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Indonesian Government's Motive and Literary Taste: A Perspective on the Translation Funding Program (TFP)

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ABSTRACT

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The translation Funding Program (TFP) was initiated concerning the Indonesian government agenda to be the guest of honor at the Frankfurt Book Fair (FBF) 2015. As a result, it produced many Indonesian-English literary translations, particularly the two from Yogyakarta. By applying the Bourdieusian approach to cultural production, this study is arranged to unravel the government's motive and literary taste behind the execution of that program, especially through the production of two literary works, "Pilgrimage in the Land of Java" and "Jatisaba." This study is directed to figure out the importance of Indonesian-English translation for Indonesian literature and the criteria of literary works to be involved in such a government program. Therefore, the government's motive and literary taste behind the TFP can be elaborated further. There are two primary techniques for the data collection in this research; 1. Digital library research is utilized to access relevant information about TFP, and 2. Interview the writers to get information about their experience participating in TFP. All collected data are synchronized in the analysis to explain the binding knot among the literary translation production, TFP, and FBF. As a result, the study reveals that there were some motives behind the production of literary translation through the TFP. Those motives were also related to the literary taste influenced by international demand.

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Introduction

The *Translation Funding Program* (TFP) was initiated due to an opportunity to become "*The Guest of Honor*" at the international book exhibition *Frankfurt Book Fair* (FBF) 2015. As a result of the program, it shows a cultural production practice that creates 'Indonesian-English work', which is Indonesian literary works later translated into English. However, such a cultural practice in which local writers – as literary agents – produce their work in English has not attracted literary translation scholars – even in Yogyakarta – yet to scientifically investigate it. Accordingly, Yogyakarta writers were also involved in producing such literary works. Names like Iman Budhi Santosa (Santosa) with a poetry anthology "Pilgrimage in the Land of Java" and Ramayda Akmal

(Akmal) with a novel "Jatisaba" were listed in the list of writers whose works were given the translation grant and projected to be exhibited on FBF 2015 by Ministry of Education and Culture Republic of Indonesia (KEMENDIKBUD RI).

Meanwhile, it is believed that further investigation of the socio-cultural factors behind the production practice can reveal the significance of translating Indonesian literary works into English. Such a study can open a scientific discourse to understand the socio-cultural motive in which Indonesian-English literary work is produced, at least in the government context as the patron of production. Besides, this study can also disclose the government's ideal of Indonesian literary standards. A standard that presumably determines what kind of writers or works deserve to represent Indonesia at the international event.

In literary translation studies, some worldwide scholars have developed scientific investigation toward translation agents' practice. Yu (2010), Ashcroft (2014), Al-Mahrooqi & Denman (2016), and Abdolmaleki et al. (2018) have ever conducted studies on motives or purposes of translation practice that tend to be various. Other than that, some studies on literary translation practice could comprehensively highlight literary translation agents' specific roles. Those studies covered the role of the translator ((Xu, 2012); (Liddicoat, 2016); (Tekgül, 2016) and (Zahrawi, 2018)); the role of the translation institution ((Daldeniz, 2010); (Harding, 2014); (Milani, 2017) and (Marin-Lacarta, 2019)); and the relationship between patron and translator (Bai, 2009). This record shows that studies on translation motives and the role of translation actors can also potentially be investigated in Indonesia. That kind of study can reveal the practice of literary translation agents in producing their cultural products and their impact on the development of Indonesian literature. It can fill a space that Indonesian researchers in the current context rarely explore.

Accordingly, it must be acknowledged that TFP is undetached from the Indonesian government's mission to promote Indonesian cultural products. In this case, the Indonesian-English translation scenario is a logical strategy to introduce worldwide Indonesian writers' works before the international public – i.e., FBF 2015 visitors – for English is acknowledged as a global language. This practice can lead to the relationship between the role of government and the literary patronage system.

Related to the modern patronage system, Faruk (2012) explains that every writer can get particular support in the form of protection or even fund from government or private foundations through their sub-institutions. In its basic nature, there will always be a selection to decide 'who' and 'what' that deserves to be supported. Despite the limited resources, it can be understood that the patron also has a particular interest and preference in running a specific program, no exception for the Indonesian government. Therefore it is not exaggerated if, in this present study, Santosa and Akmal hypothetically fit the standard, or in this case, 'taste' (borrowing Bourdieusian term) of

government.

Furthermore, the production of translated works is always related to the general function of publishing: selection, production, and distribution (Escarpit, 2008). If literary production commonly aims to bridge an individual work into a collective social life, the condition differs from translated literary production. It is no longer from an individual to society but from one nation's socio-cultural life into collective global life, so it must be adjusted to its future readers, especially their demands. Thus the path of adaptation is inevitable. In this context, the government strategy to cope with such a condition can be seen from selection until the distribution level.

Nonetheless, this paper is only focused on strategy at the selection level. Specifically, this study aims to delve further into the Indonesian government's selection strategy based on the two-sample from the Yogyakarta literary field. It is arranged to discuss how Santosa and Akmal could be chosen and projected to be involved in FBF 2015 through TFP. Before that, it will also scrutinize the function of translation as a part of the government's cultural agenda toward the global world. Thus this present research must answer the following questions: (1) What is the motive behind the TFP by the Indonesian government?, and (2) What kind of literary standard is applied for selecting writers or works? Hopefully, it can explain how the government plays a role in literary translation production and the socio-cultural factors that influence it.

In cultural production, literary translation attempts to introduce literary works from a particular country globally. Damrosch (2009) asserts that Orhan Pamuk will remain unknown beyond Turkey without translation. He believes that the translation also opened the way for Pamuk to win the Nobel prize in literature. Besides, translation also enables a host of other writers to be read and learned worldwide. The importance of literary translation is also explained by Jassin (1983). As a part of world literature, the more world literary works are translated into Indonesian; the richer and more developed Indonesian literature will be. Contextually, if that fundamental assumption is turned around, it can be said that the more Indonesian works are translated into the international language (i.e., English), the more various literary spectrum the world can possess. The use of English as the target language here is undoubtedly crucial to be spotlighted since it is the most global language among other international languages. If the translation is an ideal ride for introducing Indonesian literature, the more Indonesian writers write – or translate – their work into English, the broader opportunity for the world public to appreciate Indonesian literature and culture. Therefore the TFP is in line with such an idea.

Concerning the government's influence, a scholarly study has shown its significance in literary translation production. Based on a study conducted by Harding (2014), it turns out that the translation practice run by *Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing* (BQFP) under the umbrella of the Qatar Foundation is built based on the government's vision to pursue literary culture

development in that particular country. It is the impact of Qatar's transformative narration to achieve advancement in education and modernity, in which BQFP is seen as a derivate from such narration and intended to be the agent for realizing that on a practical level. It shapes an institution that aims to conduct literary translation practice with the attachment of national identity and tradition. In this case, the national political agenda for social education and cultural development becomes a motive behind an institution's literary translation practice.

Meanwhile, in terms of production motives, more studies have been conducted in various contexts. Commonly, it aims to reveal the translation agents' strategy to reach the production objective. Hadley and Akashi (2015) point out that 'visibility' becomes a motive of Haruki Murakami, as a celebrity translator, in his literary translation practice. Here, besides being recognized as a legitimate writer, Murakami wants the public to realize his existence as a translator. In this case, foreignization is one of his strategies to pursue his translation practice objective.

Even in the context of religious translation, especially toward Al-Qur'an, Mohaghegh, and Pirnajmuddin (2013) also find a specific motive in the translation of *surah At-Taubah* and *Al-Anfal*. Based on the analysis, they find out that the translation from Tahereh Saffarzade (an Iranian Muslim) – with his ideological bias – implies resistance to the negative perception given to those two *surahs*, as they are often stigmatized expressing Islam as a religion full of violence and intolerance. Mohaghegh and Pirnajmuddin conclude that according to two contexts: (1). The translation was produced in the same year as the 9/11 incident, and (2). The use of a footnote that explains Islamic values is not based on violence. As known already, 9/11 was a historical moment that resulted in a negative stigma toward Muslim and Islamic teaching. In response, Saffarzadeh attempted to fight and clarify that bad stigma through his translation.

Accordingly, it can be understood that translation text production tends to carry out a particular motive. Based on those studies, at least three motives can be disclosed, such as political, professional, and ideological. It is believed that more various motives can be found if such a study continues to develop. Especially for literary translation, the scientific study to reveal more production motives contributes to explaining cultural reasons behind the practice conducted by different literary agents. This study is important for asserting more insight to understand the creation of cultural products in a different social context, such as agents in Indonesia, and comparing it to agents in other countries.

Correspondingly, this study sees motive as an essential socio-cultural factor that must be scrutinized since it potentially triggers literary translation production patronized by the Indonesian government. As Munday (2016) points out, the government, as a politically motivated institution, commonly includes various players in the publishing industry due to the obligation of censoring and promoting works. It might be why the *National Committee* – which consists of literary

and translation practicians – was eventually established by the Indonesian ministry of education and culture to run the TFP and select works to be promoted in the FBF. At this point, their literary taste becomes a pivotal standard for deciding whether a work will be chosen and curated for international publication.

In the domain of the sociology of translation, Pierre Bourdieu's socio-cultural theory is considered notable. He believes that a cultural product – no exception for translated literary work – is a constituted taste (Bourdieu, 1996), in which the taste is an acquired disposition to differentiate and appreciate a cultural product (p. 466). This concept can be seen from the practices and proprietaries of an agent (individual or institutional) that occupies a given position in a field (social space). As it functions as a social orientation, it will eventually lead an agent in the field towards a certain position concerning distinctive properties. Furthermore, it can lead to practices or goods conformable to agents in that position.

For Bourdieu, taste implies a set of practical strategies – related to social meaning and value – for the chosen practice or good to be distributed in a field and practical knowledge of other agents regarding the correspondence between goods and groups of agents. Eventually, it will emerge as choices made upon practices and properties in which taste as a principle becomes the basis of those choices (Bourdieu, 1993). It is also explained that taste exists when there are goods classified as good or bad taste and people who have the principle of classification, which is the taste that triggers the identification toward goods that suit them most.

In the context of literary practice, Kiguru (2016) unravels how literary taste is created through literary awards. She sees that literary awards show how literature is economically and politically dependent, and the patron's role is very significant. From the practice of literary awards, it can be seen that there is a symbiosis of mutualism between literary award institutions – as the patron – and the judges – including literary practicians and academics –, be it in the term of symbolic capital or even cultural capital. The capital exchanges between those agents give each of them literary legitimacy to distribute their taste in the practice field. The distribution of taste is conducted by determining which writer or whose work deserves to be given an award. Eventually, certain kinds of taste can be preserved or challenged in a particular literary field.

A typical situation can also be related to the Indonesian government's literary translation program spotlighted in this study. In this case, the government became a literary agent and tried to grab literary legitimacy by establishing the *National Committee* (later becoming the National Book Committee), which consisted of prominent writers and translators. By exchanging literary capital, they have the legitimacy to select works that suit their taste to be granted literary translation funding and project those works to be exhibited in the international book fair. By selection, they automatically establish an aesthetic standard and show their taste in the field. That is how literary

taste is distributed in the field of Indonesian literature. The choice of government through the national committee's recommendation implies a distinction that classifies which work deserves and does not deserve to represent Indonesia before the international public. In other words, the good one and the bad one.

Method

This research applies the descriptive qualitative method as it aims to describe the Indonesian government's literary taste and motives in patronizing the production of translated literary works. This part of the discussion explains the material and formal object of this study. According to Udasmoro (2012), the material object is the determined object to be investigated or observed, while a formal object is an aspect studied from the chosen material object. Therefore, in this research context, the material object is the TFP that resulted in the production of Indonesian-English translated works entitled "Pilgrimage in the Land of Java" and "Jatisaba" patronized by the Indonesian government. Meanwhile, the formal objects are the government's production motive and taste as depicted based on the production of those works.

Pilgrimage in the Land of Java is the English-translated version of an Indonesian poetry anthology "Ziarah Tanah Jawa" by a senior Indonesian poet Iman Budhi Santosa. Meanwhile, Jatisaba – both Indonesian and English versions have the same title – is a novel authored by a young Indonesian writer Ramayda Akmal, and both writers were – since Santosa has passed away, while Akmal has been pursuing her postgraduate study overseas – living in Yogyakarta during the production of their work. Those works were listed in the Indonesian government's recommended books for the FBF translation subsidy program 2014. Eventually, with the government's funding, the English translation of each work could be published by two independent (indie) publishers. Interlude published Pilgrimage in the Land of Java. Meanwhile, Jatisaba was published by Gress Publishing. These two publishers are based in Yogyakarta.

This research attempts to find relevant data related to the Indonesian government's motive and their taste in producing Indonesian-English literary work, especially the two works by Yogyakarta writers. The data are collected as follows: 1. tracing the digital footprints by utilizing the search engine to figure out internet sites that link to the Indonesian government's narration on TFP and FBF 2015, 2. selecting relevant digital documents related to the motives and literary taste, 3. interviewing the writers by asking relevant information related to their participation in TFP, and 4. reading the source texts (ST) to understand the relation between the characteristic of the works and the government's requirement. Those data are inductively selected and classified based on the study's needs to answer previously formulated questions.

It is necessary to understand the motive behind the production of those two mentioned works. Accordingly, the motive and taste of the government to produce Indonesian-English literary works

are analyzed in the following techniques. The first analysis is conducted by analyzing data from digital documents that explain the significance of literary translation for the Indonesian government. Meanwhile, the second analysis is accomplished by analyzing data from digital documents that explain the standard applied for selecting writers or works to understand the literary taste of the Indonesian government and compare it with the characteristics of the two works studied in this research.

Discussion

Since Indonesia was appointed as *the guest of honor* in FBF 2015, the Indonesian government started the preparation in 2014 by asking the publishers and writers to send their best works to be selected for Translation Funding Program (TFP). During the selection, the books were categorized based on genre and assessed by an independent team of experts in each field. From more than 2000 books involved, there were only 300 considered qualified and passed the selection. Especially in the literary genre, among hundreds of Indonesian books and other Yogyakarta writers' books, Santosa's poetry anthology "Ziarah Tanah Jawa" and Akmal's "Jatisaba" were chosen to be included in TFP and eventually produced in their English versions.

Based on the interview, Santosa and Akmal confirm that they were granted translation funding by the government and were responsible for producing the English version of their work. In this particular case, Santosa and Akmal had to manage the production by themselves since their original works were independently published. Therefore they had the discretion to cooperate with any publisher and translator suitable for their preference. Thus Santosa chose Interlude as the publisher and Chrysogonus Siddha Malilang as the translator, while Akmal collaborated with Gress Publishing and Christopher Allen Woodrich as the translator. They managed all processes in Yogyakarta.

Ziarah Tanah Jawa was then translated into Pilgrimage in the Land of Java, and Jatisaba still with its original title. After the translation processes had finished, those two works were limitedly printed in which a part of them was sent to the National Committee to be later exhibited at FBF 2015. Interestingly, those English-translated works were still available and sold by the Yogyakarta local booksellers around 2018-2019. This fact leads to curiosity about the fundamental reason why does the Indonesian government choose those two works to be part of the FBF 2015 projection? Under what kind of aim did these works need to be showcased before the international public? To get the answer, we must understand the Indonesian government's motive for literary translation before dealing with it. Therefore, the following section discusses the motive behind the Indonesian-English literary translation project in Indonesia's participation in FBF 2015.

1. The Indonesian Government's Translation Motives

According to the digital footprints that expose many statements and narrations given by the representative of the Indonesian governments and the other involved agents in the literary translation, there are several layers of motives that can be revealed through this study: 1. Cultural promotion motive, 2. Literary legitimation motive, and 3. Economic motive. In the very *first* layer, it can be seen that the Indonesian government saw translation as a strategic way to promote Indonesian culture internationally. To promote Indonesian literature in front of the international public, the opportunity to become the guest of honor at the FBF 2015 was taken positively. It was expressed by the chief of the Indonesian National Committee, Goenawan Mohamad, during the press conference after the Leipzig Book Fair 2015, several months before FBF. He claimed Indonesia would commit a vast promotion due to that opportunity (Kemendikbud, 2015b).

The promotion that he meant refers to the effort to exhibit the best Indonesian works in front of all visitors at FBF. In this case, TFP was one of the strategies implemented to produce literary works in the internationally well-recognized language. Since Indonesian was not an internationally well-known language, translating Indonesian works into English was believed strategic to ensure international readers' reception of Indonesian literary works. A circumstance where translation was considered an essential tool to promote the potential culture of a particular country.

The government also narrated the importance of translation after FBF 2015. Their official website conveyed that the literary and non-literary translation program is vital due to its ability to introduce and spread Indonesian culture worldwide (Kemendikbud, 2016). Based on that view, the emergence of Indonesian literature in international events such as FBF was useful in exposing the richness of Indonesian cultural products and its writers' potential. It is clearly understood if that event was impossible to be participated in without running a translation program. Thus, TFP carried out a motivation to promote Indonesian literature.

However, when it is analyzed more in-depth, there is a tendency for the government to try to pursue targets other than promoting Indonesian culture and literature to the world. The investigation shows that they had motives of literary legitimacy and economy. Those two motives imply how literary legitimacy is necessary to accumulate economic capital and how economic factor is paramount in the global literary industry.

The Indonesian government used FBF –the most prestigious book fair globally – as the symbol of global recognition of its literary culture. The tendency to pursue global literary legitimacy has been seen in the government's narration since early 2015 (Kemendikbud, 2015c). They claimed that the exhibition in FBF 2015 would be the window for the world to witness the advancement of Indonesian literature. In this case, the government believed that becoming the guest of honor in FBF is the position that every country has been fighting for. That claim was connected to the fact

that FBF is the most significant and oldest annual book fair globally, in which more than 100 countries participate in FBF with approximately 500.000 visitors every year. From that narration, this study believes that FBF was taken as a strategy to gain global recognition for Indonesian literature from the international literary society.

That view was also strengthened by the statement from Goenawan Mohammad – the representative of the National Committee – while announcing the result of the TFP selection in July 2015 (Kemendikbud, 2015e). He said that becoming the guest of honor of FBF was the beginning of introducing the imagination to Indonesia so that the German and world public could start to read and learn about a country that was unrecognized on the map of world literature earlier. That statement implies a belief that Indonesian literature was subordinate to the constellation of the world literary culture since unrecognition was becoming the status quo that could potentially be changed by maximizing the opportunity given by the FBF.

That belief was in line with Indonesian woman writer Leila S. Chudori who believed in translation significance. According to her, Indonesian was considered not an internationally well-known language, so it was hard for Indonesian literature to gain global recognition (Amirio, 2017). That portrays a condition in which Indonesian literature seemingly lacked recognition. Therefore, international literary legitimacy was needed to support its existence globally. In this case, the Indonesian government believed that FBF could subsidize such a lack of symbolic capital. The government claimed that the status as the guest of honor was the parameter of Indonesian literature's competitiveness among other literary cultures worldwide. That narration shows how literary legitimacy was crucial from the government's point of view, and becoming the guest of honor in the FBF was strategic enough to gain it.

The motive of global literary legitimacy finally reveals the government's economic motive for the production of translated literary work that they patronized. The government's economic motive was indicated in early 2015 (Kemendikbud, 2015d). At that time, the minister of education and culture stated that FBF would be very important for Indonesia because, at that moment, the world saw Asia as an exceptionally prospective market. The president of FBF, Juergen Boos, also supported the minister by explicitly saying that FBF would be just the beginning because the main target would be positioning Indonesian literature and culture to be the target market of the international publishing industry.

Those claims were logical since 60% of 500.000 annual visitors of FBF focused on the business or the trading sector. Even several months before FBF 2015, Indonesia – through the National Committee of FBF 2015 guest of honor – had signed the contract with Weidle (a German publisher) during the Leipzig Book Fair (Kemendikbud, 2015a). Weidle confirmed that they were interested in translating a novel – authored by Indonesian woman writer Leila S. Chudori – into the German

version because that particular work had already been translated into English version by Lontar Foundation. Besides Weidle, at the same time, other publishers such as Regiospectra, Carl Hanser, and Horleman were also signing the contract with the Indonesian party to translate and publish Indonesian works. Eventually, it was reported that Indonesia could sell copyrights for approximately 200 book titles during the FBF 2015.

Such a condition clearly shows that the coming of Indonesian delegates to FBF 2015 was not to buy copyrights from foreign publishers any longer. It was more to sell the copyrights to them instead. Therefore, the TFP conducted by the Indonesian government aimed to help Indonesian writers and publishers to get more economic capital. There is no clear information on how much the economic profit was, but it can be understood how a cultural production – such as the translation of Indonesian literary works – depended on the economic capital. It began with the government's economic supply and ended with the foreign publishers' economic force.

2. The Indonesian Government's Literary Taste

By knowing the Indonesian government's motives in producing Indonesian-English literary works in the context of TFP and FBF 2015, it can be coherently concluded that there are three goals that the government tried to pursue at that time: promoting Indonesian literature, gaining global literary legitimacy, and supporting Indonesian literary agents to accumulate the economic capital. Concerning the strategy to reach those goals, there must be a strategic plan implemented by the government or the National Committee as the patron to accomplish the mission. On this point, the patrons generally set a standard by which their literary taste can be seen. In this study, the government literary taste was seen based on the requirements of the TFP selection.

Six basic requirements were applied for book selection in TFP (Kemendikbud, 2015e): 1. Written by Indonesian writers, 2. Original works, 3. Not containing incitement and hatred toward ethnicity, religion, race, and groups, 4. Not in the mid of a copyright dispute, 5. The work has been published by Indonesian official publishers, and 6. Preferably works that reflect Indonesian characters. Among all requirements, the last is the most specific yet interesting one to be discussed further. Besides the other five being considered general, the word 'preferably' for the sixth requirement reflects the government's priority on the kind of work that fits their criteria. Here, the Indonesian characters that they meant must be spotlighted.

Based on a clarification given by Goenawan Mohammad during the selection process (Afrisia & Probo, 2015), those books were selected not based on the authors' names, but based on the diversity of theme and author's origin instead. Accordingly, it was linked to the ultimate requirement that became the priority of the Indonesian government. The Indonesian characters they meant – as the preferable one – referred to the diversity of cultures that Indonesian people possess. So those that would be involved in the selection must reflect the diversity of Indonesian

cultures. In this case, calling for literary works from across the Indonesian region was a logical strategy to reach the government's objective from the beginning.

Therefore, it was reasonable if Yogyakarta literary writers were also selected and successfully chosen in TFP. As known widely, Yogyakarta is one of Indonesia's cultural centers. In addition to its variety of cultures, Yogyakarta is also filled with people from various ethnicities. Through his study on Yogyakarta's literary culture, Salam (2018) reveals that the status as the city of education has been triggering many people – including those who later become writers – from other provinces to come to Yogyakarta, and this condition has occurred since decades ago. Some eventually went back to their hometown, but some preferred to stay in Yogyakarta. Their existence, Salam believes, has led to the cultural dynamics in which their original culture assimilates to the Yogyakarta local literary culture. Besides, Yogyakarta's literary culture is not only moved by the existence of individual agents but also by many kinds of community-based agents. This circumstance has become a supporting system where works with diverse themes can be well-produced.

It can be seen from Santosa's poetry anthology and Akmal's novel that the committee chose to be included in TFP. This situation shows how their works can fit with the standard, or in this case, the committee's taste as the government's representative. On this point, the thickness of cultural values is believed as the main factor in ensuring that they deserve an opportunity to be exhibited in FBF 2015. Such a characteristic is appropriate with the 'diversity of themes' the government demands the grant recipient to have. This fact makes the content of those literary works interesting to be further unraveled.

Based on this study, it turns out that both Santosa ((2015); (2014)) and Akmal ((2012); (2015)) boldly show the Javanese cultural identity in their literary works. In this case, Santosa shows many kinds of Javanese proverbs, mantras, and phrases in his poems (Kardiansyah & Salam, 2020a). Meanwhile, Akmal – originally from central Java – specifically uses a lot of *Banyumasan* cultural terms and expressions in her novel (Kardiansyah & Salam, 2020b). Their creativity, in this context, has given the readers such a distinctive reading experience because of the particularity they carry in their writing. Besides, their works also have the potential to show the richness of Indonesian culture to prospective foreign readers.

Accordingly, the committee's decision indicates that they were strategizing to attract foreign readers by a plan to exhibit the exotism of local Javanese culture from these works. As required by the government, the reflection of Indonesian characters was targeted at those who can capture the locality of the Indonesian culture and society. This requirement also reveals the government's taste toward the kinds of Indonesian literary work worth an exhibition at the international event. Therefore the TFP was a strategy to distribute the government's taste in the field of Indonesian

literary production. In this case, the locality is revealed to be a standard of good work in the eyes of the Indonesian government and the National Committee.

Furthermore, the literary taste of the Indonesian government has a close relation with the demand of the global literary industry. In the current global context, Damrosch (2009) believes that the center of international publishers is still located in European and American cities. This circumstance consequently requires writers from other peripheral (third world or postcolonial) regions to be embraced by those publishers if they want to get international readers, yet the access to go there is still hard to reach. However, he ensures that the existence of an international event such as FBF has also brought fresh air for literary publishers and agents to find many new interesting works from around the world. As explained previously, the promising trend in FBF basically delineates how the interest in works from countries like Indonesia has been increasing.

In addition, Narayan (Ashcroft, 2014) argues that kind of circumstance undoubtedly shows the necessity of the global publishing system to produce new and exotic works from postcolonial writers. Regardless of whether or not it has something to deal with global cultural politics, it certainly portrays the demand of international readers toward works that contain locality so that they can experience the sensation of exotism by reading works from postcolonial writers. In accordance, Damrosch (2009) also points out a strategy implemented by writers so-called 'glocal' that refers to how the writers expose their local issue or the relevance of global issues with local context in front of the global audience. This strategy is undeniably a concrete way to fulfill global readers' demand so that the written works can be easily embraced by international publishers and accepted by their readers.

If it is related to what has been done by the Indonesian government, it is crystal clear that the policy applied to TFP is the manifestation of such a global publishing issue. A requirement that eventually grants works full of locality content must be influenced by the demand of the international literary field for exotic works from the postcolonial region. Works like *Pilgrimage in the Land of Java* and *Jatisaba* were considered prospective and qualified among thousands of books. Therefore, it conclusively proves that the literary taste distributed by the Indonesian government in the national literary field was imposed by the demand of the international literary industry.

Conclusion

To sum up, this study has come up with at least two major findings. *First*, the government's practice of patronizing the production of translated literary works through TFP was triggered by motives that eventually influenced their policy (in the form of requirement) in the selection process. In the context of TFP, which the National Committee managed to face the FBF 2015, the agendas of promoting Indonesian culture, gaining international literary legitimacy, and finding economic benefit for Indonesian literary agents were realized by distributing standards of quality based on

the government's literary taste. It can become a standard that can potentially impose classification of the quality of works in the Indonesian national literary field. *Second*, it turns out that the Indonesian government's literary taste was constructed by the demand of the global literary industry. With their team in the National Committee, the government strategized to fulfill that demand by choosing exotic works that – at least this study has proven – can be represented by works like Santosa's *Pilgrimage in the Land of Java* and Akmal's *Jatisaba*. Hence, it can be understood that the Indonesian government's taste was just an extension of international literary agents' taste. It shows that the global practice of literary production is just a matter of distributing taste from the international to the national context.

However, as a study that only focuses on TFP as one of the Indonesian government's programs for FBF 2015, the result of this study still leaves several questions for future studies. Firstly, it must need the long run if the Indonesian government aims to promote culture internationally or even gain literary legitimation. Thus, does the government manage any sustainable program after becoming the Guest of Honor in FBF 2015? Other than that, this study has not found how significant the cultural impact given by a program like TFP or even FBF itself is to the development of literature in Indonesia. Therefore, it is recommended for future research to explore more deeply the remaining questions from this particular study.

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