Tidjab, which was then filmed into 4 works, namely *Tutur Tinular: Sword Naga Puspa* (1989), *Naga Puspa Kresna* (1991), *Pendekar Syair Berdarah* (1992), *Mendung Rolling Above Majapahit* (1992)) and a private television series that has been around since 1997 (Rosalia, 2014). So the audio drama *Tutur Tinular* by S. Tidjab became a famous work and was transformed into films, television series, and novels.

During the repressive and hegemonic New Order rule, an audio drama set in the history of the past kingdoms in Java was born, by the creators of Prathivi Studio, Jakarta. These audio drama works set in the history of past kingdoms in Java are increasingly being produced by private audio drama creators. Several sponsors were attracted by the audio drama set in the history of the past kingdom, and funded the production and became the main sponsor of the audio drama work, especially from pharmaceutical and herbal manufacturers such as PT Kalbe

Farma (Jakarta), PT Bintang Toedjoeh (Jakarta), PT Medifarma (Depok, West Java), PT Jamu Gunung Giri, Wonogiri (Central Java), and it's kind. The synergy between creators, producers, sponsors, radio media, and audio drama appreciation at that time was to create audio drama works that the public liked because they were supported and broadcast by more than 400 private radio transmitters PRSSNI members to remote parts of Indonesia so that the public liked audio dramas set in royal historical past in Java.

One audio drama set in the history of past kingdoms in Java consists of tens of episodes and numbering up to hundreds of series per title. Audio dramas that are products of creative works produced up to 12 episodes or 365 series a year with the main sponsors of PT Kalbe Farma, including *Saur Sepuh* (1984) by Nini Kosasih, *Babad Tanah Leluhur* (1989) by Cece Suhyar, *Putri Cadar Biru*; an audio drama sponsored by PT Bintang Toedjoeh: *Api di Bukit Menoreh* by S.H. Mintardja, and the audio drama *Tutur Tinular* (1989) by S. Tijab; PT Medi Farma supports the production of *The Mystery of Mount Merapi* (1985) by Asmadi Sjafar, *Wahyu Astabrata* (1994) by Buanergis Muryono by PT Kalbe Farma, *Sungging Parabangkara* (1994) by Tien Komalasari H and Agung Bachrodi (PT Marguna Tarulara APK Farma), and it's kind (Yazid, 2018). Producers, creators, and sponsors of audio dramas work closely together so that the drug or herbal medicine sponsors can advertise in the story, not as an ad insertion or piece. Sometimes the medicinal product enters the cast's dialogue, or at critical moments on a dramatic event, the advertiser speaks of pain and medication. So between herbal or pharmaceutical factories with producers and audio drama creators are very close, supporting each other so that the parties benefit either business or economically.

The theory used to study the audio drama *Tutur Tinular* uses Critical Discourse Analysis, CDA (Fairclough) theory of critical discourse analysis. There are three dimensions in the Fairclough (1992: 72),

CDA namely, text (speech, writing, visual imagery or a combination of the three), discursive practice (involving the production, distribution, and consumption of texts), and social practice (involving communicative events). The three-dimensional Fairclough CDA stems from the text. Text in discourse analysis can be in the form of writing, or spoken discourse, to words used in conversation (or written transcription). In a broader sense, the text is a difficult phenomenon because it represents linguistic and extralinguistic events so that various functions are attached to it, namely the medium of communication, the way of storing and transferring information, reflecting on individual mental life, products of certain historical eras, forms of cultural existence, and reflection of certain socio-cultural traditions (Bayian, 2014: 19). Therefore, the textual analysis must be carried out by analyzing the texture of the text, its shape, and organization, and not only in the form of comments on the text 'content' that ignores texture (Bayian, 2014: 4). So text analysis includes text texture, shape, and organization in the text.

Discussion

Data analysis was used according to the model of Miles, Huberman & Saldana (2010: 10-12), namely data reduction, data presentation, and verification for concluding. The data reduction stage includes three steps, namely the description of the discourse text of the *Tutur Tinular* audio drama, with the following steps: 1) transcribing the audio drama data of *Tutur Tinular*, 2) identifying the data and relating it to the focus of the audio drama production of *Tutur Tinular*, and 3) classifying and describing the data is based on indicators/markers of value. Second, the analysis of discourse practices, which is to interpret the relationship between the context of the contemporary situation and the praxis of discourse in audio dramas. Third, the analysis of socio-cultural practices, namely explaining the relationship between the praxis of audio drama discourse and sociocultural practices.

Tutur Tinular Text

The history of past kingdoms in Java that is referred to is the ancient Mataram kingdom

(*Babad Tanah Leluhur*), the Islamic Mataram kingdom (*Putri Cadar Biru*), the Singasari kingdom - Majapahit (*Tutur Tinular*), and it's kind (Murbando, 2006). The uniqueness of audio drama works set in the history of past kingdoms in Java is reinforced by scenes of conflict between historical actors and fictional characters that are interwoven as in martial arts stories. Historical and fictional events in the audio drama can trigger the priests to reconstruct the historical memories of the past kingdoms in Java, become real history, and come to life through the listeners' imaginations on radio, streaming radio, or social media.

The audio drama *Tutur Tinular* uses the Singasari kingdom as the background, changing to the ruler of the Kediri kingdom and standing as the Majapahit kingdom. The kingdom of Singasari, which ruled King Kertanegara, which in 1284 AD achieved its glory by expanding the kingdom to Bali, the kingdom of the Desert, Makura-Kura, Pahang Sunda, and Madura to outside Java. King Kertanegara was not satisfied and wanted to expand the Swarnabumi kingdom, so in August 1286 AD, the Singasari army went to another country to launch a war. The kingdom of Swarna on earth was conquered, King Tribuana Mauliawarman surrendered. Six years later, after conquering the Malay country, on April 17, 1292, Kertanegara made the Camunda inscription containing the conquest of Swarnadhipa and giving awards to people who contributed to the Singasari kingdom. The use of historical data in the *Tutur Tinular* audio drama is presented as follows:

NARRATOR : In the year Caka 1206 or 1284 AD the reign of King Kertanegara reached its peak in Singasari. The island of Bali has conquered as well as the kingdoms of the Desert, Bakula-kula, Pahang Sunda, and Madura. Thus Singasari or Tumapel increasingly expanded its power wings outside Java...

(Tidjab, TT, 1989: Seri 1-2, 00.03.55-00.03.23).

The audio drama text *Tutur Tinular* combines the historical background of the Singasari kingdom, Kediri, and until the existence of the Majapahit kingdom with the love story between Arya Kamandanu and the girl Nari Ratih which was later seized by her brother

Arya Kamandanu, Arya Dwi Pangga. Then, Arya Kamandanu fell in love with Mei Shin's widow, but before he married he was also tricked and impregnated by Arya Dwi Pangga. Arya Kamandanu eventually became one of the warlords in the Majapahit kingdom, able to fight with his ability as a warrior who inherited the magic sword Naga Puspa by Mpu Ranubaya, also teacher Arya Kamandanu.

MEI SHIN : (sad) Oh, *Kakang* Kamandanu ...
You ... you still don't believe ... that
I ... I love you ...

A. KAMANDANU: (so lost) Mei Shin ... I'm sorry Mei
Shin ... Mei Shin Oh, Mei Shiinnnn ...
(Tidjab, TT, 1989: Series 1, 00.00.45-00.01.35).

The audio drama *Tutur Tinular* with the historical background of Singasari, Kediri, and Majapahit with the love story of Arya Kamandanu and Nari Ratih (the first lover who was taken by his older brother Arya Dwi Pangga) during the Singasari kingdom (Tidjab, 1989, TT, episode 1-4). The story of Arya Kamandanu's acid ran aground again after falling in love with Mei Shin's widow who ended up being forced to marry in two bodies because of Arya Dwi Pangga's evil behavior during the reign of Kediri (Tidjab, 1989, TT, episode 5-8). Arya Kamandanu finally found true love with Sakawuni, a female warrior who had a high level of supernatural powers in the era of the Majapahit rulers (Tidjab, 1989, TT, episode 9-24). The 720 series or 24 episodes long series is possible because there are groups of fictional protagonists outside of historical figures such as Arya Kamandanu, Mei Shin, Tuan Lo, Nari Ratih, Sakawuni, Mpu Ranu Baya, and Mpu Hanggareksa, and the antagonists Arya Dwipangga, Dewi Sambu, Tong Bajil, and Rake Lopandak.

The historical events in the audio drama *Tutur Tinular* are packages so that social, cultural, and political criticisms are not detected during the transition from the Old Order (Singasari) to the New Order (Kediri) rule. Nataro stated, "At the beginning of the year Shaka 1214 or 1292 AD, the coast of Tuban at that time looked deserted. The sea surface seemed to be gilded with gold by the twilight sun that was getting closer to the horizon.... A barge appeared... 20 items of spears

in length and continued to shore there were four 14 passengers and all dressed in silk. Their hair in pigtails fluttered... The boat did not stop but directed its bow towards the Suguluh estuary. The fishermen continued to view the foreign boats which were decorated with various colors (Tidjab, TT episode 2, 1989: 0.03.55-0.05.30). Historical depiction of the presence of a foreign nation, Emperor Genghis Khan's envoy from Mongolia. The presence of this foreign national envoy to Singasari became the basis for Singasari residents to criticize the soldier's behavior by stating:

OTHER WARRIOR: You don't lie. You know Singasari soldiers going back and forth from the Palace and its surroundings. Those who are suspected can be arrested and get heavy permits ...

CITIZENS : (scared) Don't be our master. We don't know anything. We didn't do anything, sir.

WARRIOR : You don't feel smart. It can raise your soul ...

OTHER WARRIOR: Huh, where did they go?

CITIZENS : That way sir ...

WARRIOR: Where? Do they carry guns?

CITIZENS : Geez sir ... We didn't pay attention to that ... They were just for a while sir ...

CITIZENS : Ahh, we just got hurt .. Singasari soldiers now are much different ... Much different from the days of Prabu Ranggawuni before .. They like to scare small people like us...
Kakang.

OTHER CITIZENS: They were also arrogant and disrespectful soldiers. They always ask from the back on their horse. Do not want to go down a soldier who knows karma ...

CITIZENS : Stt. What are you talking about, *Kakang*, if there is something that could be a problem again ...

(Tidjab, TT episode 2, 1989: 0.12.00-0.13.30).

Singasari warriors who are arrogant, do not have manner, and like to frighten their people during the reign of Kertanegara, which is different from the figures of soldiers in the previous government.

Emperor Jenghis Khan's envoy from the Wan Dynasty from Mongolia could not meet King Kertanegara because he was busy taking care of his government, which faced many destroyers and rebels.

PRANARAJA: Now we cannot go to the King to convey this problem.

WARRIOR: Em, why sir?

PRANARAJA: The King was busy thinking about the serious problems within the Singasari government itself. Several dignitaries reported about the chaos that began to occur frequently in the Singasari area. And behind the chaos, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that the kingdom of Bracelets was involved. Some of the troublemakers who were caught were actually people from Gelang-Gelang.

WARRIOR: Then does that mean Jayakatwang is involved, sir?

PRANARAJA: There's nothing to be sure about. The King himself did not agree that Jawa Katwang was involved.

WARRIOR: Jayakatwang is still Sang Pranu Kertanegara's brother-in-law? In addition, he is still in love because Ardaraja, the youngest son, is his elder son.

PRANARAJA: That's why this problem gets complicated. There are some who still hold on to their opinion. That the bracelets must be monitored for their behavior. And as other dignitaries began to fade and agree with the King's view. Even if the rings strengthen the army by galvanizing new soldiers. There was no way it was meant to rebel against Singasari. Well, we all will never know exactly what is in Jayakatwang's heart..

(Tidjab, TT episode 2, 1989: 0.18.55-0.20.30).

The rebellion that occurred in Singasari, as happened during the reign of President Soekarno. The rebellion was carried out by Darul Islam/Indonesian Islamic Army who was a close friend of Soekarno, namely Kartoswiryo from the Siliwangi TNI Division (1949). Likewise, the Indonesian Communist

Party (PKI) strengthened its troops, as Jayakatwang added troops and trained for purposes unknown to Soekarno, namely D. N. Aidit, the PKI leader who was also close to power (1965).

The audio drama *Tudur Tinular* also reveals the state of change in power that occurred between the Singasari and Kediri rulers. The heir of the throne and the honor of the Singasari palace competed for power. The King Kertanegara who was in power in Sangasari was forced to hand over power to the rebels from Kediri (Gelang-Gelang) led by Jayakatwang, as the dialogue of the fictional character Nyai Pamungsu was as follows:

MAEI SHIN: Yes, any country is the same. What appears on the outside is different from what stirs up on the inside. Sometimes that just seems calm, serene. But in fact, it stores the embers of a fire which from time to time will burn everything.

NYI PAMUNGSU: Yes, Miss. Not long ago in our country, there was a big war. Our former king, Sang Prabu Kertanegara, was forced to surrender the throne of Singasari to Jayakatwang, who was still his own relative.

MEI SHIN: E, then has this country been hit by civil war?

NYI PAMUNGSU: Yes, that's it. They are the heirs to the throne and the honor of the Singasari palace fighting over power, Miss... They are not other people. Still his own relatives. Well, we are the ignorant little people who become victims..

(Tidjab, TT episode 4, 1989: 0.07.10-0.08.04).

The struggle for power from Singasari by the Jayakatwang leader was similar to the power struggle from Soekarno to Soeharto. The power struggle has resulted in the victims of the little people who don't know anything. This is following the historical record of Colin Brown (2003: 199) which states. "He (Soeharto) received the mandate to exercise temporary authority from Sukarno on March 11, 1966, and took office as President (1967)

and eventually displaced Sukarno as President (1968). By the late 1960s, Sukarno's overthrow was almost complete. President Soekarno was held under house arrest, and in ill health, he finally died in Jakarta on June 21, 1970. The events of the great human tragedy that were masked by the victories of the forces led by Suharto, perhaps half a million people were killed in violent parties with many people dying for political, social, and economic reasons - and no apparent reason.

The audio drama text *Tutur Tinular* shows that the audio drama text not only depicts historical events but also hidden messages that discourage the behavior of soldiers and rulers or the character of those in power and the common people who are victims of acts of power between them. So the audio drama text *Tutur Tinular* not only reveals historical events and their rulers during the Singasari, Kediri, or Majapahit era but also builds a discourse that combines historical and fictional aspects to criticize the New Order rulers and royal officials who were drunk on power, sycophants, and who are now and in effect, immoral towards its people.

The analogical message of the *Tutur Tinular* audio drama is in line with the change of rulers from the Soekarno era to the Soeharto era which is disguised by the presence of fictional characters in the audio drama *Tutur Tinular* such as Mei Shin and Arya Kamandanu with the romantic twists of love stories, the various behaviors of the rulers around kings, boisterous clashes between martial arts schools, warriors, criminals, sycophants, and the alluring ingredients of audio dramas as works of popular art and entertainment.

Discourse Practice

Discourse practice is a link between text analysis and sociocultural practice, text is produced, interpreted, and linked between the audio drama text maker and the audio drama listener. Discourse practice is influenced by the institutions that make the text and as the party holding power (Fairclough, 1989: 37). Prativi

studio Jakarta as the producer of the 1980-1990s audio drama originated from the idea of Father Welbert Daniel, SJ. This audio drama, which combines the history of past work in Java with fiction, was produced by Sanggar Prativi Jakarta, which was founded in the 1960s by Father Welbert Daneil, S.J. previously sent by the Indonesian Catholic Church to various countries to study radio programming when radio media played an important role and the Republic of Indonesia experienced a change of rulers from the Old Order to the New Order (Rosalia, 2017). In 1966, Peter Daniel founded the Prathivi Recording Studio (an acronym for Lovers of Indonesian Radio and Television) to produce recordings of social education and moral development in general, one of which is an audio drama set in the history of past kingdoms in Java.

The use of audio dramas set in the history of past kingdoms certainly does not contradict the New Order political line which is oriented towards Javanese (Mataram) power. Audio drama themes, such as *Tutur Tinular*, which was raised in the 1980s, discussed society, about life, humans, and moral or philosophical teachings (Murbandono, 2006: 131). The audio drama produced by Prativi studio, as said by *Tinular*, also reveals the change in the ruling regime from Singasari to Kediri which affected the life of the war weapons maker during the reign of King Kertanegara. The dialogue of Mpu Hanggareksa with his son Arya Kamandanu shows that the change in power has an impact on economic and social changes in society.

MPU HANGGAREKSA: Your father was crazy in rank. Snobby. Crazy good name and treasure. I used to think that living humans must have ranks. Have a position. Has a good name and has close relations with the court. I often disagree over this matter with Rabubaya's back. Hah, it turns out that Ranubaya is right, the proof is if you see for yourself now. I have nothing left. As soon

as the Singasari government fell, Mpu Hanggareksa fell too. (Tidjab, TT episode 4 series 119-120, 1989: 0.34.10-0.35.12).

The audio drama *Tutur Tinular* with a historical background of the kingdoms in Java (Singasari, Kediri, Majapahit) is a popular and successful product that is popular with the public because of its non-instructional, non-patronizing, and not dry form like radio news or speech broadcast by *Orde Baru* officials. Historical events in the Javanese kingdom in the audio drama presented to the people of the *Orde Baru* era fought against the hegemony of the historical product version at that time. It's just that the creators of *Tutur Tinular's* audio drama in the *Orde Baru* era creatively used the background of historical events to carry out counter-culture, according to Fuad Hassan (1989: 85) for presenting things that are contradictory to historical realities, socio-culture, as well as the policies of the government of the *Orde Baru* regime which were actually authoritarian, militaristic and repressive. The form of audio drama work is appreciated as a creative work that can fight in disguise, enlighten without patronizing, awaken noble values without indoctrination, even awakening without instruction so that it was liked by the public at that time. The high appreciation for audio drama works set in the history of the kingdom in Java by Indonesian citizens at that time, both from children, adolescents, to the elderly, who were in urban or rural areas, as well as various levels at the educational level, admired the audio drama work.

The history of the past kingdoms in Java seems to be "brought back" through an audio drama. Several audio dramas in Indonesia set in the history of past kingdoms in Java were produced from the 1980s to 2010s (Wirajaya, 2019). One audio drama set in the history of past kingdoms in Java consists of tens of episodes and numbering up to hundreds of series per title. The audio drama and creative work products that are produced up to 12 episodes or 365 series a year with the main

sponsor of PT Kalbe Farma, include the audio drama *Tutur Tinular* (1989) by S. Tijab (Yazid, 2018). Producers, creators, and sponsors of audio dramas work closely together so that the drug or herbal medicine sponsors can advertise in the story, not as an ad insertion or piece. Sometimes the medicinal product enters the cast's dialogue, or at critical moments on a dramatic event, the advertiser speaks of pain and medication. So between herbal or pharmaceutical factories with producers and audio drama creators are very close, supporting each other so that the parties benefit either business or economically.

Audio drama by the creators and producers, including from the Prativi studio community, Jakarta, and especially children's stories using Cerita Studio, Jakarta is in great demand. They can concoct, process, and combine fictional stories of the adventure stories of martial arts warriors with the history of the past kingdoms in Java with the right dramatic characters and plot. The history of the past kingdoms in Java seems to be "brought back" through an audio drama. The uniqueness of audio drama works set in the history of past kingdoms in Java is strengthened by the conflict scene between historical actors and fictional actors who are intertwined as in martial arts stories. Historical and fictional events in the audio drama can trigger his appreciation to reconstruct the historical memory of the past kingdoms in Java, become real, and come alive again through the listeners' imaginations on radio media, radio streaming, or social media.

The radio listeners in Indonesia when listening to the opening of the audio drama *Tutur Tinular*, which describes the peak of Singasari's glory until the collapse, and the establishment of the Majapahit kingdom, is similar to the historical momentum of the Republic of Indonesia during the change of rulers from the Singasari era (the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia and the strengthening of Indonesian territory, namely President Soekarno's leadership) and the founding of Majapahit (after Bung

Karno was conquered and shifted to the reign of President Soeharto). In fact, since the beginning of the *Orde Baru* government, Bung Karno's role and services as the founder of the Republic of Indonesia have tried to be eliminated or negated in the products of films, biographies, monuments of military warriors, Pancasila textbooks, and history books of the *Orde Baru*.

The audio drama depicts the lives of figures in the ruling circle, and the common people who are tragic, the sorrows and joys under the intrigue of power, which are presented continuously with the background of the kingdom of the past in Java. At the beginning of the opening of the audio drama, it is convinced by the historical events of the past kingdoms in Java, a detailed description of the date, year, name of the inscription, and the place as well as the main actors engaged in important historical moments. Therefore, audio dramas set in the history of past kingdoms in Java can reveal past historical events for the present, as well as in the future. The audio drama works as a reminder, a reconstruction of the past through present-day "historical dramas". The audio drama at that time was also to present a counter-discourse on the practices of the rulers of the New Order era, by taking power in Java which loosened and even separated noise (whispers from the conscience) and sound (audible verbal expression) as a means of socio-cultural criticism and resistance, which CC Berg (1985: 5) calls the Javanese "historical" literature from Java.

Socio-Cultural Practices

The sociocultural practice is an explanation that focuses on the facts contained in the text in support of the hegemonic discontinuity of the reality of social practice (Locke, 2004: 42). Social practice is an interpretation of discourse practice. Every text in discourse is influenced by the ideology of the institution. Ideology cannot be separated from institutional hegemony. Officeholders in institutions have a role in determining the identity of an institution. Therefore, the interest of the incumbent will emerge in the ideology applied to the institution.

Audio drama on radio media in the *Orde Baru* era, in the era of the Dutch East Indies colonial era, early twentieth century, when radio technology spread the notion of power and mechanical behavior and encouraged a sense of loosening the bonds between noise and sound, between words and deeds (Mrazek, 2006: 261). The presence of an audio drama set in the history of past kingdoms in Java during the *Orde Baru* era (1966-1990s) has an atmosphere of political hegemony by imposing a model of prohibiting critical art forms; the immersion of idol figures and civilian warrior figures, especially *Bung Karno* (de-Soekarnoisasi); strict supervision of printed and electronic mass media writing; weakening and silencing the political opponents of the rulers. The *Orde Baru* developed its own version of Indonesian history as an effort to strengthen the legitimacy and perpetuate its power (Wardaya, 2006: 19). The *Orde Baru* rulers built and operated under the command of the TNI (Indonesian National Army), the Army in particular, and pro-ruling cultural agents to strengthen it by making their own historical works. During the New Order era, historical writings were also equipped with monuments and museums in various cities that were built sustainably in the country (Adam, 2010: 55). The role of General Soeharto and military history was not only made as an effort to continue the legitimacy of his power, but also through the products of political culture such as a single ideology, the P4 state ideology doctrine (Guidelines for Living and Practicing Pancasila), establishing a museum of struggle, and raising the patriotic story of the central role of the army. , several dioramas and monuments of military fighters, names of streets with G-30S/PKI victims, major national anniversaries, student handbooks, works of art, history books, school lessons, biographies to films (Herlambang, 2014: 10). So the *Orde Baru* authorities supervised and prohibited the narrative and expression of critical artworks while maintaining the legitimacy of power in the form of historical engineering through

biographies, national history books, museums, street names, monuments, and the like.

The products of the justification of Indonesian history by the *Orde Baru* regime include books: 30 Years of Independent Indonesia (Soeharto, 1983), National History of Indonesia, Biography of Soeharto, Pak Harto's Footsteps (Presidential Documentation Team, 1991), and the like. There are also several films produced by the State-Owned Enterprises (BUMN) PPFN (State Film Production Center) and the State Secretariat that feature films with historical backgrounds of military warfare led by Suharto such as *Serangan Fajar*, *Janur Kuning*, *Pengkhianatan G.30S/PKI*, and *Jakarta 1966*. The *Orde Baru's* rulers continued to produce its history, even online to the controversy over the history of the Oemoem Attack on March 1, 1949. President Soeharto's statement that the General Attack on March 1, 1949, which was recognized as a major initiative and service to save the existence of the Republic of Indonesia, caused polemic about the role of Sri Sultan HB IX Lt. Col. Soeharto that happened (Suwarno, 2009: 26). The engineering and justification of the *Orde Baru* history took place in various ways so that the legitimacy of the permanent power that was held was getting stronger. However, one thing that characterizes Soeharto's "*Orde*" is that the historical justification has been used as a weapon to kill the historical truth (Djarot, 2006: 3). The history of the military and the role of Suharto was put forward and compiled to justify and strengthen his grip on power. The history of the New Order was built to form a government respected by the people and create powerful memories of power (Sukamto, 2007: 224). The legitimacy of power and as many historical products of the New Order in the 1980s was intensified by compiling several books, including National History of Indonesia, building a monument to the March 1 *Oemoem* Attack in Yogya inaugurated by Suharto on March 1, 1973 (WIradyudha, 2018), *Yogya Kembali* Monument in Yogya (29 June 1985), the film *Serangan Oemoem* March 1,

Janur Kuning, and *Pengkhianatan G30-S/PKI* and *Jakarta 1966* by the National Film Production Center (PPFN) which supported the legitimacy of Colonel Soeharto's role in the Second Dutch Aggression war (1948). attacked by the capital of the Republic of Indonesia (Setyawan, 2016).

The *Orde Baru* ruler was indeed very powerful and was feared by his political opponents. Members of the Pesisir 50 who were considered opposing and undermining the power of President Soeharto, namely Lt. Gen. (Purn) H.R. Dharsono and Ir. Sanusi was imprisoned (Jassin, 1998: 222). The use of the past royal background in Java was used by playwrights in the early 1920s as a discourse against colonialism and Dutch rule in the archipelago. The playwrights, such as Roestam Effendi, Sanoesi Pane, Muhamad Yamin, aroused the spirit of nationalism and fought against Dutch colonialism by bringing back the glorious history of the past kingdom. Drama works set in the history of past kingdoms in Java, such as Roestam Effendi's *Freeari* (1926) drama, Sanoesi Pane's drama also has a royal background in Java, among others: *Airlangga* (1928), *Kertajaya* (1932), and *Sendyakala Ning Majapahit* (1933) used against Dutch colonialism. *Freeari* drama, for example, raises a symbol of the motherland, a homeland that has suffered for centuries, and through her suffering can give birth to and raise strong, manly, and mighty heroes (Oemarjati, 1971: 87). The ways and forms of cultural resistance to the historical hegemony of the *Orde Baru* regime by raising the story of the past kingdoms in Java through audio drama work also seem to have been used by audio drama creators produced in the early 1980s to the 1990s. Ben Anderson (1990: 163) states that cartoon art is a way to create collective awareness by society without accessing bureaucracy or other forms of political power. Audio dramas set in the history of the kingdom in Java are also another form of political power; namely a way to create collective awareness by the community (theater, drama arts) without accessing the bureaucracy. So the audio drama set in the history of the past kingdoms in Java is also used as a medium for movement and resistance to the hegemony of the *Orde Baru's* historical and political discourse by presenting audio dramas set in Javanese royal history, such as the radio drama *Tutar Tinular* by S. Tidjab.

Conclusion

The audio drama *Tutur Tinular* by S. Tidjab is a creative work that is considered popular and uses a historical background combined with fictional characters as a product of the creative industry in the 1980s in collaboration with herbal and pharmaceutical products. There are three layers of discourse in the critical reading analysis (Fairclough) of the audio drama *Tutur Tinular*, which can be summarized as follows: First, the text uses the historical background of the Singasari kingdom, Kediri, and the Majapahit kingdom with the love story between Arya Kamandanu and the girl Nari Ratih, a widow. Mei Shin, and the female warrior Sakawuni as a medium to cover social protests or criticism against the rulers and soldiers in the *Orde Baru* era. Second, the practice of discourse connects text analysis with sociocultural practices, the text is produced, interpreted, and linked between the audio drama text maker S. Tidjab with a theater background, produced by Prativi Studio Jakarta. The use of audio dramas set in the history of past kingdoms is in line with the *Orde Baru* politics-oriented to Javanese (Mataram) power. The theme of the audio drama *Tutur Tinular* discusses society, life, humans, and moral or philosophical teachings so that people can gain enlightenment, as well as the rulers who are criticized also do not immediately feel strongly criticized for their powerful nature. Third, the socio-cultural practices of the audio drama *Tutur Tinular* have an ideology against the hegemony of the military and authoritarian *Orde Baru* rulers who use history to justify and legitimize their power. The audio drama *Tutur Tinular* as a struggle against the hegemony of the *Orde Baru* rulers by using the historical background of the kingdom in Java in the past.

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Informant

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Audiography

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