# BUKTI KORESPONDENSI ARTIKEL
# PADA JURNAL INTERNASIONAL BEREPUTASI

***Problematizing policy: a semantic history of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language***
pada jurnal ***Q1 Critical Policy Studies***

**PENGUSUL**

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**UNIVERSITAS NEGERI SEMARANG**

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Bersama dengan surat ini, saya bermaksud menyertakan bukti-bukti korespondensi proses review artikel pada Jurnal Internasional dengan judul “Problematizing policy: a semantic history of the word ‘policy’ in the Indonesian language” dimuat pada jurnal Critical Policy Studies. DOI: 10.1080/19460171.2021.1974504 ISSN 1946-018X.

Adapun susunan kronologi bukti korespondensi terdiri dari beberapa poin pada table di bawah ini:

| No | Tanggal | Aktivitas |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | 3 Januari 2021 | Submit manuscript pertama kali ke jurnal |
| 2 | 3 Januari 2021 | Pemberian nomor ID manuscript dari editor RCPS-2021-0001 |
| 3 | 23 Februari 2021 | Pemberitahuan artikel telah direview dan mendapatkan revisi mayor dengan tenggat revisi selama 6 bulan. |
| 4 | 22 Mei 2021 | Mengirim balasan dan revisi pertama artikel pada jurnal |
| 5 | 7 Agustus 2021 | Pemberitahuan artikel telah direview dan mendapatkan revisi mayor |
| 6 | 20 Agustus 2021 | Pemberitahuan artikel telah direview dan mendapatkan revisi minor |
| 7 | 25 Agustus 2021 | Pemberitahuan artikel telah diterima oleh editor |
| 8 | 2 September 2021 | Permintaan untuk proof artikel |
| 9 | 6 September 2021 | Artikel telah published. |

# Detail Artikel pada Jurnal Internasional Bereputasi

| | |
|---|---|
| Judul Artikel | : Problematizing policy: a semantic history of the word ‘policy’ in the Indonesian language |
| Jurnal | : Critical Policy Studies |
| Volume | : 0 |
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| Tanggal publikasi | : 6 September 2021 |
| ISSN | : ISSN 1946-018X |
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| SJR | : 0.57 (2020) |
| Quartile | : Q1 (Scopus) |
| Penulis | : Zulfa Sakhiyya |

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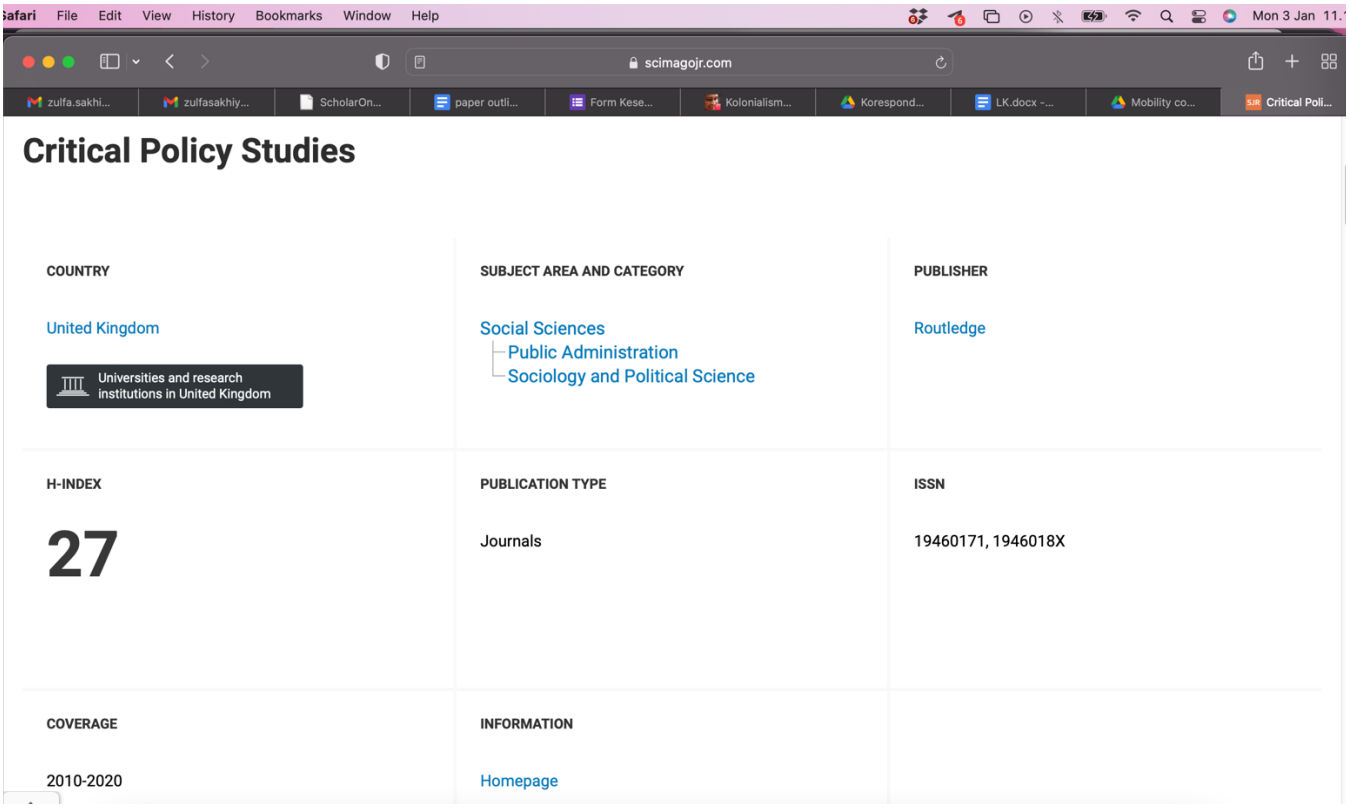

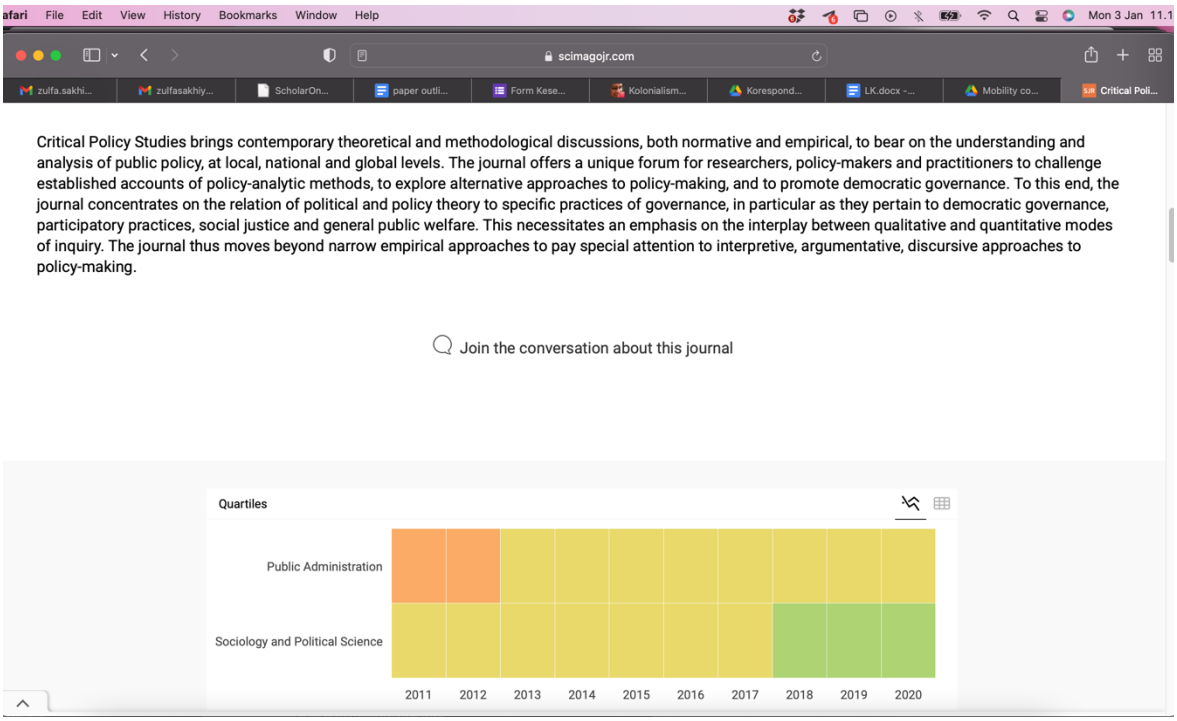
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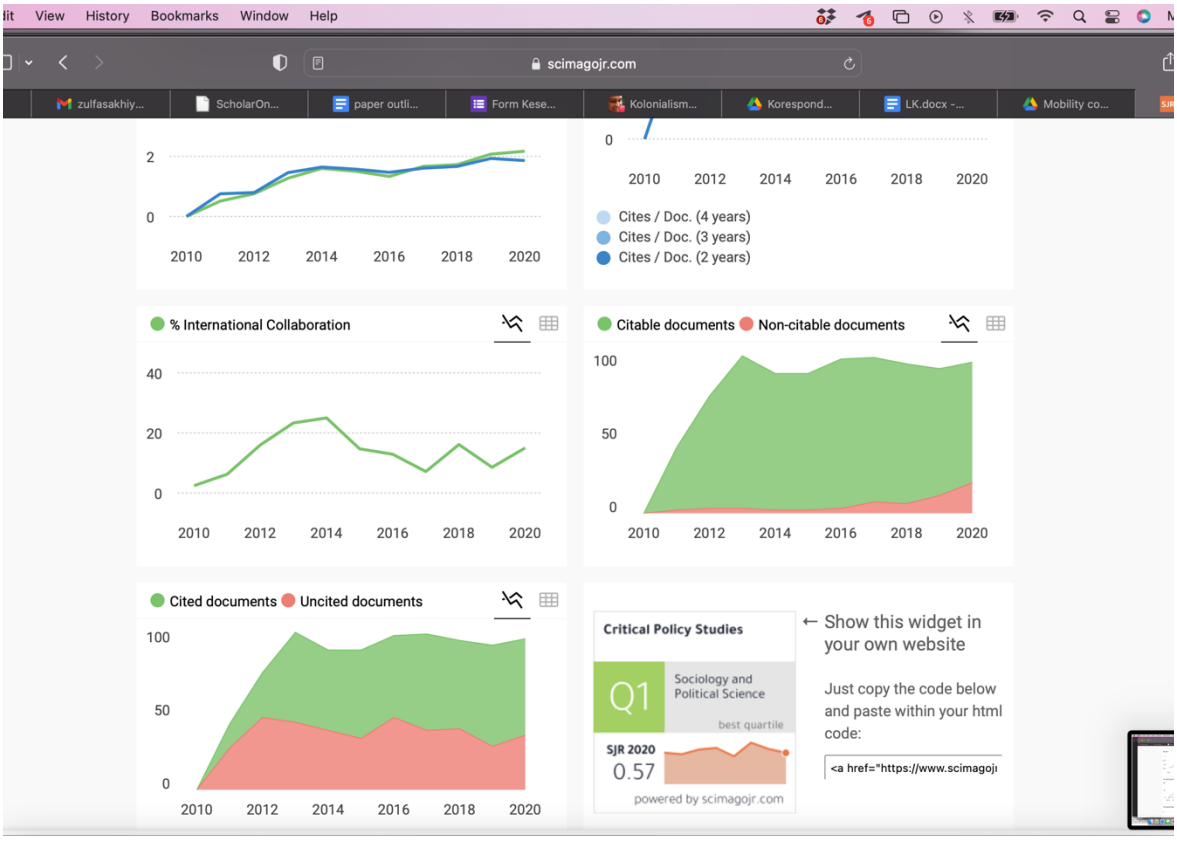
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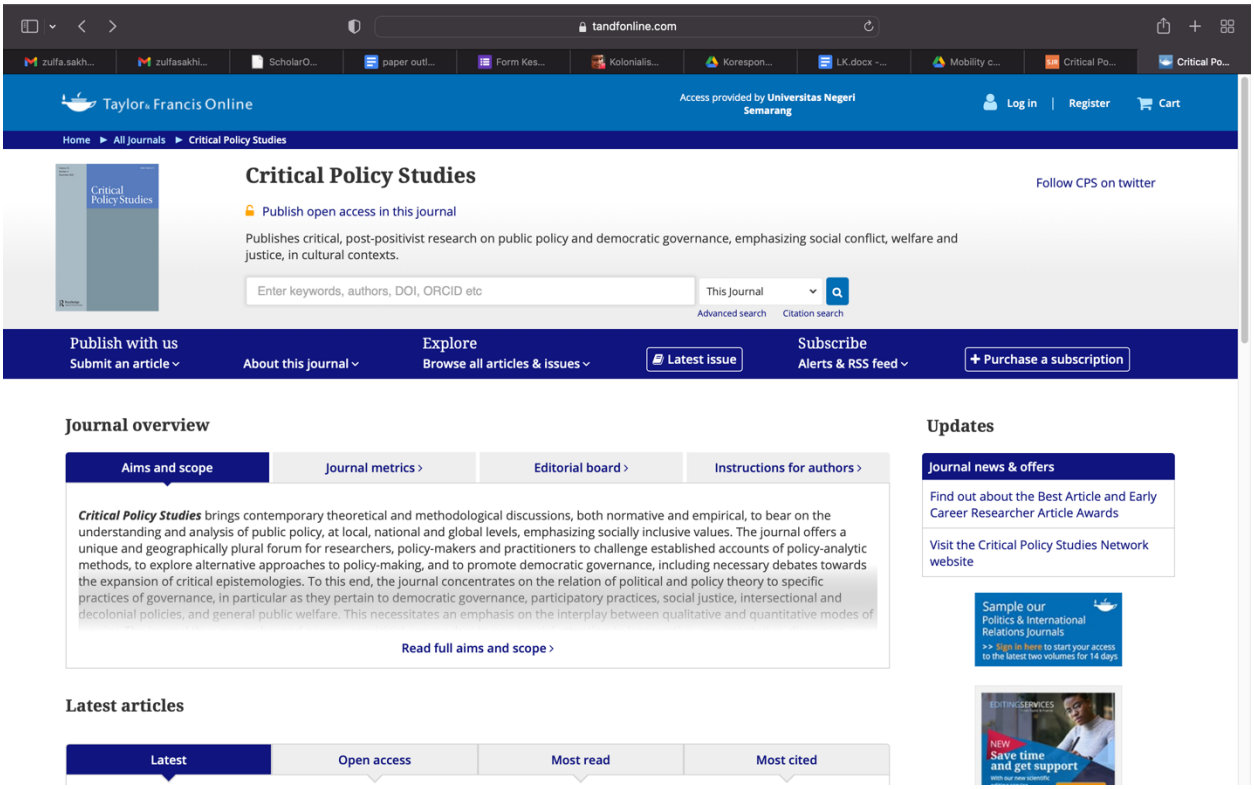
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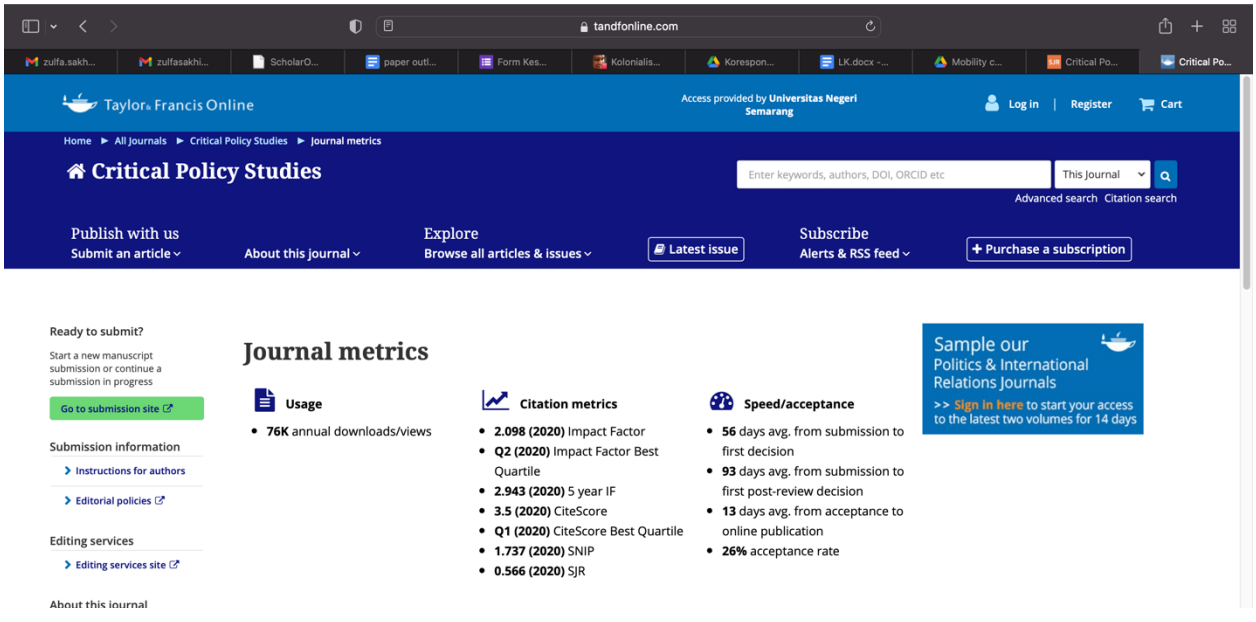
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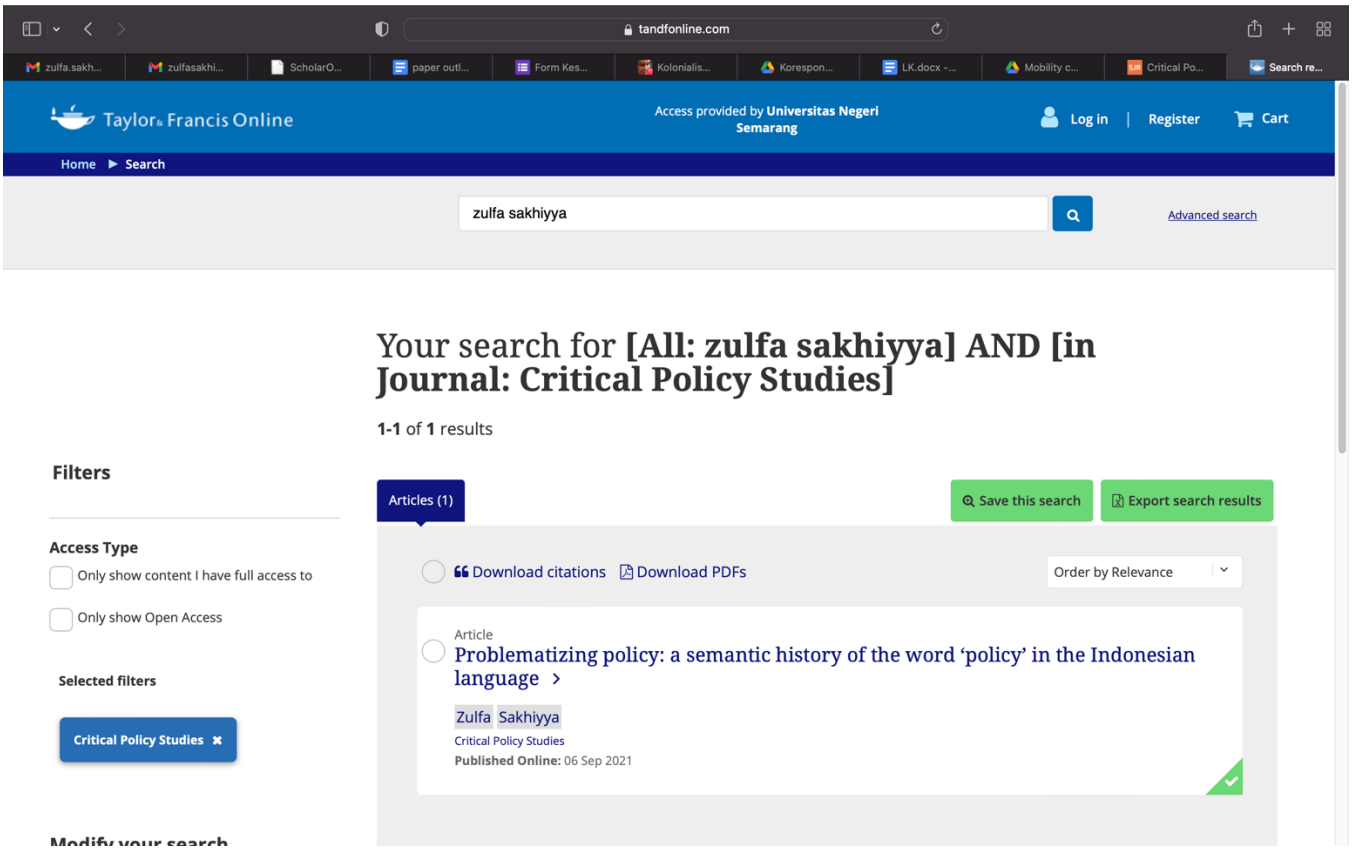
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Zulfa Sakhiyya
Critical Policy Studies
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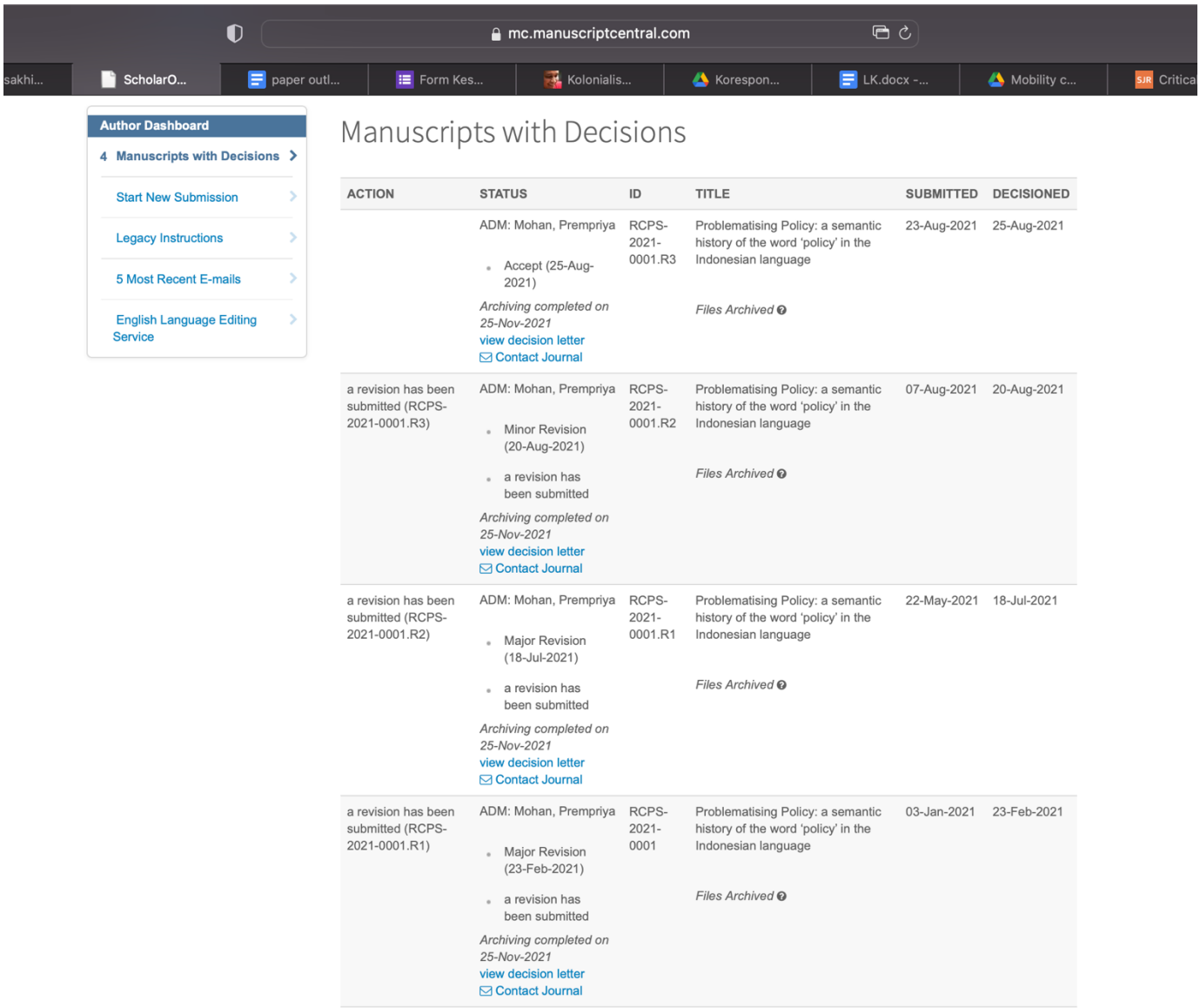

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## Manuscripts with Decisions

| ACTION | STATUS | ID | TITLE | SUBMITTED | DECISIONED |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | ADM: Mohan, Prempriya<br>• Accept (25-Aug-2021)<br>*Archiving completed on 25-Nov-2021*<br>view decision letter<br>Contact Journal | RCPS-2021-0001.R3 | Problematising Policy: a semantic history of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language<br>*Files Archived* | 23-Aug-2021 | 25-Aug-2021 |
| a revision has been submitted (RCPS-2021-0001.R3) | ADM: Mohan, Prempriya<br>• Minor Revision (20-Aug-2021)<br>• a revision has been submitted<br>*Archiving completed on 25-Nov-2021*<br>view decision letter<br>Contact Journal | RCPS-2021-0001.R2 | Problematising Policy: a semantic history of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language<br>*Files Archived* | 07-Aug-2021 | 20-Aug-2021 |
| a revision has been submitted (RCPS-2021-0001.R2) | ADM: Mohan, Prempriya<br>• Major Revision (18-Jul-2021)<br>• a revision has been submitted<br>*Archiving completed on 25-Nov-2021*<br>view decision letter<br>Contact Journal | RCPS-2021-0001.R1 | Problematising Policy: a semantic history of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language<br>*Files Archived* | 22-May-2021 | 18-Jul-2021 |
| a revision has been submitted (RCPS-2021-0001.R1) | ADM: Mohan, Prempriya<br>• Major Revision (23-Feb-2021)<br>• a revision has been submitted<br>*Archiving completed on 25-Nov-2021*<br>view decision letter<br>Contact Journal | RCPS-2021-0001 | Problematising Policy: a semantic history of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language<br>*Files Archived* | 03-Jan-2021 | 23-Feb-2021 |

**Submit manuscript pertama kali ke jurnal 3 Januari 2021**
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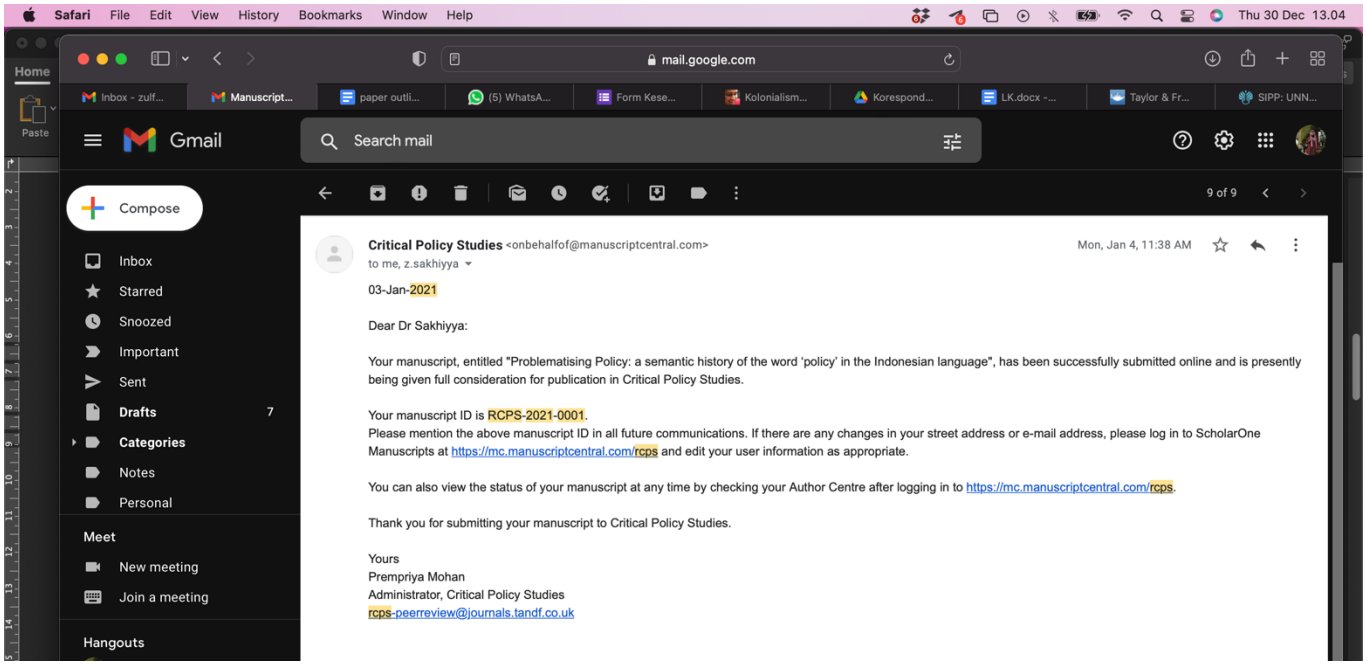

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to me, z.sakhiyya

03-Jan-2021

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Thank you for submitting your manuscript to Critical Policy Studies.

Yours
Prempriya Mohan
Administrator, Critical Policy Studies
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**Pemberitahuan artikel telah direview dan mendapatkan revisi mayor dengan tenggat revisi selama 6 bulan (23 Februari 2021**



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## Critical Policy Studies - Decision on Manuscript ID RCPS-2021-0001

1 message

**Critical Policy Studies** <onbehalfof@manuscriptcentral.com> Tue, Feb 23, 2021 at 5:59 PM
Reply-To: plehwe@wzb.eu
To: zulfasakhiyya@gmail.com, z.sakhiyya@auckland.ac.nz

23-Feb-2021

Dear Dr Sakhiyya:

Ref: RCPS-2021-0001 "Problematising Policy: a semantic history of the word ‘policy’ in the Indonesian language"

The above manuscript has now been reviewed, and the comments of the reviewers are reproduced at the bottom of this letter. In view of these comments, we cannot offer publication of the manuscript as it stands; but if you submit a revised version that responds to the points raised by the reviewers, we shall be happy to give it further consideration.

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Sincerely,

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REVIEWERS' COMMENTS TO AUTHOR(S)

Reviewer: 1

Comments to the Author
This article takes bold strides and delivers less than it promises. The main argument - we need to look at semantics and at the very meaning of policy - is repeated very often in what is already is quite short article. While the article clearly is interesting and worth publishing, it falls short of being what it claims to be: a semantic history of the term policy. The author looks at Raymond WIlliams' concept of "keywords" and really only superficially discusses it. In the field of semantics ,Williams is clearly not the main point of reference and should not be used as the only theoretical point of reference. The author misses the broad debates that emerged from the two most established schools of conceptual history: the Cambridge School of Quentin Skinner and his colleagues; and the tradition of Begriffsgeschichte based on the groundbreaking theoretical work of the German historian Reinhart Koselleck. Both approaches have seen strong interest in recent years and have been further developed into serving as methodologies for transnational and global studies. The article is also superficial in the operationalisation of said method. Semantic history is not simply a perspective, but a careful method. The present article looks merely at the lexical history of the term policy and mostly at utterances of President Suharto (and to some degree Sukarno), It does not say why it chose which empirical material, it makes bold assumptions as to why Suharto uses certain terms (e.g. the author simply guesses about the usage of the term "manifest") but fails to carefully prepare and contextualise those claims.
Bahasa Indonesia emerged in the 1920s/30s as a revolutionary language that deliberately favoured no minority or majority part of the population. The examples given for the use of language politics to forge nations (France and Italy) are fine, but again the author fails to even provide some of the original and groundbreaking books (Peasants into Frenchmen, by Eugen Weber, and a number of publications around the famous saying by D'Azeglio: "Fare gli Italiani"). In fact, the case is so obvious that it does not need to be treated as a new insight. Ever since Alfred the Great introduced a standard version of English, setting the language of the state and its schools and administration was a powerful way of forging a nation and an identity. What would have been needed is a presentation of how that process played out in Indonesia. With Anderson one of the main authors is quoted, but the article is otherwise under-referenced both regarding the approach of semantic history and the case of Indonesia. Clearly, the article overlooks the role of media, it does not even mention them. For Bahasa Indonesia, media were of course of major importance. And it is also quite necessary to embed a concept's semantics into what the literature calls a semantic field, i.e. which other concepts are connected to 'policy'. Apparently, and very interestingly, wisdom is associated with policy. Now, where does this tradition come from? Is it simply a translation? Why is such a term chosen? Can we follow the first translations? The article suggests that it was the very leadership that coined the meaning of the term. It would need to be proven and argued for in a better way.
It is recommended that the article is revised in light of a firmer grip of what semantic history actually does, from there adequate questions should be derived and a convincing body of empirical material described, analysed and explained. Speech act theory is also completely missing, and what else are Suharto's statements but speech acts? What do they serve for? In which context are they uttered, etc. The article makes a circular argument (quite often) and while the call for more semantic attention to the very word policy is great, it needs to be turned into an actual semantic analysis. Many words in Malay and also Bahasa Indonesian are not translations, but transliterations (e.g. "ekonomi" in Malay). A reading of "Building Nation and Society in the 1920s Dutch East Indies" by Leena Avonius is recommended as are the general introductions into global conceptual history, the problem of language usage and translation when it comes to semantics and also the book by Gluck and Tsing on Words in Motion.
I look forward to a revised version of the article.

Reviewer: 2

Comments to the Author
Review:

This is an interesting paper that mainly uses Williams' 'keyword' approach in examining the problematization of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia) with a double and apolitical meaning of 'policy' and 'wisdom'. There are some good historical-empirical descriptions of the background and the Sukarno period in the making of the discourse. However, there are also some theoretical and empirical issues that may need further attention:

A. Theoretical level

1. The main theoretical literature used is mainly by Williams (1983) (see p. 6) coupled with a small reference to one neo-Foucauldian (McGuigan 2001) on governmentality (see p. 5) and Shore et al's anthropological work on policy worlds (1997; 2011). These are no doubt relevant literature; but they also make the theoretical packaging of this paper looks rather outdated. Though there are some attempts to include more recent literature such as Jessop and Sum's 2016 piece on cultural political economy (see p. 1) and Restaneo's work (2017) on a neo-Gramscian view on the linguistic strategy in Italy's unification (see p. 3), they are rather gestural with no serious effort to engage with this literature, and more importantly, their relevance to Williams' or neo-Focuauldians' work.

On the relevance of Foucauldian concept of governmentality to this paper (see p. 5), this part is hardly explained, let alone discussed. The author only quickly links governmentality to Williams' idea of 'keyword' and this part needs further attention. One issue concerning the relevance of Foucault's concept of governmentality (governmental rationalities) to this paper is the question of 'intentionality'. Foucault's conception of 'rationality' is strictly practical and embedded in practices and discursive techniques (not intentionality). The issues of 'intentionality' and 'rationality is more related to Weber and not Foucault. In this regard, the question that this paper needs to address more directly is how far is the double meaning of the Kebijakank discourse a matter of political 'intentional' goals/ends of the New Order? This needs to be clarified and assessed first before references can be made to Foucauldian work.

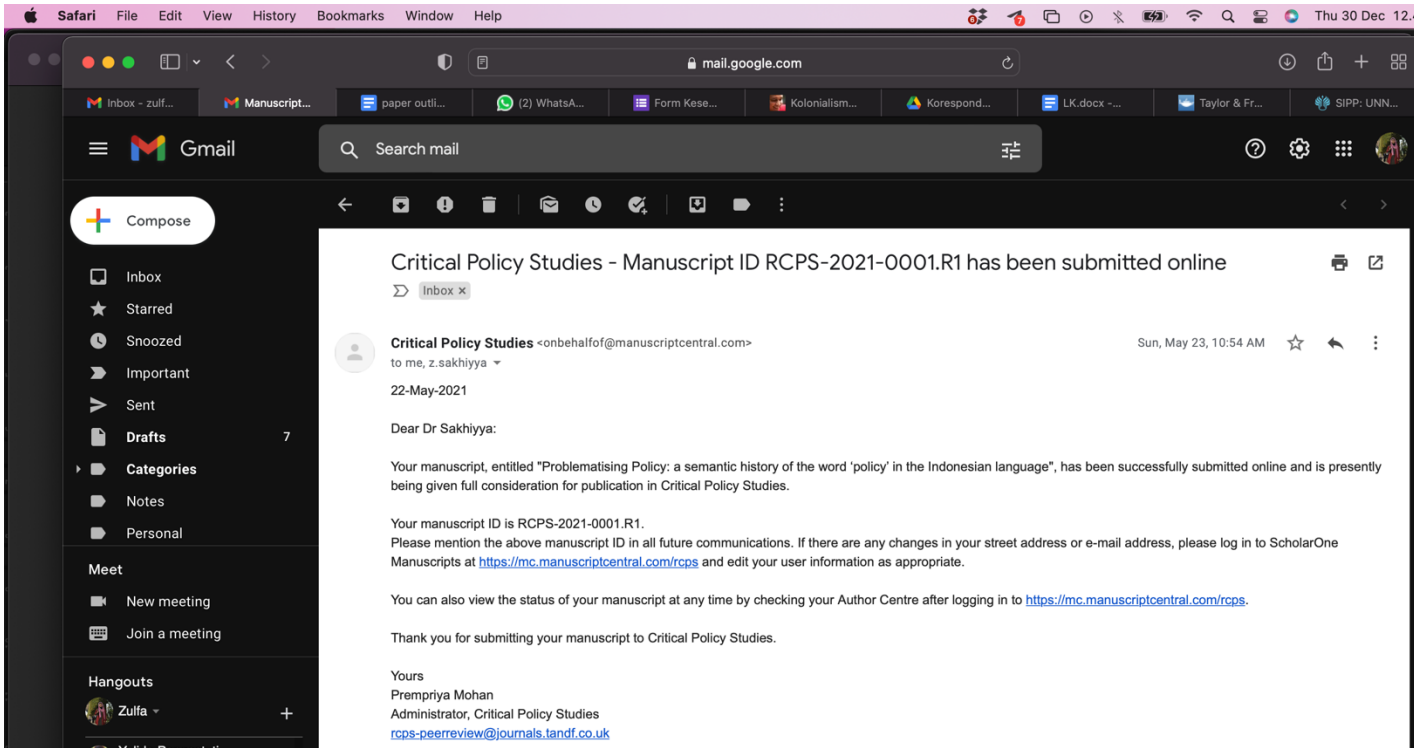
2. The paper mentions Jessop and Sum's work on Cultural Political Economy in the introduction but there is no attempt to engage with it. In fact, if the author has gone further into this approach, 'selections' and 'selectivities' (e.g., structural, agential, discursive and technological selectivities) are important concepts. This seems to be a missed opportunity to enhance the theoretical mooring of this paper as the author himself/herself noted that 'it is no coincidence that the "selection" of the term kebijakan has been at the centre of the development of Bahasa Indonesia' (see p. 11). If the author is serious about enhancing the theoretical mooring, he/she can refer to Sum and Jessop (2013) full book on Towards Cultural Political Economy in which they discuss Williams (see 116-120) and the various kinds of selectivities in Chapter 5. In this same chapter, they have also discussed the articulation of Foucault and Gramsci's work which may have resonance with Restaneo's work (2017) (see above).

B. Empirical level

1. There is a rich account of the historical background and the more recent incarnation of the discourse under the New Order. It would be better if the two were better integrated, especially in p. 6 when it moves from the colonial 'Ethical Policy' to the Sukarno era. As it stands, there is a disjunction between the two that can be enhanced with closer empirical and theoretical links (see above).

2. Introduction and conclusion
The introduction outlines that the paper is interested in the relationship between 'political discourse, policy processes and society' (see p. 1) and the conclusion ends by addressing the relationship between 'history, political discourse and society' (see p. 12). This leaves the issue of 'policy processes' out of the concluding discussion. In addition, the conclusion sees this process as politically-driven and seems to be recommending a policy towards moving away from the word 'kebijakan' by separating policy from wisdom in the democratic era. The questions are: a) do we need to have a Williams' type of analysis to come to this empirical conclusion; and b) would a policy process conclusion drawn from the empirical case study blends in better with the theoretical starting point?

**Mengirim balasan dan revisi pertama artikel pada jurnal 22 Mei 2021**



**Tabel Revisi 1**

| Reviewers' comments | Authors' responses | Revision |
|---|---|---|
| Reviewer 1 | | |
| This article takes bold strides and delivers less than it promises. The main argument - we need to look at semantics and at the very meaning of policy - is repeated very often in what is already is quite short article. | Thank you for your critical feedback. The repetitive parts have been removed, and replaced with more relevant discussion. | **Removed paragraphs:**<br><br>**1st paragraph -** Critical policy studies do not only question normative assumptions embedded in policy processes (Mattheis, 2017), but also aim to problematise the construction of policy (Webb, 2014). Studies in policy framing has focused on the constructed problems espoused by certain policies and the solutions offered by policymakers (Barbieri, 2015; Serrano-velarde, 2015; Webb, 2014).<br><br>**4th paragraph -** This article aims to contribute to this area of inquiry by employing a semantic history approach to examine the construction of the word 'policy' in Bahasa Indonesia. I focus on the word 'policy' or *kebijakan* in *Bahasa Indonesia* not only because policy serves as a lens of political process and ideological struggle (Shore et al., 2011), but also because it is a window of the relationship between political discourse, policy processes and society. It is interesting in the context of Indonesia specifically because while the domain of policy has always been political, the term 'policy' itself has been politicised.<br><br>**Another paragraph:**<br><br>This section presents an overview of the history of both the invented national language and its metadiscursive regime – language invention that has had "very real |

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| | | and material effects, determining how languages have been understood, how language policies have been constructed, how education has been pursued, how people have come to identify with particular linguistic labels" (Makoni & Pennycook, 2005, p. 138).<br><br>**Other deleted parts are provided in track changes.**<br><br>**Revised into:**<br><br>**1st paragraph -** The current study seeks to contribute to critical policy studies in at least two ways. Firstly, in problematising policy construction, language and discourse has been the focus of much critical analysis (Barbieri, 2015; Mattheis, 2017; Webb, 2014), however, none of them has been reflective of the word 'policy' itself. This paper, therefore, seeks to explore alternative approaches to understanding 'policy' and to offer insights into the ways in which the word 'policy' itself construct the social meaning of policy through the case of Indonesia. |
| While the article clearly is interesting and worth publishing, it falls short of being what it claims to be: a semantic history of the term policy. The author looks at Raymond Williams' concept of "keywords" and really only superficially discusses it. In the field of semantics, Williams is clearly not the main point of reference and should not be used as the only theoretical point of reference. | Thank you for your constructive and critical feedback. They really improved the analysis in my draft. I have added a methodology section to explore the research method, i.e. semantic history. | Please see methodology section (track changes). |
| The author misses the broad debates that emerged from the | Thank you for pointing out this important blind | **Second paragraph:** |

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| two most established schools of conceptual history: the Cambridge School of Quentin Skinner and his colleagues; and the tradition of Begriffsgeschichte based on the groundbreaking theoretical work of the German historian Reinhart Koselleck. Both approaches have seen strong interest in recent years and have been further developed into serving as methodologies for transnational and global studies. | spot! I agree that it is important to locate the argument within a broader debate. I have revised the manuscript accordingly by adding this debate in conceptual history. | Secondly, this study adds to the growing methodological debates within historical semantics by employing a keyword analysis. The majority of studies in this field has drawn upon a pragmatic conceptual history or known as the Cambridge School led by Quentin Skinner and colleagues which focus on the various functions political discourse could perform – how certain discourse is adopted, adjusted and altered through political processes. Despite its ground-breaking historical methodology and nuanced interpretation of political discourses, the Cambridge School does not provide any tools to unpack the 'meanings' of words. In other words, it focuses on praxis. Cultural materialism approach as proposed by Raymond Williams, on the other hands, focuses on system of meanings or semantics. It provides the tool to examine the meanings of keywords and their material effects within their changing historical contexts which suits the purpose of this study. By problematising the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language, this study aims to contribute to the understanding of how the creation of meanings in certain keywords is related to wider political, economic and cultural conditions. |
| The article is also superficial in the operationalisation of said method. Semantic history is not simply a perspective, but a careful method. The present article looks merely at the lexical history of the term policy and mostly at utterances of President Suharto (and to some degree Sukarno), It does not say why it chose which empirical material, it makes bold | A method in semantic history is now added, thank you for this reminder. | **Methodology**<br>Theoretically, this study belongs to the field of historical materialism, especially historical semantics that explores "vocabulary of a crucial area of social and cultural discussion, which has been inherited within precise historical and social conditions and which has to be made at once conscious and critical" (Williams, 1983, p. 23). |

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| assumptions as to why Suharto uses certain terms (e.g. the author simply guesses about the usage of the term "manifest") but fails to carefully prepare and contextualise those claims. | | Williams recognised the importance of studying words in their socio-political context, and he defined keyword analysis as:<br>"This is not a neutral review of meanings. It is an exploration of the vocabulary of a crucial area of social and cultural discussion, which has been inherited within precise historical and social conditions and which has to be made at once conscious and critical – subject to change as well as to continuity." (Williams, 1983, p. 24)<br><br>Williams' concern on the development of 'keywords', or "words that played a key role in the semantics of modern society", is relevant to Cultural Political Economy (CPE) approach (N.-L. Sum & Jessop, 2013, p. 117). 'Discursive selectivity' is one mechanism in CPE that operationalises this keyword analysis by focusing on certain discourses and their associated practices. The selection of the word *kebijakan* to contain the meaning of policy has highlighted this discursive selectivity that involves more than arbitrariness of signifiers restricted to a linguistic or symbolic area. As Sum argues that "the selection, retention and institutionalisation of discourses depends in part on structural, technological, and agential selectivities in the potential for social transformation in the 'extra- |

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| | | discursive' realm" (2015, p. 212). One relevant question that can be derived from this conceptual framework is that: what are the specific discursive practices and structuring principles involved in consolidating the 'policy' that articulate power through policy and materialise power relations in the Indonesian contexts?<br><br>However, such discursive practices are poorly documented, and it requires knowledge of many historical periods. To proceed into this challenging territory, as suggested by Tsing, it is useful to to "look for moments of translation and the negotiation of meaning rather than full historical context. I pay special attention to the tropes through which words and concepts are set into context. Tropes are entry points into political histories" (2009, p. 42). The tropes used in this is study are policy document archives (1950s – 1970s), relevant inputs in the early Bahasa Indonesia dictionaries (1900s – 2004), and the speeches of the two Presidents of the Republic of Indonesia, i.e. Soekarno and Soeharto. The archives of policy documents are useful in tracing the changing semiosis, their meanings, and changing structural-political contexts. This study also consults with early related dictionaries ranging from both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries in Bahasa Indonesia, Malay, Javanese, Dutch and English published in 1901, 1916, 1920, 1953, 1970, 1982, 1988, and 2004. Soekarno and Soeharto were the first two Presidents of the Republic of Indonesia. Soekarno (1945 – 1966) was the first president constructing |

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| | | Indonesia after Independence, Soeharto (1966 – 1998) succeeded Soekarno administration where key language standardisation occurred. In addition to this data, a brief history of Indonesia and the standardisation of *Bahasa Indonesia* is presented as the structural contexts that regulates the discursive selectivities. The data analysis starts with a micro-level analysis of the word 'kebijakan' and its semantic fields in those documents or speeches, and then connect them with the macro socio-political level. |
| Bahasa Indonesia emerged in the 1920s/30s as a revolutionary language that deliberately favoured no minority or majority part of the population. The examples given for the use of language politics to forge nations (France and Italy) are fine, but again the author fails to even provide some of the original and groundbreaking books (Peasants into Frenchmen, by Eugen Weber, and a number of publications around the famous saying by D'Azeglio: "Fare gli Italiani"). In fact, the case is so obvious that it does not need to be treated as a new insight. Ever since Alfred the Great introduced a standard version of English, setting the language of the state and its schools and administration was a powerful way of forging a nation and an identity. | Thank you for your constructive feedback. Suggested literature, i.e., Eugen Weber (1976) and Stephanie Malia Hom (2013) are added.<br><br>Although this case is not something new, it is important to make the familiar unfamiliar in the Indonesian context where Bahasa Indonesia has been taken for granted. | "In the name of nationalism and revolution to change "Peasants into Frenchmen" (Weber, 1976), those languages were banned and linked to anti-revolutionary factions, while French was made as the single national language. The process of Italian unification also involved such linguistic strategy (Restaneo, 2017). Massimo d'Azeglio, a Piedmontese-Italian statement, even stated "we have made Italy, now we must make Italians" (Hom, 2013)." |
| What would have been needed is a presentation of how that process played out in Indonesia. With Anderson one of the main authors is quoted, but the article is otherwise under-referenced both regarding the approach of semantic history and the case of Indonesia. Clearly, the article overlooks the | The role of media has been mentioned in the early development of Bahasa Indonesia and the language standardisation paragraphs. In addition, discussion on semantic field is already in the | "For the anti-colonial intelligentsia, Bahasa Indonesia was a powerful instrument to endorse the anti-colonial nationalist agenda and build a new nation called Indonesia (Anderson, 2006; Avonious, 2014). **Print media** played a central role in channeling Bahasa Indonesia as a lingua franca capable of gluing 400 |

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| role of media, it does not even mention them. For Bahasa Indonesia, media were of course of major importance. And it is also quite necessary to embed a concept's semantics into what the literature calls a semantic field, i.e. which other concepts are connected to 'policy'. Apparently, and very interestingly, wisdom is associated with policy. Now, where does this tradition come from? Is it simply a translation? Why is such a term chosen? Can we follow the first translations? The article suggests that it was the very leadership that coined the meaning of the term. It would need to be proven and argued for in a better way. | manuscript, i.e. the linguistic roots of *kebajikan* and *kebijaksanaan.* | distinct ethnic languages across the archipelago in 1920s. The language was declared as the national language in the 1928 Youth Pledge."<br><br>"Appropriate and correct usage was ensured through a policing process through educational institutions and **media**, i.e., radio, television, information networks (Anderson, 1966, 2006; Hooker, 1993)." |
| It is recommended that the article is revised in light of a firmer grip of what semantic history actually does, from there adequate questions should be derived and a convincing body of empirical material described, analysed and explained. Speech act theory is also completely missing, and what else are Suharto's statements but speech acts? What do they serve for? In which context are they uttered, etc. The article makes a circular argument (quite often) and while the call for more semantic attention to the very word policy is great, it needs to be turned into an actual semantic analysis. Many words in Malay and also Bahasa Indonesian are not translations, but transliterations (e.g. "ekonomi" in Malay). A reading of "Building Nation and Society in the 1920s Dutch East Indies" by Leena Avonius is recommended as are the general introductions into global conceptual history, the problem of | Thank you for the recommended literature. Avonious' paper has been used as the reference for the early development of Bahasa Indonesia during the 1920s.<br><br>Gluck and Tsing is useful in charting out the discussion on language usage and translation. | **Avonious:**<br>Bahasa Indonesia is a language that was born along with the development of Indonesia as a nation in the early 20$^{th}$ century (Avonious, 2014). The language was developed from predominantly Malay and Javanese, as well as other foreign languages such as Dutch, Arabic and English. In 1920s, only 5 percent of the population spoke Malay as their mother tongue, and now almost every Indonesian speaks Bahasa Indonesia. There are at least three main reasons for this rapid development, i.e. the Dutch policy, the nationalist independent movement, and language standardisation. Unlike British and French colonial language policies, the Dutch colonial government restricted native population from accessing Dutch as it would reduce their authority and power. Both the Dutch and Japanese colonial government saw Bahasa Indonesia |

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| language usage and translation when it comes to semantics and also the book by Gluck and Tsing on Words in Motion. | | as a useful tool to govern an ethno-linguistically complex territory (Avonious, 2014). For the anti-colonial intelligentsia, Bahasa Indonesia was a powerful instrument to endorse the anti-colonial nationalist agenda and build a new nation called Indonesia (Anderson, 2006; Avonious, 2014).<br><br>"There is little known about the earlier usage and coining of the word '*kebijakan'*. In its birth and development, the Indonesian language was highly influenced by Malay, Javanese, Dutch, Arabic and other foreign languages, either they are translated or transliterated. Dictionaries across periods have confirmed that kebijakan is not a transliteration, it is rather a translation."<br><br>**Gluck and Tsing**<br>"However, such discursive practices are poorly documented, and it requires knowledge of many historical periods. To proceed into this challenging territory, as suggested by Tsing, it is useful to to "look for moments of translation and the negotiation of meaning rather than full historical context. I pay special attention to the tropes through which words and concepts are set into context. Tropes are entry points into political histories" (2009, p. 42). The tropes used in this is study are policy document archives (1950s – 1970s), relevant inputs in the early Bahasa Indonesia dictionaries (1900s – 2004), and the speeches of the two Presidents of the Republic of Indonesia, i.e. Soekarno and Soeharto." |
| **Reviewer 2** | | |
| This is an interesting paper that mainly uses Williams' 'keyword' | Thank you for the encouragement. Your | The data has been highlighted even more in the methodology section. |

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| approach in examining the problematization of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia) with a double and apolitical meaning of 'policy' and 'wisdom'. There are some good historical-empirical descriptions of the background and the Sukarno period in the making of the discourse. | kind words motivate me to keep working on the revision. | |
| The main theoretical literature used is mainly by Williams (1983) (see p. 6) coupled with a small reference to one neo-Foucauldian (McGuigan 2001) on governmentality (see p. 5) and Shore et al's anthropological work on policy worlds (1997; 2011). These are no doubt relevant literature; but they also make the theoretical packaging of this paper looks rather outdated. Though there are some attempts to include more recent literature such as Jessop and Sum's 2016 piece on cultural political economy (see p. 1) and Restaneo's work (2017) on a neo-Gramscian view on the linguistic strategy in Italy's unification (see p. 3), they are rather gestural with no serious effort to engage with this literature, and more importantly, their relevance to Williams' or neo-Foucauldian's work. | Thank you for pointing out this. Foucault's governmentality has been removed, as it is contrived with cultural materialism. Jessop and Sum has been explored further to supplement Williams' keyword analysis. | Revisions are made throughout the article (track changes), but the place I intently discussed this is in the new methodology section. Please see methodology section. |
| On the relevance of Foucauldian concept of governmentality to this paper (see p. 5), this part is hardly explained, let alone discussed. The author only quickly links governmentality to Williams' idea of 'keyword' and this part needs further attention. One issue concerning the relevance of Foucault's concept of governmentality (governmental rationalities) to this paper is the question of 'intentionality'. | Foucault's governmentality has been removed, as it is contrived with cultural materialism. Jessop and Sum has been explored further to supplement Williams' keyword analysis. | Please see above.<br><br>**And this part has been removed:**<br><br>Foucauldian notion of governmentality and power/knowledge conceptions might be relevant for analysing the relationship between the keyword *kebijakan* and its social impact, however, they tend to "play down the politics of actual government" (McGuigan, 2001, p. 199). |

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| Foucault's conception of 'rationality' is strictly practical and embedded in practices and discursive techniques (not intentionality). The issues of 'intentionality' and 'rationality is more related to Weber and not Foucault. In this regard, the question that this paper needs to address more directly is how far is the double meaning of the Kebijakan discourse a matter of political 'intentional' goals/ends of the New Order? This needs to be clarified and assessed first before references can be made to Foucauldian work. | | Therefore, following McGuigan (2001), the analysis of the emergence and use of the term over time in the Indonesian trajectory is done by employing semantic history, especially keyword analysis theorised by Raymond Williams. |
| The paper mentions Jessop and Sum's work on Cultural Political Economy in the introduction but there is no attempt to engage with it. In fact, if the author has gone further into this approach, 'selections' and 'selectivities' (e.g., structural, agential, discursive and technological selectivities) are important concepts. This seems to be a missed opportunity to enhance the theoretical mooring of this paper as the author himself/herself noted that 'it is no coincidence that the "selection" of the term kebijakan has been at the centre of the development of Bahasa Indonesia' (see p. 11). If the author is serious about enhancing the theoretical mooring, he/she can refer to Sum and Jessop (2013) full book on Towards Cultural Political Economy in which they discuss Williams (see 116-120) and the various kinds of selectivities in Chapter 5. In this same chapter, they have also discussed the articulation of Foucault and Gramsci's work which may have resonance with Restaneo's work (2017) (see above). | Yes, this is an important point, thank you very much. I add Sum and Jessop (2013) theory on selectivities (structural and discursive) to supplement Williams' keyword analysis. | See methodology section (track changes) |

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| There is a rich account of the historical background and the more recent incarnation of the discourse under the New Order. It would be better if the two were better integrated, especially in p. 6 when it moves from the colonial 'Ethical Policy' to the Sukarno era. As it stands, there is a disjunction between the two that can be enhanced with closer empirical and theoretical links (see above). | Yes, I agree. The paragraph on ethical policy has been moved to other section to enable better flow of ideas. | Nevertheless, despite consistent pattern on the translation of policy into kebijakan or kebijaksanaan in Bahasa Indonesia, there is outlier. During the colonial period when the Dutch Indies (the then Indonesia) was governed by the Dutch colonial government, there was a very popular policy called *Ethische Politiek* or translated as 'Ethical Policy' in English. It comprised of three main programs, i.e. irrigation, emigration, and education. The policy, however, was actually not a 'gift' from the colonial government. It was the result of a long struggle by the ethical and association groups in the Netherlands, in response to the conservative colonial politics implemented in Indonesia. By 'ethical' the Dutch meant human rights ideals. These ethical ideas started to emerge in 1899 and were promoted by a liberal Dutch lawyer and statesman, Conrad Theodor van Deventer. He published an article entitled *"Een eereschuld"* (A Debt of Honor) in the Dutch journal *De Gids* arguing that the colonial government had a moral responsibility to repay the wealth that the Netherlands had extorted from the Indies (van Deventer, 1899). This was in contrast with the previous official policy that saw the Indies as a "region for profit making" or *wingewest* (Hurgronje, 1915). The interesting part is the translation of this Ethical Policy into Bahasa Indonesia as it is rendered as *Politik Etis*, not *Kebijakan Etis*. The word *politiek* or policy in this context was rendered as *politik* in Indonesian (or politics), not *kebijakan* or *kebijaksanaan* by the nationalist intelligentsia in the colonial period. Even until today, every Indonesian |

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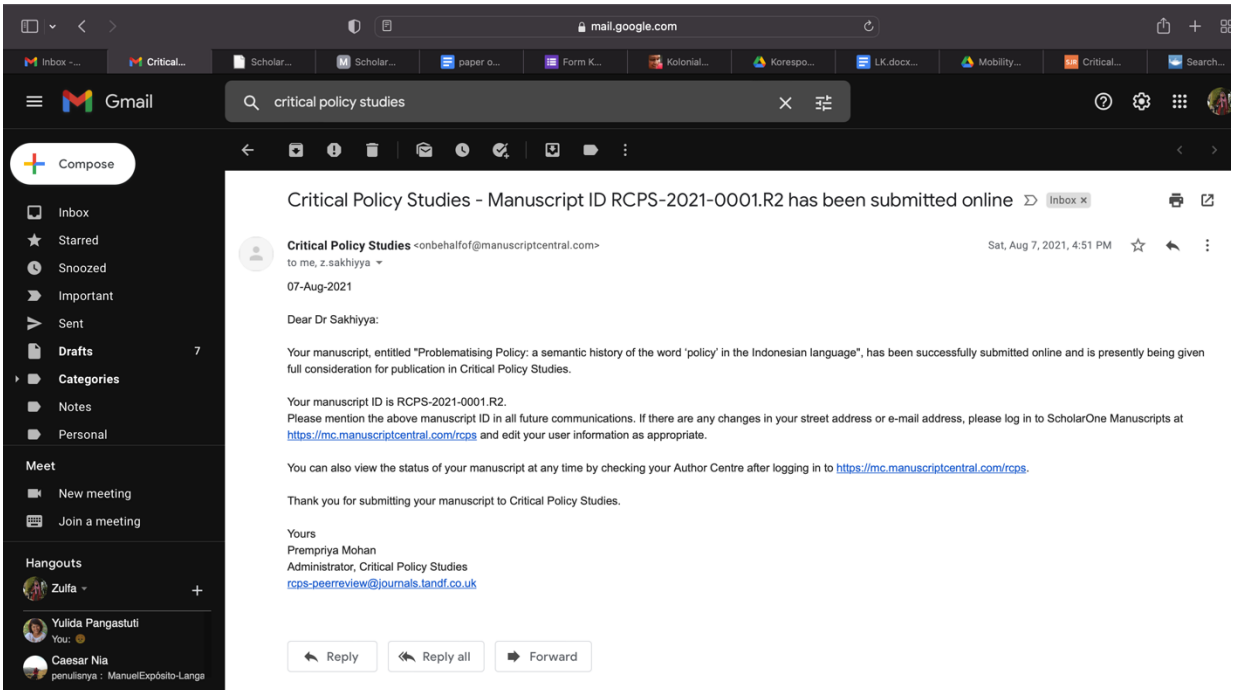
| | | learns *Politik Etis* or Ethical Politics in history lessons and textbooks. This outlier strengthens the argument that the translation of the word 'policy' has been indeed political depending on who chooses the meanings and why. |
| The introduction outlines that the paper is interested in the relationship between 'political discourse, policy processes and society' (see p. 1) and the conclusion ends by addressing the relationship between 'history, political discourse and society' (see p. 12). This leaves the issue of 'policy processes' out of the concluding discussion. In addition, the conclusion sees this process as politically-driven and seems to be recommending a policy towards moving away from the word 'kebijakan' by separating policy from wisdom in the democratic era. The questions are: a) do we need to have a Williams' type of analysis to come to this empirical conclusion; and b) would a policy process conclusion drawn from the empirical case study blends in better with the theoretical starting point? | The introduction and conclusion are now revised as suggested. | See introduction and conclusion section (track changes) |

**Pemberitahuan revisi mayor dari editor 18 Juli 2021**

## Mengirim revisi kedua 7 Agustus 2021




## Tabel Revisi Kedua sebagai respon terhadap reviewers

| Reviewers' comments | Authors' responses | Revision |
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| **Reviewer 1** | | |
| You have edited your work to a significant degree. The changes make your argument and findings appear in a much clearer light. Congratulations. | Thank you for your helpful and critical feedback. They really improved the writing and analysis of the paper. | |
| **Reviewer 2** | | |
| This is a disappointing resubmission of the paper on using Williams' 'keyword' approach in examining the problematization of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia). It now adds a small section on 'methodology' of less than a full page by (a) cutting out Foucault and governmentality; and (b) claiming that this resubmission is using Williams' 'cultural materialism' approach in conjunction with Sum and Jessop's 'cultural political economy'. There are | Forgive my previous disappointing revision. Thanks to your useful and critical feedback, in this third submission, the paper has been revised again in terms of its abstract, methodology, all the discussion sections and conclusion have been rewritten. | See track changes for further details. But I pasted the revised **abstract** below:<br><br>"This article uses a cultural materialism approach that combines Williams' keyword analysis with Sum and Jessop's cultural political economy (CPE) to problematise the word 'policy' by taking the case of Indonesia. The examination shows that while the domain of policy has |

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| still a few theoretical gaps and integration problems with this piece. | | always been political, in the Indonesian context specifically, the term 'policy' itself has been politicised. Focusing on the keyword 'policy' and CPE's conceptualisation of discursive selectivities, I examine the selection, retention and institutionalisation of the word across policy speeches, policy documents, dictionaries and public debates. I argue that the construction of the word policy as 'wise' has been made through the cloak of wisdom in order to build an apolitical image of policy processes. Combining CPE approaches with traditional historical semantics frameworks offers a way to be more reflective of political discourses, especially their keywords. The insights from the linguistic field of lexical semantics does not simply highlight the problems in policy construction, but also as a way to enhance the debate in cultural policy domain wherein policy discourse and the ambiguity of language plays a central role." |
| The short section on 'methodology' (see p. 16) really mentions the 'theoretical concepts/approaches' that are being used. The paper claims that it is using Sum and Jessop's concept of 'discursive selectivity' (2013: 215-6 and 220-21) to operationalize Williams' 'cultural materialism'. This is a good start; but the question is HOW does the author operationalize this link. Quoting from the cited authors does not | Thank you for the encouragement and for pointing out what is missing in the revision. The discussion on how to operationalize the link between discursive selectivity with cultural materialism has been added. As suggested, I use CPE's mechanism of | ***Revised Methodology section:***<br><br>"By drawing on the insights of CPE, "the selection, retention and institutionalisation of discourses" (N. L. Sum, 2015, p. 212) is central to connecting the semiotic resources and extra-semiotic contexts. Within this framework, while all |

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| constitute operationalization. There needs to be a bit more. For example, is it through a textual analysis of documents and why are those documents chosen? Is it through a few texts and which approach is used to analyze the texts? In Sum and Jessop's 2013 book (2013: 124-7 and 153-4), they suggest the use of Fairclough's 'critical discourse approach', which involves analyses of genre chains, genre style and inter-discursivity (see p. 230 of their book). This discussion is missing from this section, which means that it is too thin and gestural. It needs a re-write. | selection, retention and institutionalisation to establish the link, and use CDA's genre chains to operationalise the analysis. | construals are of equal signification, only some construals, such as the word *kebijakan*, get selected and retained as the basis for constituting, institutionalising and reproducing social relations, in this case the social meanings of policy.<br><br>To further operationalise the examination of the discursive selectivities of the word policy or its selection, retention and institutionalisation across various different genres of discourses, Sum and Jessop recommends the use of 'genre chains" offered by Fairclough (2003). Genre chains link different genres of discourse together and thus enable this research to look at the contested nature of the meanings of policy and their articulation between policy speeches, policy documents, dictionaries and public debates. In this study, the genre chains under analysis are policy document archives (1950s – 1970s), relevant inputs in the early Bahasa Indonesia dictionaries (1900s – 2004), and policy speeches of the two Presidents of the Republic of Indonesia as they are the key resources of policy articulation. The archives of policy documents are useful in tracing the changing semiosis, their meanings, and changing structural-political contexts. This study also consults with early related dictionaries ranging from both monolingual and bilingual |

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| | | dictionaries in Bahasa Indonesia, Malay, Javanese, Dutch and English published in 1901, 1916, 1920, 1953, 1970, 1982, 1988, and 2004. Those dictionaries record the selection and retention of the word policy, its changing meanings and semantic fields. Whereas policy speeches made by the first two presidents offer not only government decision and response but also institutionalisation and control in the formulation of policy. Soekarno and Soeharto were the first two Presidents of the Republic of Indonesia. Soekarno (1945 – 1966) was the first president constructing Indonesia after Independence, Soeharto (1966 – 1998) succeeded Soekarno administration where key language standardisation occurred. In addition to this data, a brief history of Indonesia and the standardisation of *Bahasa Indonesia* is presented as the structural contexts that regulates the discursive selectivities.<br><br>The data analysis starts with a textual analysis of genre chains of 'kebijakan' and its semantic fields in those documents or speeches to identify the changing and contested notion of policy. The semantic findings are then connected to a broader case of selection, retention and institutionalisation of the social meanings of policy and are discussed in the section |

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| | | below. The data and analysis credibility is not grounded on traditional criteria such as number of frequency or occurrence, but instead on methodological integrity, insightfulness and authenticity of the findings to advance the debate in the field of critical policy studies."<br><br>***Removed parts in Methodology:***<br><br>One relevant question that can be derived from this conceptual framework is that: what are the specific discursive practices and structuring principles involved in consolidating the 'policy' that articulate power through policy and materialise power relations in the Indonesian contexts?<br><br>However, such discursive practices are poorly documented, and it requires knowledge of many historical periods. To proceed into this challenging territory, as suggested by Tsing, it is useful to "look for moments of translation and the negotiation of meaning rather than full historical context. I pay special attention to the tropes through which words and concepts are set into context. Tropes are entry points into political histories" (2009, p. 42). |
| After this very short theoretical/methodological section, the rest of the paper is a minor adjustment | Thank you. The rest of the paper has been revised and re-worked by linking | **Selection of the keyword** |

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| of the previous submission without fully using Sum and Jessop's idea of 'discursive selectivity'. In fact, the concept on 'selectivity' is not even mentioned again in the rest of the paper. The 'concluding remarks' stay more or less the same (see later). | back to the methodological framework (selection, retention and institutionalisation) into discussion. The concluding remark has been re-written. | "This section discusses the selection of the word 'kebijakan' and its semantic fields. By carrying out a descriptive analysis of the word 'kebijakan' and its semantic fields, this section demonstrates not only the linguistic roots and lexical construction that builds the word *'kebijakan'*, but also the fact that the word 'policy' is carefully selected to project certain meanings while disguising others. As Sum and Jessop argue that "semiotic resources set limits to what can be imagined, whether in terms of 'objects', possible statements within a discursive formation, themes that can be articulated within a given semantic field" (2013, p. 215)."<br><br>**Retention and Institutionalisation of *Kebijakan***<br>This section deals with how the established meaning is retained and institutionalised through top-down and centralised language standardisation. In 1988, the Language Centre launched the first official monolingual dictionary of *Bahasa Indonesia*. Entitled *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (KBBI – The Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language), its purpose was to refine and standardise words for the national language. |
| On a more minor point, the author should replace 'historical materialism' in the text (see pp. 4 and 16) with | Thank you for pointing this out. 'historical materialism' has been | See methodology section, first paragraph. |

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| Williams' 'cultural materialism'. 'Historical materialism' is not the same as 'cultural materialism'. In this case, it cannot be 'historical materialism' as the piece has not even give a small mention of Marx (or even Gramsci). | replaced with 'cultural materalism'. | |
| The empirical account remains rich but there is little link with the theoretical/methodological section. Williams is mentioned in the empirical section; but Sum and Jessop completely disappear. This cannot be the case as this resubmission claims that it is using Sum and Jessop's approach on 'discursively selectivity' to operationalize Williams' 'keyword analysis'. The case study has little indication of such an attempt. For example, what are the 'selection, retention and institutionalization' (see p. 16) of the policy discourse in this case? | Thank you. The empirical account has been revised and adjusted by integrating the methodological framework into discussion. | **Policy and the cloak of wisdom**<br><br>The discursive selectivities of the word *kebijakan* serves to mask the political processes in policy making and represents it to be apolitical. This is despite the fact that political reality exists beyond language. The apolitical mask is central in establishing stability and avoiding criticism towards the New Order's interests and policies. This is because the New Order military government was concerned with stability as a form of control (Heryanto, 2005). The cultural (language) order was one of its strategies. Heryanto criticises *Bahasa Indonesia* as a "language [that] is not a transparency through which we can recognise, describe, or name that piece of 'reality'" (1995, p. 1). Or in Williams' words, language is not a reflection of reality, rather, it is constitutive of reality (1983). This means that *Bahasa Indonesia*, which is shaped by institutional control, in part shapes how we understand the world and deal with it, particularly with the meaning and reality of 'policy'. In other words, the discursive selectivities of policy have never been |

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| | | natural and neutral, not least because they deal with politics. |
| The concluding remarks have little to do with the theoretical/methodological section. It should at least refer back to the possible contributions of the co-use of Williams' and Sum and Jessop's approach to the study. Afterall, Critical Policy Studies is read by a wider audience than a case study on policy discourse in Indonesia. | Thank you. The concluding remark is now revised as suggested by linking back to the theoretical or methodological implication. | **Concluding remark**<br><br>Theoretically and methodologically, the co-use of Williams' keyword analysis and Sum and Jessop's CPE approach to study policy discourses has opened a new avenue for the reflexive processes of policy problematisation within the area of critical policy studies. The insights offered by lexical semantics through keyword analysis complements the lack of operational procedure of discursive selectivities in CPE. By problematising the word *'kebijakan',* this study aims to contribute to the understanding of how the creation of meanings in certain keywords is related to wider political, economic and cultural conditions. I have demonstrated that the selection, retention and institutionalisation of the word '*kebijakan'* has served to mask the political processes in policy making and represents it to be apolitical. It does not make any sense to conceive the politically-driven process called 'policy' apolitical. In the modern and contemporary era, policy is no longer associated with sagacity or wisdom, and political leaders are no longer seen as wise and sagacious. It is likely that as Indonesia becomes more democratic (Rosser *et al*, 2005), it is high time to de- |

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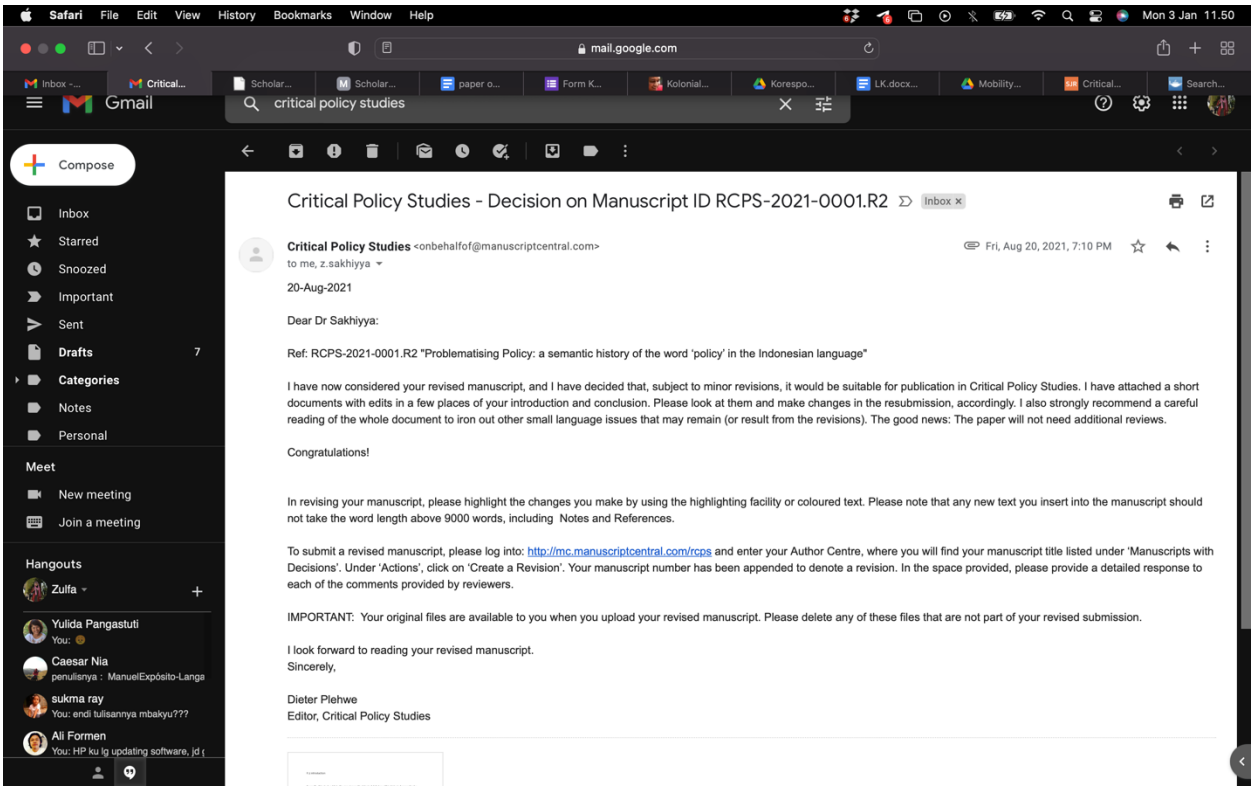
| | | construct the word *'kebijakan'* by separating the meaning of politics and wisdom within the word. This historical semantic awareness is important to crack open a possibility of alternative meanings central in democratic processes. |

## Pemberitahuan revisi minor dari editor 20 Agustus 2021



Critical Policy Studies - Decision on Manuscript ID RCPS-2021-0001.R2

**Critical Policy Studies** <onbehalfof@manuscriptcentral.com>
to me, z.sakhiyya

Fri, Aug 20, 2021, 7:10 PM

20-Aug-2021

Dear Dr Sakhiyya:

Ref: RCPS-2021-0001.R2 "Problematising Policy: a semantic history of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language"

I have now considered your revised manuscript, and I have decided that, subject to minor revisions, it would be suitable for publication in Critical Policy Studies. I have attached a short documents with edits in a few places of your introduction and conclusion. Please look at them and make changes in the resubmission, accordingly. I also strongly recommend a careful reading of the whole document to iron out other small language issues that may remain (or result from the revisions). The good news: The paper will not need additional reviews.

Congratulations!

In revising your manuscript, please highlight the changes you make by using the highlighting facility or coloured text. Please note that any new text you insert into the manuscript should not take the word length above 9000 words, including Notes and References.

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I look forward to reading your revised manuscript.
Sincerely,

Dieter Plehwe
Editor, Critical Policy Studies

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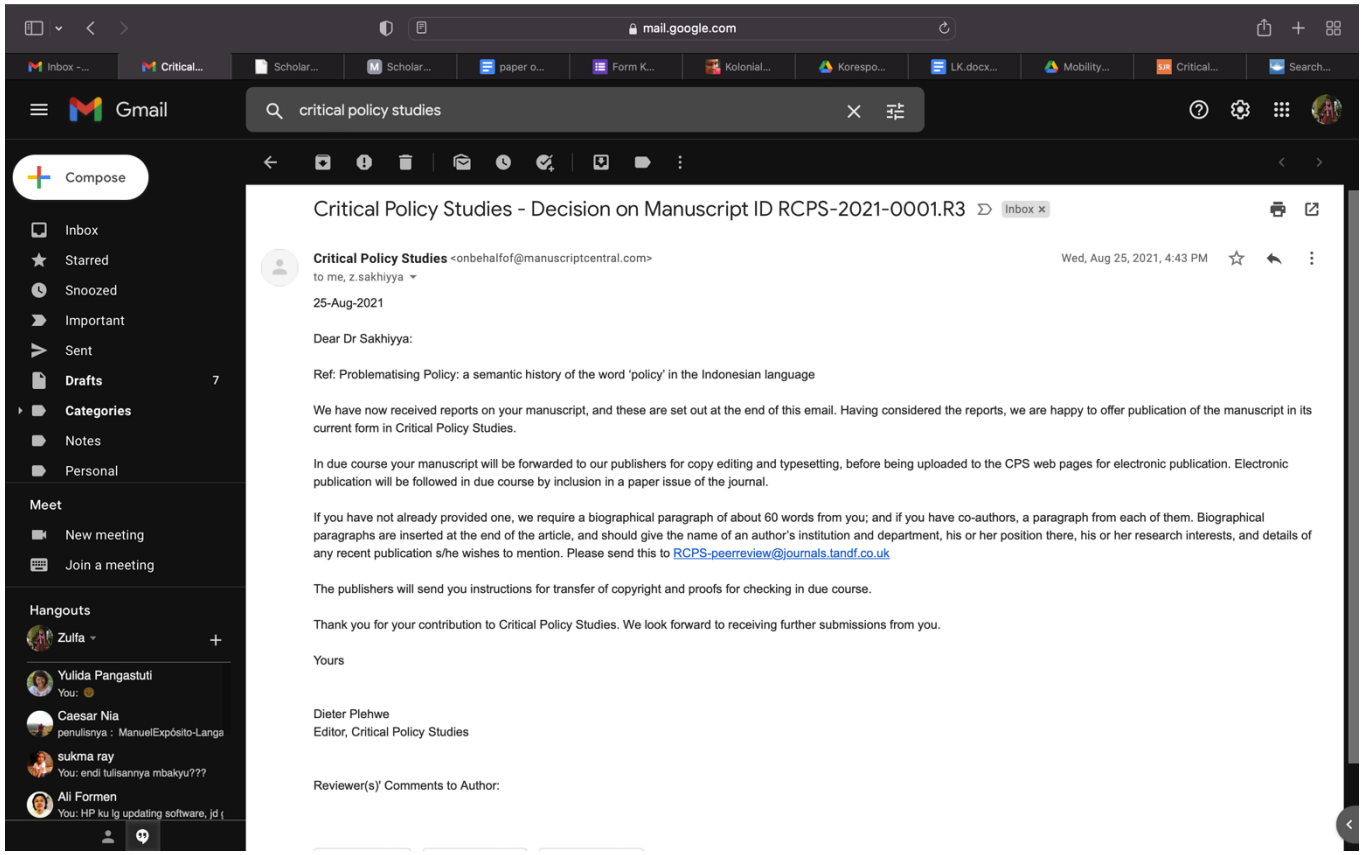

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to me, z.sakhiyya

25-Aug-2021

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Ref: Problematising Policy: a semantic history of the word 'policy' in the Indonesian language

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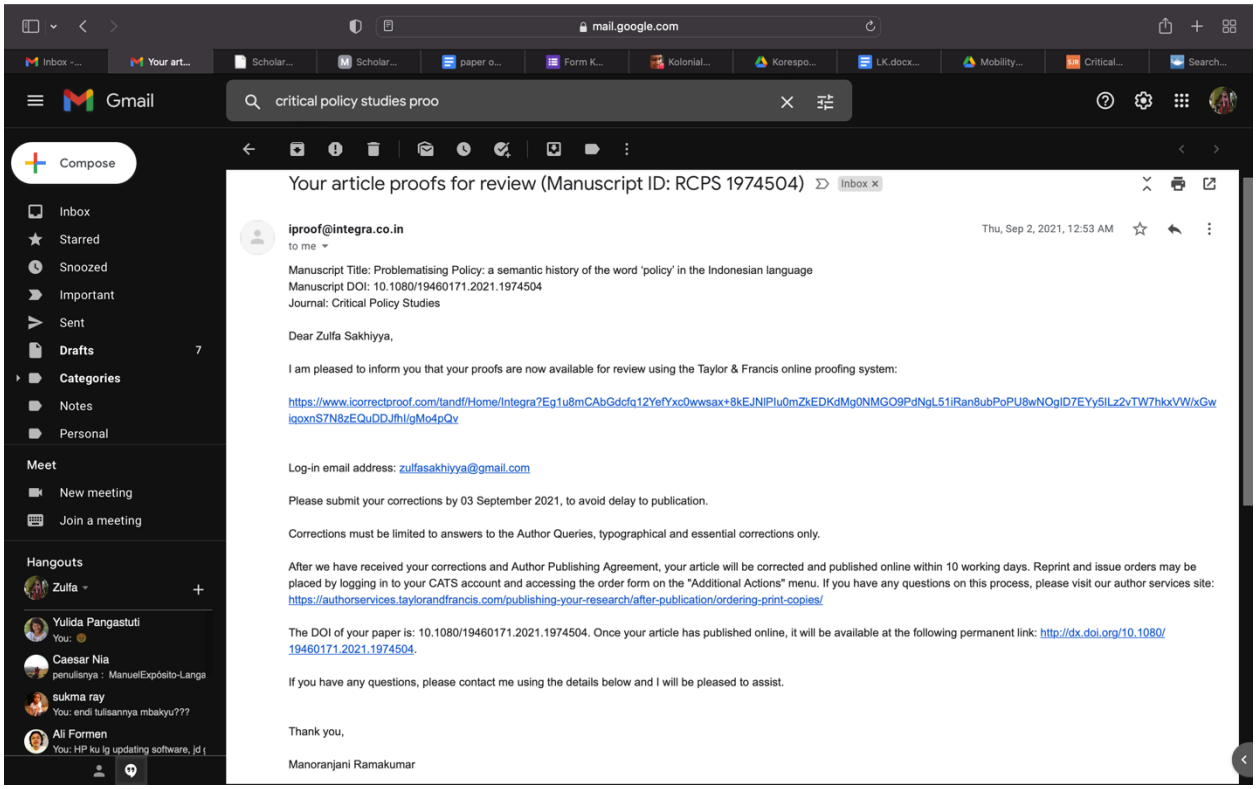
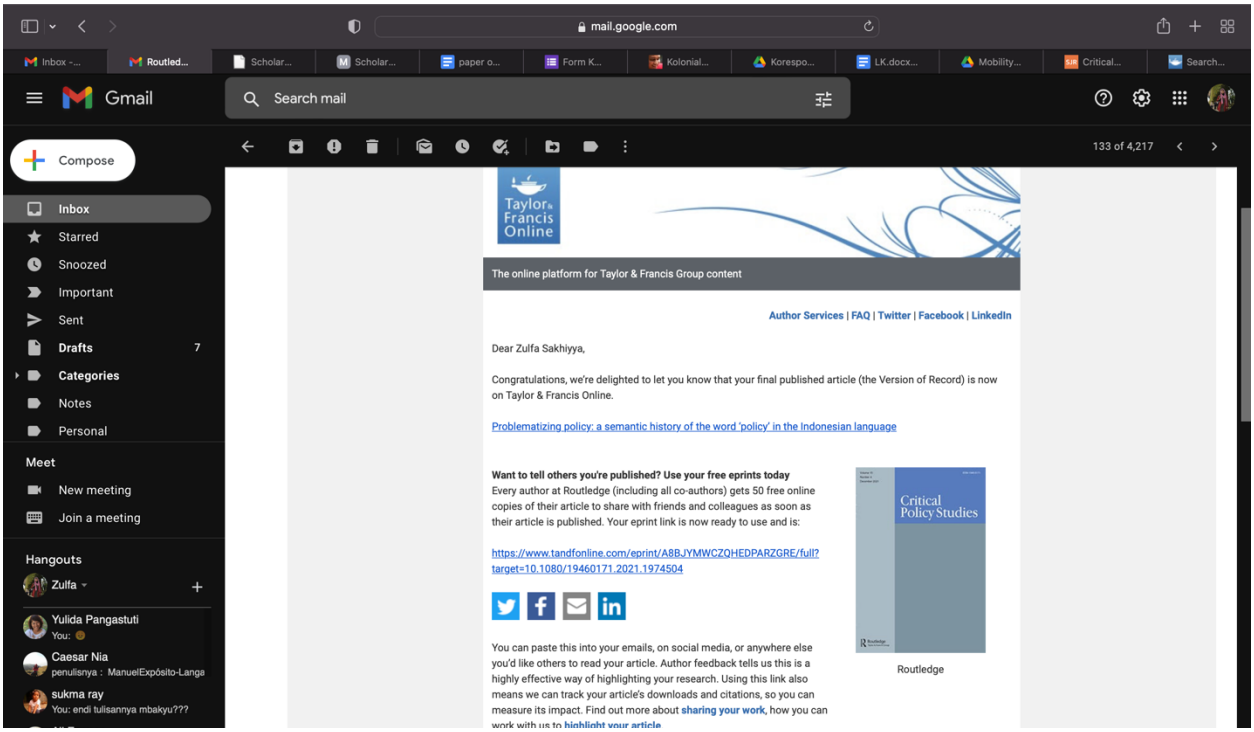
## Pemberitahuan artikel telah published 6 September 2021