THE USE OF ENGLISH IN INDONESIAN FILM TITLES:
A HABITUS IN THE INDONESIAN POST-NEW ORDER
FILM INDUSTRY

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Abstrak
Penggunaan bahasa Inggris pada beberapa judul film Indonesia merupakan realita yang terlihat sejak runtuhnya era Orde Baru pada tahun 1998. Aspek kondisi sosial dan latar belakang sejarah memunculkan asumsi bahwa penggunaan bahasa Inggris pada beberapa judul film Indonesia memiliki keterkaitan. Oleh karena itu, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk membuktikan asumsi tersebut dengan menggunakan metode kualitatif dan pendekatan fenomenologis yang didukung dengan studi kepustakaan dalam menelaah kondisi sosial dan konteks sejarah yang mendorong lahirnya fenomena dalam industri perfilman Indonesia berdasarkan perspektif budaya dengan menerapkan teori habitus Bourdieu. Menekankan pada habitus sebagai produk sejarah dan peran bahasa Inggris di Indonesia pasca runtuhnya era Orde Baru. Hasil kajian membuktikan bahwa pesatnya perkembangan perfilman Indonesia, dalam hal penggunaan bahasa Inggris di sejumlah judul film Indonesia, tidak lepas dari konteks sejarah, globalisasi, dan kondisi sosial yang melatarbelakangi kemunculannya. Fenomena semacam itu yang kemudian menjadi kebiasaan berulang dalam industri perfilman Indonesia yang menunjukkan bahwa habitus adalah produk sejarah. Ini juga merupakan penandaan yang berangkat dari meningkatnya peran bahasa Inggris di era pasca Orde Baru, karena tidak ada lagi kontrol atau pembatasan penggunaan bahasa Indonesia dengan dalih penyeragaman dan peningkatan jati diri bangsa.

I. INTRODUCTION
Currently, Indonesian film industry is seen to be developing quite rapidly due to the large number of domestic film productions which have made Indonesian films quite popular among Indonesian people, although most Indonesian people are still interested in western or "Hollywood" films. According to sources obtained from the investment ministry (BKPM), the growth of the Indonesian film industry is increasing with the increasing number of domestic film productions and the number of viewers. In 2018, the youth romance film, Dilan, was able to attract an audience of up to 6.3 million people, and was able to survive on cinema screens for more than one month. Previously in 2016, Joko Anwar's film Pengabdi Setan was able to reach 4.2 million viewers, then the film Warkop DKI
Reborn: Jangkrik Bos! Part 1, produced in 2016, is still the film with the highest number of viewers in the history of Indonesian cinema, namely 6.5 million viewers.

The increasing number of spectators watching local films is of course very encouraging for the national film industry. This is because with the increasing number of viewers, it is hoped that more investors will pay attention to the local film industry. In other words, the same source stated that during its development period, the increasing number of filmmaking in Indonesia is marked by its long history. The Indonesian film industry experienced ups and downs, even experiencing its lowest point in the 1990s. However, after entering 2000, the growth of Indonesian film industry began to grow slowly. The films Petualangan Sherina, Jelangkung, and Ada Apa dengan Cinta? gave rise to new hopes for Indonesian films for the coming years and things have started to get better since then. Starting from romantic drama films, horror films, to action films, which are worked on in earnest, have made Indonesian films stronger in the eyes of local audiences. In fact, these films can compete on the international stage which proves that Indonesian filmmakers are capable of making quality films.

It can be said that the development of the Indonesian film industry is growing rapidly entering 2019 because of the very good response from the people of Indonesia. According to the same source above, this is evident from Indonesian films that are able to dominate cinemas in every city in Indonesia. Indonesian films are increasingly showing their identity. It can be seen from films such as Pengabdi Setan, Dilan 1990, to its sequel Dilan 1991 which has successfully controlled cinemas, even being able to displace foreign films which were released at the same time, including audience records which continue to be broken. The positive record that continues to be maintained is a good sign, in the sense that the Indonesian film industry continues to grow, young filmmakers are emerging, and audiences are satisfied with what they see and experience. Regarding the rapid pace of Indonesian film production, it should also be noted that Indonesia does have a quite long history in the mystical world, so that is also carried over into the world of film. Indonesia has a number of horror genre films whose production continues to increase every year. Basically there is nothing wrong with the production of horror genre films, but there was a phase when too many horror films were produced, but not with a good quality. Fortunately, many filmmakers have started making films outside the horror genre and their films have proven to be quite successful as well, such as The Raid, The Raid 2, and Laskar Pelangi which are clear evidence of the greatness of Indonesian films outside the horror genre. Every month, the latest Indonesian films always appear in theatres which brings one positive effect, namely the emergence of many talented actresses and actors.

In addition to what has been explained above, the increase in the Indonesian film industry is caused by society in the current context who live in the multimedia world. The meaning of multi in the multimedia world is in the form of various media where people seek for information and entertainment, in this case, cinemas, live
streaming internet applications such as Netflix, YouTube, and Vidio. There are four basic components in the media industry that package messages and products; namely, the message or the product itself, the audience that gets the message and consumes the product, the ever-changing technology that shapes both the industry and how the message is communicated, and the final appearance of the product. (Sardar & Van Loon, 2015: 154-155) A similar opinion is also added based on Howard Becker’s quote in Mackay’s Hugh (ed.) Consumption and Everyday Life which states that art products cannot be produced alone without involving a collective action (1997: 125). Such collective action can be seen in the circuit of culture, a process of producing works of art involving all related elements as mentioned in Permatasari (2020: 583), “a cultural process that intersects with production, regulation, signification, identity and consumption.”

The related aspects to production are the ideas from the emergence of a product, which in this case is the film itself. Regulations are related to production rules, such as who the film is intended for, is there any parental advisory or viewer discretion advice for the audience and in what age range. There is also signification that relates to how the film is given a form, such as the genre, what language is used, what nuances and feelings can be felt from the film and many more. Identity and consumption are related to who the target of the product is for. Culture, according to Raymond Williams, must be understood as something that is inseparable from human life. In other words, culture must be understood through the representations and practices of everyday life which includes an analysis of all meanings in their aims and conditions of production. These components which simultaneously interact around the social and cultural world, occupy a space that is continuously fought for. Williams also said that culture should be explored in the following contexts; Institutions of artistic production and cultural products (e.g. craft forms), movements and factions of cultural production, modes of production, cultural identification and forms, including the specifics of cultural products, aesthetic purposes and particular forms that express meaning. Then Reproduction, in the context of space and time, of the selective tradition of meaning and practice involving social order and social change (1981: 64-65). Williams’s modes of production can be said to be closely related to the emergence of the use of English in Indonesian film titles as part of the changes in cultural products that have occurred. In this study, the objects that will be further examined are several Indonesian film titles in the current context, which mostly use English.

The use of English in Indonesian film titles broadly emphasizes the hybrid aspect. Hybridity is a cultural cross, both intrinsic and extrinsic, that appears in society in many forms, such as language and attitudes (Furqon & Busro, 2020: 73). This language hybridity can be said to have become a phenomenon in Indonesian cinemas, movie and TV applications such as Vidio original movies, especially in bringing up film titles because Indonesian film titles in the current
The film industry in Indonesia seems to be implementing a new habit of using English in its film titles for various reasons. However, in this study, the phenomenon of using English in Indonesian film titles will be viewed from a cultural perspective. Storey (1994) states that the cultural perspective in cultural studies, is not culture in the narrow sense, but culture is everyday practice in people's lives such as film, music, advertising, fashion, fiction and so on. While Hall in (Storey, 1994) says that culture in the understanding of cultural studies is political. That is, within a specific framework of understanding, culture is a realm of conflict and struggle. Therefore, cultural studies is seen as an important site in the production and reproduction of social relations in the practice of everyday life (Setyowati, 2020:101). Referring to this, some of the film titles used as references are Eifel..I'm in Love (2003), Get Married (2007), Punk in Love (2009), Remember When (2014), Magic Hour (2015), The Doll (2016), Warkop DKI Reborn (2016), Sweet 20 (2017), My Generation (2017), One Fine Day (2017), Si Doel the Movie (2018), Sexy Killers (2019), Imperfect (2020), A Perfect fit (2021), Baby Blues (2022), Dear Nathan (2022). These English film titles are phenomenon that occur due to habitus in the Indonesian film industry in the post new order era from 2003 until present time. The emergence of such phenomenon does not come immediately but as part of a process that cannot be separated from conflicts and struggles. In other words, as Bourdieu has stated, habitus is a historical product.

Information retrieved from www.antara.news.com stated that in 2017 as many as 41 percent of Indonesian film titles were in English, even though dialogue between characters was in Indonesian.
number of Indonesian film titles will be answered by observing several of the film titles previously mentioned based on Bourdieu's habitus theory which emphasizes on habitus as a product of history. Therefore, the history referred to in this case is the role of English in the post-New Order era which in turn eventually seen as a recurring habit in the Indonesian film industry.

II. METHOD
The method used to discuss the phenomenon of the use of English in a number of Indonesian film titles is a qualitative with descriptive analysis method that emphasizes the relationship between process and meaning supported by library research technique with a phenomenological approach. This study is discussed by conducting an analysis of the social conditions and historical context that led to the birth of such phenomenon in the Indonesian film industry.

Referring to the Qualitative Research Approach to Phenomenology, phenomenology comes from the Greek, namely Phainoai, which means ‘appearing’ and phainomenon refers to ‘that which appears’. The term phenomenology was introduced by Johann Heiringch, but the pioneer of the phenomenological school was Edmund Husserl. Phenomenology comes from phenomenon which means visible reality and logos which means science. Therefore, phenomenology is a science that is oriented to get an explanation of visible reality. Phenomenology seeks to understand how humans construct important meanings and concepts within the framework of intersubjectivity (our understanding of the world is shaped by our relationships with other people). (Kuswarono, 2009:2). Phenomenology assumes that people actively interpret their experiences and try to understand the world with their personal experiences (Littlejohn, 2009:57). It is also stated that visible phenomena are reflections of reality which cannot stand alone, because they have meanings that require further interpretation. Therefore, the phenomenon of using English in a number of Indonesian film titles can be said to be a reality that cannot immediately stand alone, in other words, this approach is applied to get an explanation of the apparent reality, namely the reality of the phenomenon of using English in Indonesian film titles after the new order, starting from 2003 to present time.

III. DISCUSSION
The use of English in Indonesian film titles before the collapse of the New Order era in 1998 was not as significant as it is today, one might even say it did not exist at all. Referring to the problems regarding this phenomenon, what needs to be seen first is what triggers the use of English in Indonesian film titles. The use of English in a number of Indonesian film titles can be said to be caused by several factors when it is seen from Bourdieu's theory of habitus and the role of English in the post-New Order, because English, which is widely used by people today, cannot be separated from the role of Indonesian and its development in each era. According to Saraswati (1998:41) in Permatasari (2020:585), the journey of the Indonesian language is divided into four eras, namely the colonial era, the old order, the new order and the reformation era. Indonesian in the colonial era was often used with the aim of carrying out propaganda in the struggle for Indonesian independence.
Then, during the old order, political indoctrination was carried out using a variety of strong language focused on the word "revolution", while during the new order, the key word that was often used was "development". Still referring to the same source (Permatasari, 2020:585), Fauzan (2017) added that the New Order designed systematic, covert and centralized policies through its policies in economic, social and cultural aspects including language. The reformation era emerged after the collapse of the New Order in May 1998 by the student movement which was marked by the high value of democracy and the openness of criticism of the government which then also had an impact on the use of Indonesian, which was previously limited to reading and writing media, to become the language in the digital or virtual world (social media).

Related to the development of the Indonesian language as in the previous explanation, other sources put forward a similar view. Indonesian language has gone through periods where there were many historical events which were the phases of the nation's struggle in seizing and defending independence, fighting rebels, the New Order era until now. Along with these constitutional changes, the Indonesian language has also undergone several changes, both in the way of writing, pronunciation, adding and subtracting vocabulary, spelling improvements and so on (Mulyono, 2014: 120). The rapid development of science and technology (IPTEK) has encouraged the emergence of many new terms that are used to describe various concepts created or discovered by humans. Indonesian as a relatively new language is also not spared from the demands of vocabulary modernization. In another sense, the reformation era paved the way for the opening of the use of digital language in the millennial era, which is indicated by the rapid development of technology and the flow of information on internet and social medias. Indonesian as the national language was often promoted as a unifying language with the aim of fostering a sense of nationalism among the Indonesian people during the new order era, but on the other hand, they wanted to strengthen the leadership of the New Order regime which was characterized by control over the media, press, art and literary works (Zammil (2017) in Permatasari, 2020:585). Speaking of restricted language, Virginia Matheson Hooker in Donald K. Emerson's Indonesia Beyond Soeharto: Negara, Ekonomi, Masyarakat, Transisi (2001) said that the reason for the New Order making these restrictions in the fields of media, literature and art was to foster the development of a uniform national political culture. Therefore, one of the extraordinary policies implemented during the New Order era was to generalize the understanding of Indonesian to society, or more precisely 'standardize Indonesian'. It was during the New Order regime that people were first introduced to good and correct Indonesian (standard language) and EYD writing (enhanced spelling) (Zammil 2017). If we look at it from a political point of view, this language standard can easily control the people according to the policies created by
the authorities at that time. Language is used as a legitimacy tool in building political hegemony. It is for this reason that these restrictions have an impact on the film industry in Indonesia, in terms of using English, both in giving the title of the film and the dialogue between the characters in the film.

In relation to the explanation above, the journey of Indonesian film in the historical context cannot be ignored. Historically, in Indonesia, films were first introduced on December 5th, 1900 in Batavia (Jakarta) at which time, films were called "Gambar Idoep". The first film showing was held at Tanah Abang which is a documentary film depicting the journey of the Dutch Queen and King in Den Haag (The Hague). Story films were first known in Indonesia in 1905 which were imported from America, then these imported films changed their titles to Malay. This imported feature film was selling well in Indonesia so that the number of viewers and cinemas also increased. The local film was first produced in 1926 in the form of a silent film entitled Loetoeng Kasaroeng, produced by the NV Java Film Company. The next local film is Eulis Atjih, produced by the same company. After this second film was produced, other film companies emerged, such as Halimun Film Bandung, which made Lily van Java, and Central Java Film Coy (Semarang), which produced Setangan Berlumur Darah.

Indonesian Film Industry, 2014) Historical explanations regarding the development of film titles in Indonesia also show a change in the use of imported film titles into Malay in the 1900s. The history of the journey of Indonesian cinema shows how film titles have progressed from being fluid, in terms of the use of language, to becoming rigid. In the sense that after entering the New Order era, the use of Indonesian in film titles became something that was 'obligatory'. The 'obligatory' use of the Indonesian language during the New Order period explains why there was no use of English at all, and this condition can be seen in all Indonesian film titles, all of which use Indonesian. The spread of Indonesian continued to be important at that time to enhance national identity in Indonesia and internationally. As a result of this policy, Indonesian films produced from the New Order era to the late 1990s fully used Indonesian. Some of the titles referred to in the explanation, obtained from various sources are; Istana yang Hilang (1960s), Ratu-Ratu Rumah Tangga (1960s), Beranafas dalam Lumpur (1970s), Si Pitung (1970s), Kabut di Kintamani (1972), Budak Nafsu (1980s), Seebening Kaca (1980s), Anak Jalanan (1984), Gadis Simpanan (1995), Daun di atas Bantal (1998). During the New Order period, the production of film titles in the Indonesian film industry is marked by the many productions of Indonesian film titles that fully use the Indonesian language as part of enhancing national identity in harmony with the development of a uniform national political culture. It can also be seen that there has been a development in the production of film titles from fully using Indonesian to English not long after the New Order regime collapsed in 1998 as shown by the emergence of the film title Eifel I’m in Love in 2003. This also indicates a new era of reformation related to the use of English where movement is no longer restricted and there is no longer control over the media, press, art and literary works.
Regarding the use of English in Indonesian film titles, even though the dialogues between the characters are in Indonesian, quoting Munsyi’s statement from the article The Phenomenon of English-Indonesian Code Mixing as a Trend in Indonesian Pop Music Industry, he states that English has become the policy line for language development in the early years that Indonesian was institutionalized above national consciousness. Ten years after the Youth Pledge, the Language Committee outlined its policy regarding the development of Indonesian vocabulary with the provisions: “First, look for words from the Indonesian language itself. Second, if there are none, take it from regional languages. Third, if it is still not there, take it from Asian languages, and fourthly, if it still does not exist, then take it from foreign languages, especially English.” He also added that by directly mentioning ‘English’ in the policy, there would immediately be a replacement of long-used Dutch loanwords with new English words that is still considered normal up to this extent, but apparently there is a sort of “infectious habit” in the current context, which is to write Indonesian, but with as many words in English as possible with an assumption that arises among the public that this is called “good Indonesian” (2020:586). Not to mention because English is an international language used by the world community to interact with each other, for it is most often used as a means of communication between nations.

British and American colonies or possessions in the Americas, the Pacific, and Africa. English is also used in various parts of the world due to the economic, political and cultural influences by the United States since World War II which then becomes the most frequently taught foreign language at school. In Indonesia, English is currently a compulsory subject that must be learned since entering elementary school.

“One consequence of the historic colonial experience has been the spread of the languages of colonizers far beyond their own national boundaries. The expansion of European language is the latest example of this process. ... And English is spoken by residents of former British and American colonies or possessions in the Americas, the Pacific, and Africa. Use of English has spread to many additional countries because of the economic, political, and cultural influence of the United States. In fact, as such influence has accelerated since World War II, the English language too has gained increasing worldwide dominance... English is the most frequently taught foreign language in the world’s school. It is the sole official languages of more than 25 countries and functions along with others as official languages in some 35 more.” (Baron, 1990. dalam Bonvillain, Nancy. Language, Culture and Communication. Hal. 352-353)

Moreover, the existence of a free market requires each individual to prepare reliable resources, especially in terms of communication. Language plays a very important role in mastering both technology-based communication and in direct interaction. Culture also influences the use of language and the form of one’s speech
The use of international languages, especially English, is very important to adapt in order to keep up with the increasingly advanced global developments. English dominates in all aspects of communication between nations. It is undeniable that English is very necessary at this time because English has been recognized and agreed internationally as the official language universally used either in technology, education, or in any other fields. Therefore, English plays a very important role in developments in this global era³.

The use of English which is starting to be dominantly used by most Indonesian people in various contexts of life can be said not only because of entering the era of globalization, but also because of the notion that English is classier and of higher quality⁴. This assumption arises not without reason, this is also due to the fact that there are no more boundaries and limitations in the use of foreign languages because Indonesian is no longer “obligatory”, meaning that it is no longer used under the pretext of uniformity or enhancing national identity as applied in the new order era. Whether we realize it or not, the notion of English as a “measure of intelligence” also plays a role in encouraging the “infectious habit” of producing film titles in English which eventually leads to the notion that film titles in English are “quality films”. This 'infectious habit' could be the basis for the unconscious action of using English in a number of current Indonesian film titles, so that it can be said that this phenomenon appears as an ordinary reality due to this 'infectious habit'. Indirectly, these situations and conditions created market demand for "quality" films with the perception that the use of English in Indonesian film titles was a “solution” to this demand that can increase the quantity of films and consumption among the public.

Indonesians seem proud when they are using English instead of using Indonesian, in the sense that appears as an ordinary reality due to this 'infectious habit'. Indirectly, these situations and conditions created market demand for "quality" films with the perception that the use of English in Indonesian film titles was a “solution” to this demand that can increase the quantity of films and consumption among the public.

The existence of this assumption and public awareness of the “high value” of the use of English eventually developed continuously for various reasons. An article obtained from the source lokadata.id states that several factors causing the use of English in a number of Indonesian films are due to adapting the titles according to the source, for example, the film is directly adapted from a novel with an English title, such as Eifel..I'm in Love (2003) and Remember When (2014). Another cause is related to jargon or certain terms such as the film Magic Hour (2015) which is a jargon in the world of photography and cinematography, the film Critical Eleven (2017) which is a jargon in the world of aviation. Then the film Ruqiyah: The Exorcism (2017), the word ‘exorcism’ is a jargon in the mystical world related to the practice of exorcism, and Baby Blues (2022) is a jargon in the world of parenting. There are also reasons for targeting international audiences such as the documentary film Golden Memories (2018), which is a documentary about the history of family cinema in Indonesia. Even though the title is in English, the film uses Indonesian in the language of the characters and narration, however, it is accompanied by subtitles so

³Ibid. p. 2
⁴Indonesians seem proud when they are using English instead of using Indonesian, in the sense that
that viewers who do not understand Indonesian can also understand it. The last one is purely for commercial purposes, for example the film titles; Sexy Killers (2019), Si Doel the Movie (2018), Sweet 20 (2017), My Generation (2017), Punk in Love (2009), Get Married (2007), Imperfect (2020), A Perfect Fit (2021), and Dear Nathan (2022).

Whatever the factors causing the use of English in a number of Indonesian film titles as stated above, this repetitive activity then becomes a kind of recurring habit which unconsciously encourages the birth of new situations. For the film industry, the results of which can be seen from the rapid pace of Indonesian films using English in their titles, even though the dialogue in the films uses Indonesian. “Bourdieu believes that human action is interested,...he regards interestedness as being generally a pre reflective level of awareness which develops over time...when faced with entirely new situations, strategic calculation may be fully conscious, becoming unconscious with time as the same or similar situations are repeatedly encountered.” (Hillier and Emma Rooksby, 2000: 6) This new habit principally arose from the condition of the previous structure being re-structured due to the new situation in the Indonesian film industry and new interests related to film productivity from before and after the collapse of the New Order regime which can clearly be seen from the year of the film production. Bourdieu mentions structuring structures, namely giving shape to perceptions or actions that emerge from the previous structural framework. The new habit of using English in the production of Indonesian film titles has led to actions to take this habit to a further level that is transposable such as making Indonesian films completely using English, both from the titles, narrations, and the dialogues of the characters in order to improve the quality of Indonesian films with the purpose to penetrate international level and achieve international recognitions or awards. Apart from that, this phenomenon also indicates that there is no longer any control or restriction on the use of any foreign languages, English in particular, because the use of Indonesian under the pretext of uniformity and increasing national identity is no longer significant.

V. CONCLUSION

The use of English in Indonesian film titles is carried out mechanistically in its implementation to achieve the desired target based on a historical background, from a previous structure that already had a shape before it was reshaped. It is also a signification that departs from the increasing role of English in the post-New Order era, for there is no more control or restriction on the use of Indonesian on the pretext of uniformity and enhancing national identity. The increasing role of English in the post-New Order for the Indonesian film industry lies on the use of English in Indonesian film titles that causes the film to be considered more “valuable” and more “meaningful” in the eyes of the public which are now diverse or fluid in terms of language use. It is also undeniable that this is caused by the importance of English in the era of globalization and the notion that arises in the society that English is a “measure of intelligence” and a symbol of a “higher language” which unknowingly becomes a differentiator in the community group of film connoisseurs. Such notion also contributes to the emergence of repetitive habits in using
English in Indonesian film titles. This condition is proof that habitus is a product of history which is seen by the rapid development of Indonesian films with English titles every year after the collapse of the new order era in 1998 which further emphasizes that this phenomenon cannot be separated from the important role of language in the historical context, globalization, and social conditions. It can be concluded that the use of English in a number of Indonesian film titles was born as a manifestation of a spontaneous but structured action which later became a recurring habit in the post-New Order Indonesian film industry.

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