



Department of Communication, Universitas Indonesia

Indonesia International Conference on Communication (IndoICC)

Communication, Context, and Community

PROCEEDING

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**INDONESIA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNICATION (IndoICC)
2012 PROCEEDING**

“Communication, Context, and Community”

Jakarta, 6-7 December 2012

ISBN: 978-979-97000-5-6

Published by:

Departemen Ilmu Komunikasi
Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik
Universitas Indonesia

Editor:

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IndoICC 2012 was organised by
Departemen Ilmu Komunikasi FISIP UI

Secretariate Address:

Gedung Komunikasi FISIP UI Depok, 16242
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This proceeding did not go through peer review. Authors interesting in citing the papers should directly contact the authors, who are fully responsible over the substance and formatting of the article.

Foreword

The 2nd Indonesia International Conference on Communication (2012 IndoICC), *Communication, Context, and Community* proceeding is a compilation of select papers presented at the 2nd biennale international conference hosted by the Department of Communication, Universitas Indonesia. The purpose of the event is to gather media academics from all over the world to convene, present their findings, and identify key changes within the media discourse. To achieve this goal, the 2012 IndoICC's theme, *Communication, Context, and Community* was conceptualised to address the ongoing media technological changes and its implications in global, national, and local contexts.

This all-encompassing theme attracted one of the leading non-profit organisations that promote free education and culture through the internet, Wikimedia Australia (WMAU). This collaboration not only opened up interactions between media academics and practitioners, but it also revealed a gap that needs to be addressed between the progress of discourses studied by media scholars and the current changes that are experienced in mediascapes.

A critical issue revealed by the conference is the existing gap between Indonesian and Malaysian scholars with academics from Australia and the US. Keynote speakers and senior scholars from these countries identified that there is a lag that needs to be addressed through maintaining the exposure of progressive academic discourses for local and regional scholars. It is believed that by sustaining the quality of future IndoICCs hosted by the Department of Communication, Universitas Indonesia, these gaps can be addressed.

We sincerely hope that the conference was beneficial for those who had participated. We also hope that the finalising of the proceeding can extend that benefit to a larger readership.

Sincerely,

Indonesia International Conference on Communication
2012 Committee

A Cross-Cultural Study of the Feasibility of Vendor Relationship Management in Indonesia and Japan

Takeshi Kosaka and Reinaldi Mahisa Dananjaya***

Vendor Relationship Management (VRM) is a customer-side counterpart of Customer Relationship Management. It provides people with the capability of 'open tender' that has been used by public institutions or governments. In VRM, people are required to disclose personal information such as real names and addresses. They disclose their wants and desires as well as their transaction histories on their own databases. A variety of companies visit these databases and offer their products and services to the potential customers. VRM is a harbinger of a new relation in an open society realised by the Internet, and poses to people a question whether they can adapt to it or not. Our research interest is whether VRM well suited to individualistic society can penetrate in collectivistic society. Taking up two collectivistic countries, we conducted a cross-cultural study that examined the feasibility of VRM use. To make an empirical research we examined the attitudes toward the real or possible use of Facebook as an operational model. The result shows that more VRM use depends on more trust and less uncertainty avoidance. The findings of the research show Indonesian has more social readiness to VRM, while Japanese has much less. The research result also shows that the feasibility of VRM use is unlikely unless uncertainty avoidance is below some level.

Keywords: Vendor Relationship Management, Internet, Trust, Uncertainty Avoidance, culture

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A Managerial Perspective on the Antecedents and Consequences of Corporate Communication Management (CCM): The Application of Qualitative Approaches

Bahtiar Mohamad*

Corporate communication is a management tool which has arisen in response to increasing concern about complex communication processes within organizations. The notion of corporate communication received the greatest attention in the 1990s due to expansion of the global business environment. That development had brought strategic approaches in corporate communication practices and functions in order to gain stakeholders' support. Furthermore, many scholars believe there are influences of corporate culture, ICT diffusion innovation and corporate leadership on corporate communication management (CCM) and its impact to organisational performance, yet there is a paucity of studies on the validation of this theoretical assumption. Therefore, the purpose of this study to address this gap by providing an elevated understanding of the concept of CCM and its antecedents and focus on organisational performance, as a consequences from the managerial perspective of Malaysia public listed companies. Thus, to proof this assumption, twelve (12) semi structured interview with corporate communications managers and consultants was conducted in Malaysia to explore the concept of CCM, its antecedents and consequences. The respondents were selected based on purposeful sampling because of their knowledge and experience in the field. Then, the QSR NVivo Version 9.0 qualitative analysis software texts were used to analyse the text in order to makes data analysis much easier, more reliable, more accurate and more transparent. The key findings presented the conceptualisation and definition of the construct, proposed antecedent factors as well as the perceived consequences of CCM. The finding shows the corporate culture, ICT diffusion innovation and corporate leadership are key antecedents of CCM, while the organisational performance (financial performance and mission achievement) are the central consequences of CCM. In addition, the finding also offers an integrated model for corporate communication practitioners to elicit their value of CCM as strategic tools in organizational performance. Finally, this paper proposes a more integrated model and practical method of understanding a CCM through perspective of its practitioners.

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Adaptation of Social Networking Sites in the Workplace: Choosing the Right Medium

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Social networking sites (SNS) has become popular for communication, interaction and knowledge sharing on the internet. Human interaction mostly depends on network through selected social media as the main communication infrastructure rather than the conventional communication methods. Most of the industry uses SNS as a medium of communication to interact with people in order to fulfil number of purposes such as work and personal matter; including the workplace as well. SNS has played an important role from the moment it was introduced, allowing connections to be made throughout the world, given the increasing level of interaction and socialization in the lives of various groups (Kim, Shim & Ahn, 2011). Social networking sites (SNS) are a recent computer-mediated communication (CMC) technology receiving attention in the popular press for their ability to enrol new members at an astonishing rate, attracting the attention of large Internet companies like Yahoo and Google (Sledgianowski and Kulviwat, 2009). SNS through online media has greatly increased among a variety of disciplines through online networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn that continue to add over 100,000 users daily (Kukreja, Sheehan and Riggins, 2011). This paper aims to describe the SNS that become popular among users as a medium to communicate among themselves. SNS now are changing the methods of social connectivity. It also highlighted how organization adapted SNS in their workplace as the right medium to communicate in helping them with their daily routine in organisation and working environment. This study also looked into the reason why some individual choose SNS as their channel to communicate among the colleagues within the organisation and with the client outside of their organisation. Reviews found that the adaptation of Social Networking Sites in organisation related to the usage as medium to communicate. It has also identified the factors that encourage users to choose it as medium in organisation. It is important to identify the reasons of choosing the right tools, as it is important in order for the organisation to get benefit from the usage or choosing the selected channel or medium to communicate.

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Anonymous Activists: Investigating Indonesian Online Readers' Anonymity

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The widening of internet access in Indonesia, both in terms of geography and social class, creates more intensive online news media consumption and interactivity among online readers. However, readers' passion in sharing their comments are still characterized by anonymity. This research employed content analysis of readers' comments following the news about Rhoma Irama's alleged xenophobic remarks during the second round campaign period for Jakarta gubernatorial election to examine the following research questions:

1. Is the level of readers' anonymity proportional to the level of readers' outspokenness in expressing their opinion? (whether anonymous commenters tend to share more outspoken comments than the ones using 'real' identity?)
2. Does the anonymity of online readers is proportional to the subject /theme of the commented news items? (whether the more sensitive a subject /theme triggers more anonymous comments)

The result of this study revealed that the anonymity of online readers is proportional to the degree of value and identity contents of the news items concerned. Most of the commenters shared denouncing/insulting/cynical comments while concealing their personal identity, hence belong to 'Coward' quadrant.

Keywords: Online readers, commenters, anonymity, Indonesia

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Anonymous Activists: Investigating Indonesian Online Readers' Anonymity

Access to the internet for Indonesian people is widening quickly lately. A research conducted and published by MarkPlus Insight revealed a 10% increase of internet penetration in Indonesia from 30-35% in 2010 to 35-45% in 2011. There are 55 million people accessing internet in Indonesia² on 2011, up from 42 million people on the previous year (Wahyudi 2011). The research surveyed 15 to 64 years old people from socio-economic range A, B, and C who connected to the internet at least 3 hours a day in 11 big cities in Indonesia. The survey also indicated that most of Indonesia's netizen accessed the internet using their smartphone dan notebook.

The widening of internet access in Indonesia, both in terms of geography and social classes as indicated from the research quoted above creates more intensive online news media consumption. Three biggest online portals in Indonesia, according to Alexa.com, are conveniently among 20 most-accessed sites in Indonesia, those are Detik.com (rank 10); Kompas.com (rank 14); and Viva.co.id (rank 19). These three online news portals only outranked by Facebook, Google.co.id, Google, Blogspot.com, YouTube, Yahoo!, Kaskus.co.id/Kaskus.com, WordPress.com, and Twitter which most of them are also global giants (most-accessed sites globally). Beside that, Indonesian people are also become more intensive in utilizing internet for political communication purposes (Antara News 2012).

Apart from the widening of online readers and the area from which they came from, the emergence of online news media are also change public's pattern of media consumption as reflected through these following two indicators:

- a) The shift of most-consumed media, from traditional media³ (mainly newspapers) to online news portals, and
- b) The increasing of media-readers interactivity as reflected by the increasing number of readers who share comments (we may call them 'commenters') which produce a kind of intensive discussions. Many online news items are followed by hundreds of comments.

However, readers passion in sharing their comments are still characterized by unclear identity and even anonymity which can produce some impacts, such as:

1. The decrease of credibility of the shared comments/opinion
2. The fewer trust to use the comments as reference, and
3. The questions of objectivity

Questions of objectivity emerge because anonymity makes other readers could not identify the commenters. The absence of true identity triggers suspicion that the comments/opinion are not the sincere ones, but comments which are deliberately fabricated or manipulated to direct other people to a certain image/conclusion. In short, anonymity close to bias.

Most of the media try to filter potential commenters by requiring readers who want to share their comments to sign in first, either by filling in the provided online identity form as well as by signing in using readers' online accounts like Facebook, Twitter, etc. However, this is not enough in helping to reveal the original identity of the readers/commenters due to the facts

² MarkPlus Insight data also quoted by Internet World Stats (see <http://www.internetworldstats.com/asia.htm>).

³ There are many discussions about which term best describe media which establish before the coming of internet. For a practical reason I prefer to call the 'traditional' media rather than—for example— old media. However, I will not prolong this discussion since it is not the topic of this research.

that identity used to create Facebook, Twitter and other online accounts are not necessarily the true ones. Thus, anonymity remains the main characteristic of online mass, including online readers. As Rheingold (1995) stated, those who engaged in online activity “seem to dissolve boundaries of identity” since anyone involved in internet-mediated communication⁴ has the possibility and ability to pretend to be somebody else, or even to pretend to be several different people at the same time (p. 147).

Despite unverified number, online mass (including online readers) are also characterized by ‘unverified identity’ since it is very difficult to trace the real identity of anyone engaged in online activity such as commenting on online news. These two characteristics (unverified number and unverified identity) of online readers are mostly related to the characteristic of the internet itself as an open medium “in the sense that no single entity; academic, corporate, governmental or non-profit administers it” (District Court on CDA: 4 cited in Jorgensen 2008: 21). Internet also has “no centralised storage location, control point, or communication channel and it would not be technically feasible for a single entity to control Internet” (*ibid.*).

There are at least two opposing views regarding the online or virtual world. The first view as represented by Bingham, Holloway, Valentine (1999) saw online or virtual spaces as “an improvement or extension of the off-line [real] world” (bracket is mine). They see that online space is the place for us to ‘correct’ and ‘improve’ the limitations we face in the daily life of the real world. Hence, those who hold this view are called “boosters” (p. 304). The second view as represented by McLaughlin, Osbourne, Smith (1995) regarded the online world as unoriginal and ugly copy of the real world. The group holding this view are called “debunkers” (p. 304). The debunkers see online world as the ‘extended world of ours’ in which we can express our self-identity relatively freely compared to real world which characterized by numerous social norms and culture that limit our expression (Budiman 2008: 2-3). According to debunkers, people tend to be more open and outspoken when they interact in online world (including in sharing comments) rather than in their offline (real) daily life (*ibid.*). Holmes (2005 cited in Littlejohn and Foss 2009) identified six differences between what so-called traditional media and internet:

Table 1. Characteristics Comparison Between Traditional Media and Internet	
Characteristics of Traditional Media	Characteristics of Internet
Centralized production	Decentralized production
One-way communication	Two-ways communication
Control of the situation (in most cases)	Beyond the control of the situation
Reproduction of social stratification and differences through media	Democratization
Scattered audience	Creating individual awareness
The development of social awareness	Individual-oriented

The second and sixth differences are the most important and related to the topic of this research. On traditional media, the public were positioned as mostly passive recipient of the news (the ‘agenda’), while internet enables two-ways communication which in turn, empowers the public to be the broadcasters too. Any people have opportunity and sufficient power to choose their media/news diets, to share or not to share the news they consume, to

⁴ I prefer using ‘internet-mediated communication’ to ‘computer-mediated communication’ since ‘internet’ is more specific in referring to the medium which help people communicate online rather than computer which is also used in numerous activities other than communicating, such as in engineering, robotics, and factory.

comment on the news, and even to provide their own tailor-made news to compete or 'fix' the news which were circulated earlier. Hence, as spotted by Rice (cited in McQuail 2011), internet blurred the boundaries between publisher, producer, distributor, consumer, and content observer. Everyone has opportunity and power to reproduce, modify, and recirculate the message. In turn, it weakened the power of mass media institution to direct and/or create people's awareness. Public are able to reproduce messages without social conformity.

Online communication facilitated by internet enables any individual to choose their preferred media platform, preferred schedule to consume media, and also empowers them to set their own agenda rather than completely rely on media institution. Sharing comments is also a type of 'individual' agenda-setting at the shape of supporting or opposing the claim displayed on or implied by the news content.

Identity and Value

The content of readers' comments and the way the readers share their comments are various. This variety is influenced by commenters' preference which mainly reflected their identity. Identity can be discussed both in identity theory and social identity theory. The self, in both theories, "is reflexive in that it can take itself as an object and can categorize, classify, or name itself in particular ways in relation to other social categories or classifications" (Stets and Burke 2000: 224). Social identity theory calls this process 'self-categorization' (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherell 1987 cited in Stets and Burke 2000) while identity theory calls it 'identification' (McCall and Simmons 1978 cited in Stets and Burke 2000). An identity is formed through the above process. The identity, in turn, offers an awareness to the self that he or she belongs to a social category or group (Hogg and Abrams 1988). The awareness that a self is belong to a certain group simultaneously creates another awareness that there *are* other groups. Those who share similar characteristics with us will be labelled and categorized as 'in-group' while others who share limited or no similarities with us will be labelled and categorized as 'out-group'. Hogg and Abrams (1988) argues there are two important processes, self-categorization and social comparison, which create social identity with different consequences.

The consequence of self-categorization is an accentuation of the perceived similarities between the self and other in-group members, and an accentuation of the perceived differences between the self and out-group members. This accentuation occurs for all the attitudes, beliefs and values, affective reactions, behavioral norms, styles of speech, and other properties that are believed to be correlated with the relevant intergroup categorization. The consequence of the social comparison process is the selective application of the accentuation effect, primarily to those dimensions that will result in self-enhancing outcomes for the self. Specifically, one's self-esteem is enhanced by evaluating the in-group and out-group on dimensions that lead the in-group to be judged positively and the out-group to be judged negatively. (Stets and Burke 2000: 225)

Online news items, particularly those which contain identity-related and value-related issues, have the power and possibility to trigger self-categorization as well as social comparison with all their consequences. The readers may identify the ones being reported, the media who reported, and contexts of the reported issues/events as within their group or outside their group. This is because the people (in this context: the readers) "are born into an already structured society" from which he/she learn about identification as well as in-group, out-

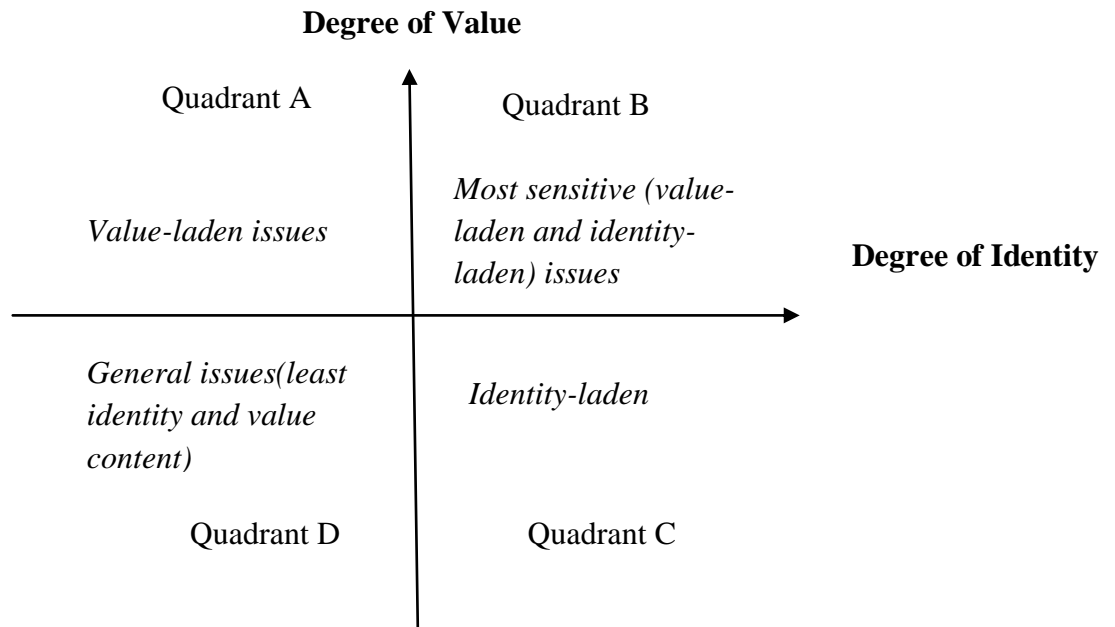
group, and the preferred behavioral norms to engage with others who has “more or less power, prestige, status, and so on” (Stets and Burke 2000: 225).

Investigating how identity play a role in the way readers share their comments is important to be taken. Burke and Tully 1977 and Thoits 1986 (cited in Stets and Burke 2000: 225) argue that “categorization of the self as an occupant of a role” is the core of an identity. It is include the incorporation of “meanings and expectations associated with that role and its performance”. What more important to be noted in the context of this research is that “these expectations and meanings form a set of standards that guide behavior” (Burke 1991; Burke and Reitzes 1981 cited in Stets and Burke 2000: 225). The researcher believes that ‘a set of standards’ here include personal value preference (how an individual judge something or an event as good/bad or right/wrong). Olver and Mooradian (2003) and Parks and Guay (2009) characterized personality traits as “innate characteristics representing the nature of an Individual” (Volk, S. et al. 2011: 2) while “personal values are socially learned beliefs about acceptable behavior and actions resulting from the interaction of nature and nurture” (*ibid.*). Both personality traits and personal values are influential in shaping one’s behavioral pattern (*ibid.*).

The majority of identity theory concern the intergroup relations or how people see themselves as a member of their in-group, how they see and perceive others who belong to out-group, and the consequences of both such as ethnocentrism (Turnet et al. 1987 cited in Stets and Burke 2000: 226). “Along attitudinal lines, people uniformly make positive evaluations of a group, when they become group members” (*ibid.*). Hence, this research put emphasis on the way readers’ deal with issues related to identity and value preference. The way readers comment on online news items, including the content and tone of the comment as well as how they display their identity, is influenced by ones’ identity.

Regarding the topic, this research assumes that people are more sensitive and therefore more incline to speak or comment on issues related to their identity and value. What constitutes *value* here are moral judgements (such as right, wrong, good, bad) and cultural judgements (such as proper, improper, decent, indecent). Meanwhile, the *identity* refers here are religion, ethnicity, race, nationality/citizenship, and other social attributes. Discussing value is relevant as well as important in this research since the objects of this study are online commenters which are (assumed) mostly Indonesian. As a matter of fact, most Indonesian consider value as important part of their life as reflected through generic norm-related statements such as ‘we are the Eastern nation who inherits sublime culture’ or ‘those kind of things are against our culture’. Meanwhile, discussing identity issues are as well important and relevant due to the fact that identity plays crucial role in many deadly conflicts around the world, including in Indonesia, such as Syiah-Sunni conflict in Sampang (2012), Moslem-Christian in Ambon (1999 and several other occassions), Dayak and Madura in West Kalimantan (1999) and Central Kalimantan (2001), and many others. Hence, the issues of value preference and identity can be called as “zone of active support”, in which people tend to engage actively.

Figure 1. Intersection of Identity and Value Contents on News Items

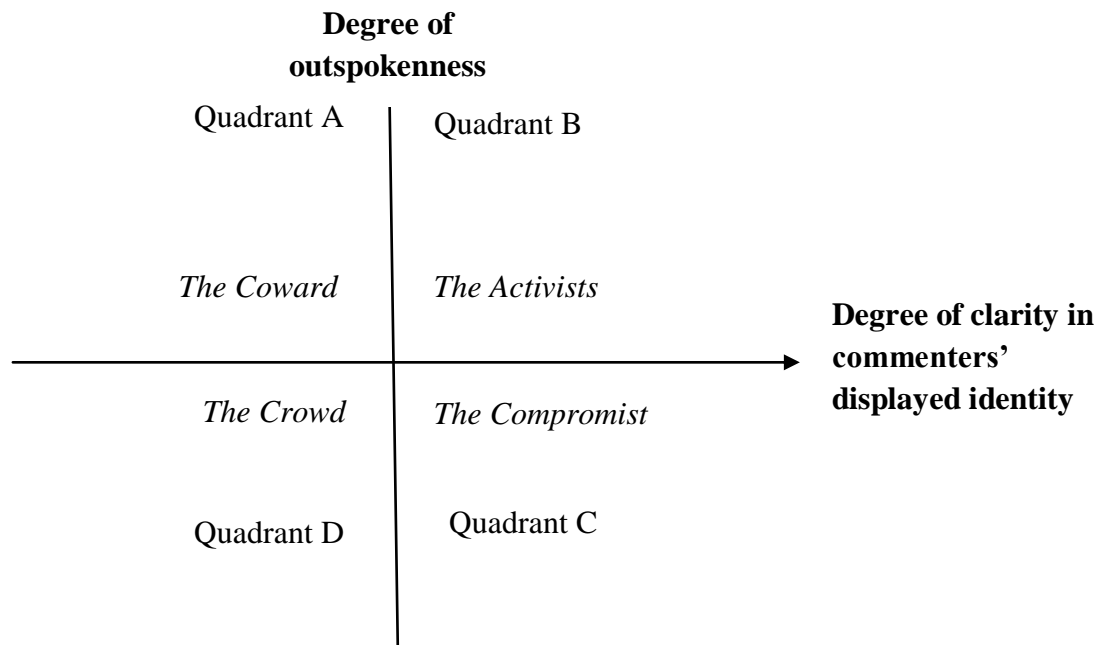


However, identity and value are also belong to zone of restraint. The sensitiveness of these topics often trigger fierce debates and even conflicts. In this context, topics which contain identity and value are prone to ‘self censorship’ which reflect spiral of silence theory. As the theory tells us, people are believed as having a kind of sixth sense in measuring and predicting what other people think about a certain topic. They will speak whatever in their mind frankly and even deliberately dominating and/or intimidating others if they believe that their opinion belong to the majority. However, they will keep silent if they think that their opinion are against the majority opinion or so ‘different’ that are most likely to be opposed, ridiculed, or denounced by others.

Issues which are value-laden and identity-laden are interesting to be studied since they are positioned at the intersection between ‘zone of restriction’ and ‘zone of active support’.

This research wants to investigate which zone appear stronger in the context of how online readers react to online news, particularly those which are identity-laden and value-laden. Secondly, this research is also aimed to reveal the way the online readers behave in commenting such topics. This research draws 4 possibilities in this respect as shown on the diagram below:

Figure 2. Intersection of Readers' Preferred Identity Display and Degree of Outspokenness



The activist Those who deliver their opinion freely and display recognizable identities (recognizable picture and name)

The Coward Those who deliver their opinion freely, however they hide their identities (only using avatar and unrecognizable name)

The Compromist Those whose comments are not really fierce and display their recognizable identities (recognizable picture and name)

The Crowd Those who are not provide both fierce comments and recognizable identities

Based on the arguments above, this research decided to focus on the news items about Rhoma Irama's remark during the campaign period for Jakarta gubernatorial election. Rhoma was reported as agitated jamaah majelis taklim (a Moslem congregation) not to choose Joko Widodo (Jokowi) and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok) due to their religion and ethnicity. Ahok, a Christian Chinese Indonesian, while Jokowi was said born to a Christian mother. Rhoma was reported as saying that Moslem voters should choose Fauzi Bowo (Foke)-Nachrowi Ramli (Nara) since the couple are Moslem. This remark was labeled as 'ethnocentrism' (SARA). These news items are perfect sample of news items which contain both identity-laden and value-laden issues. The identity here reflected through the option whether to choose a Moslem or non-Moslem leader with a bit reference to ethnicity since Ahok is also Chinese Indonesian (which is perceived as in contrast to Foke-Nara who are 'native' Indonesian, even native Jakartan). Meanwhile, the value represent here are whether doing a political campaign which capitalizing on such issues are right/wrong, good/bad, and acceptable/unacceptable practice. Besides, these news items are also attracted large attention from the public as reflected through the huge number of comments (489 items).

This research compares the two quadrants. For example, whether the number of 'most sensitive (value-laden and identity-laden) issues' comments corresponds positively to the number of 'activist'. If the two B quadrants correspond positively, it means that sensitive issues trigger open discussion/debate. The online readers (the commenters) are not

afraid/hesitant to engage in a discussion/debate which reveals their identity and value preference as well as their personal identity. In other word, the zone of active support are more apparent than the zone of restraint. To put it in other way, the commenters are really concern more about their identity group and value preferences (their opinion/stance) rather than their individuality (their displayed identity).

If the two B quadrants correspond negatively, it means that the zone of restraint is outdo the zone of active support. In other word, people are concern more about their individuality rather than their opinion (hence, the spiral of silence theory is once again proven).

Research Questions

Therefore, this study will employ content analisis of readers' comments to examine these following research questions:

1. Is the anonymity of online readers proportional to the subject/topic of the commented news items? (whether value-laden and identity-laden issues trigger more anonymous comments?)
2. Is the level of readers' anonymity proportional to the level of readers' outspokenness in expressing their opinion? (whether anonymous commenters tend to share more outspoken comments than the ones using 'recognizable' identity?)

This study is expected to investigate the patterns of readers involvement in online comment forum, hence contribute toward the study of online readers characteristics and the way they interact in online community.

Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this study is: degree of identity and value in a news item is proportional to the degree of anonymity and level of outspokenness of the commenters.

Research Method

As stated earlier, this research employed content analysis of readers' comments with both quantitative and qualitative analysis. According to Stemler (2001), content analysis is useful to reveal trends and patterns within documents, hence compatible with this research's topic. Holsti (1969: 14) defines content analysis as any technique to draw conclusion by identifying specific characteristics which emerge on the messages using an objective and systematic way. The identification process is actually quantifying the content of the investigated messages according to researcher's predetermined categories which are replicable to other researchers. The inserted coding manual and coding schedule will hep other researchers to do the replication (Bryman 2008: 275). The main weakness of this method is its dependency on the coder's interpretation of the documents which, in some cases, are varies.

The content analysis for this research are done through these following steps:

1. The researcher identify news items which are value-laden and identity-laden, hence considered as 'highly sensitive'. The candidates for the news items to be analyzed are taken from Detik.com due to two considerations:
 - a) Detik.com is the most-accessed news portal in Indonesia (Alexa.com 2012) which readers span widely in terms of geography, gender, education level, religion and ethnicity group, income strata, and social class.

b) Detik.com’s position in term of content is considered in the middle which mean “not too serious” as well as “not too tabloidized”
 After reviewing the criteria and considering the amount of readers’ comments, the comments following two news items below were chosen to be analysed due to their identity and value content:

Table 2. Sample of News Items Which Comments are Analyzed

Quadrant	Points of Sensitivity	Title of the News Items	Date of Online Display	Number of Comments
2 (most sensitive issues/value-laden and identity-laden issues)	Value preference (right/wrong, acceptable/unacceptable) and identity (Moslem/non-Moslem, Chinese Indonesian/'native' Indonesian)	Diduga Hembuskan Isu SARA, Rhoma: Saya Berdakwah, Bukan Kampanye (Reported as Delivering Xenophobic Remarks, Rhoma: I Did a Preaching, Not [Political] Campaigning)	6/8/2012	489 comments
		Rhoma Irama Menangis Saat Datangi Panwaslu DKI (Rhoma Irama Cried When Visiting the Office of Jakarta’s Election Supervisory Committee)	6/8/2012	

2. The researcher conducted content analysis by identifying how the commenters display their identity (completely anonymous to completely recognizable); the comments’ content (is it containing value and identity references or not); and the tone of the comments (cynical/denouncing, highly sided, and plain statement). The complete coding manual is as follows:

A. Identity

1. Completely Anonymous (displaying no recognizable identities, neither name nor picture)
2. Partly open (displaying only one recognizable identity, either picture or name)
3. Open (displaying recognizable picture and recognizable name)

B. Content of the comments

1. Containing value and identity references
2. Containing either value references or identity references
3. Containing neither value references or identity references

C. Tone of the comments

1. Denouncing/insulting/cynical
2. Sided
3. Plain

3. Inclusion and Exclusion

Analysing opinion (comments) is not easy in that the object of research are so subjective and have no clear-cut variables. This is also the weakness of this research.

However, in order to gain a more focus and clearer result, this research first set the boundaries to include and/or exclude comments from analysis.

Exclusion

This research exclude the followings:

1. Comments which purely commented other commenters' comment without any reference to the topic discussed.
2. Comments which focus diverted from the content and the context of the news items

Inclusion

This research include the followings:

1. Comments which commented other commenters' comment with reference to the topic discussed.
2. Comments which commented the way Detik.com display the news items within the context of the topic discussed.

The content analysis is beneficial to identify commenters' pattern of communication, whether there is a congruency between anonymity and commented issues. Content analysis enables this research to see whether this very sensitive issue (both identity-laden and value-laden) attracted a big number of anonymous comments (which represents the 'coward' quadrant) or triggered open discussion with open identity (which represents the 'activist' quadrant). The result of the research will also display whether the majority of commenters see the value-laden and identity-laden issues as zone of active support or zone of restraint.

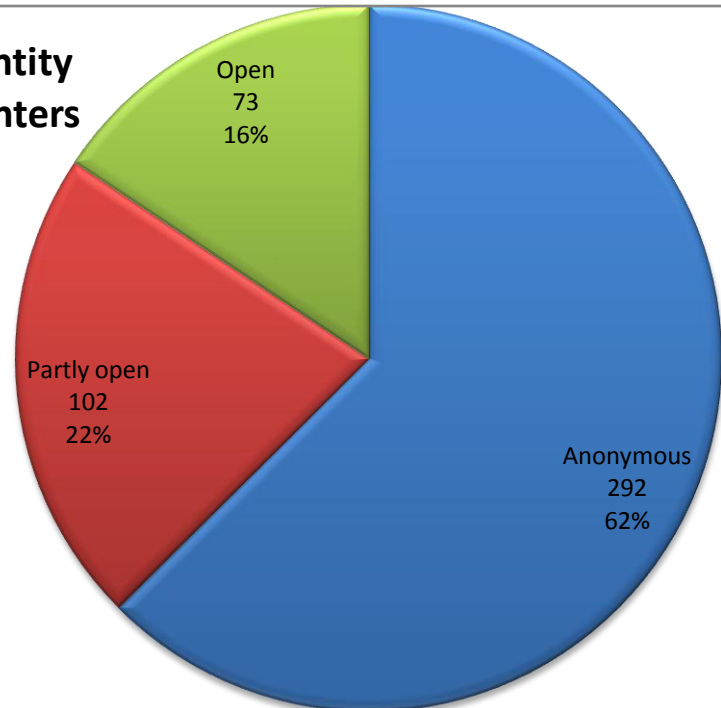
This research is also displayed the themes which frequently quoted by commenters. The most frequently quoted themes show the strongest context which shape commenters' opinion, whether it is Rhoma's personal profile, Islamic teachings, or the need to respect plurality. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) called this as a mixed method design. Mixed method design combines quantitative and qualitative data collections and analysis as long as both processes are so interrelated (p. 43).

Finding and Analysis

Quantitative Analysis

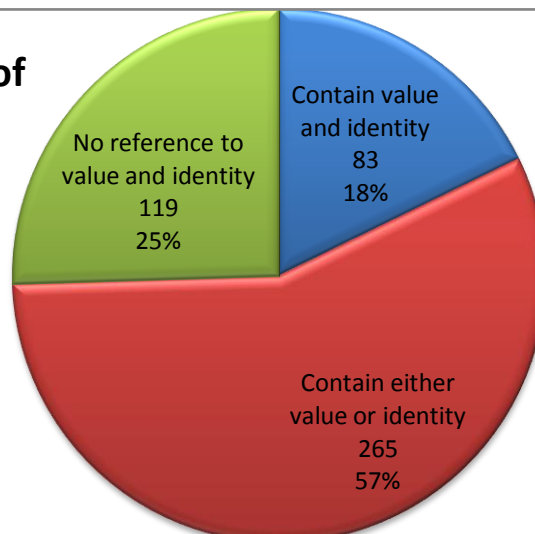
Most of the commenters (62%) provided no recognizable identities when shared their comments. Only 16% of the commenters provided full recognizable identities (recognizable names and pictures), while the other 22% provided either recognizable name or recognizable pictures (see Chart 1. Preferred Identity Display of the Commenters). This result implies that readers' anonymity proportional to degree of sensitivity of the news items commented.

Chart 1. Preferred Identity Display of the Commenters



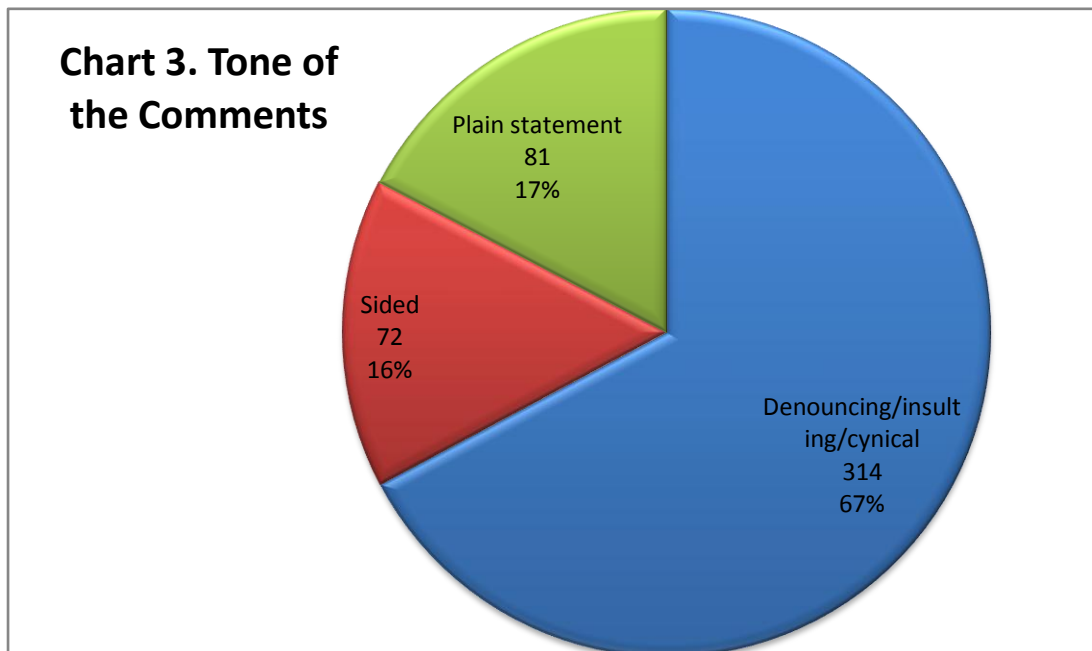
Regarding the contents of the comments, most commenters (57%) gave reference to either value or identity, while the other 18% of commenters cited and/or implied values and identity references on their comments. However, as seen on Chart 2. Contents of the Comments, there are still 25% of commenters who attached no value and identity references on their comments.

Chart 2. Contents of the Comments

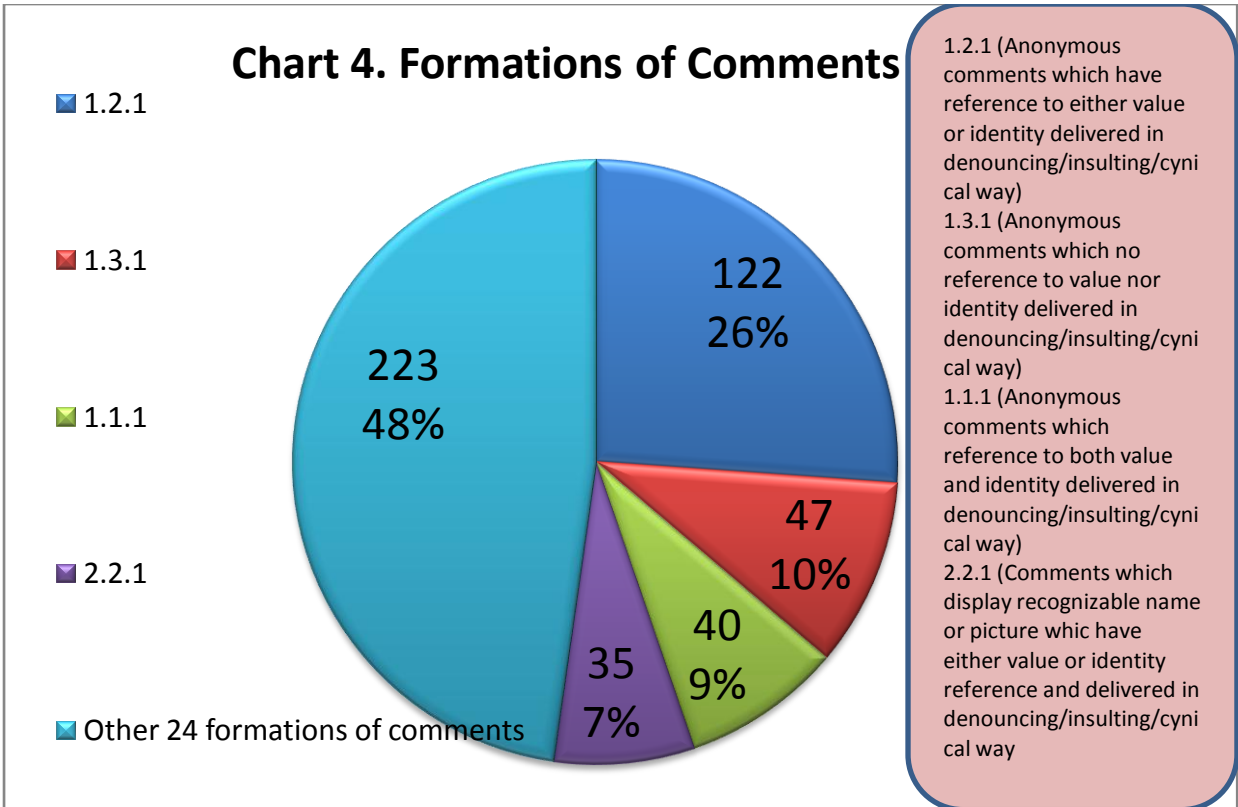


The majority tone of the comments are the harshest one in the shape of denouncing/insulting/cynical comments (67%). The other 16% of commenters shared comments which sided to one of the parties, whether Rhoma Irama or Jokowi-Ahok, while the remaining 17% delivered their comments plainly (see Chart 3. Tone of the Comments).

The tendency of the comments which mostly anonymous and denouncing/cynical at the same time, strengthen the “Debunkers’ view who see the online forum —and the online world in general—as the ‘extended world of ours’ in which the member could free themselves from the social norms and culture that generally tied them in the offline world. Hence, they can express their their opinion freer in online forum, and they did it as predicted.

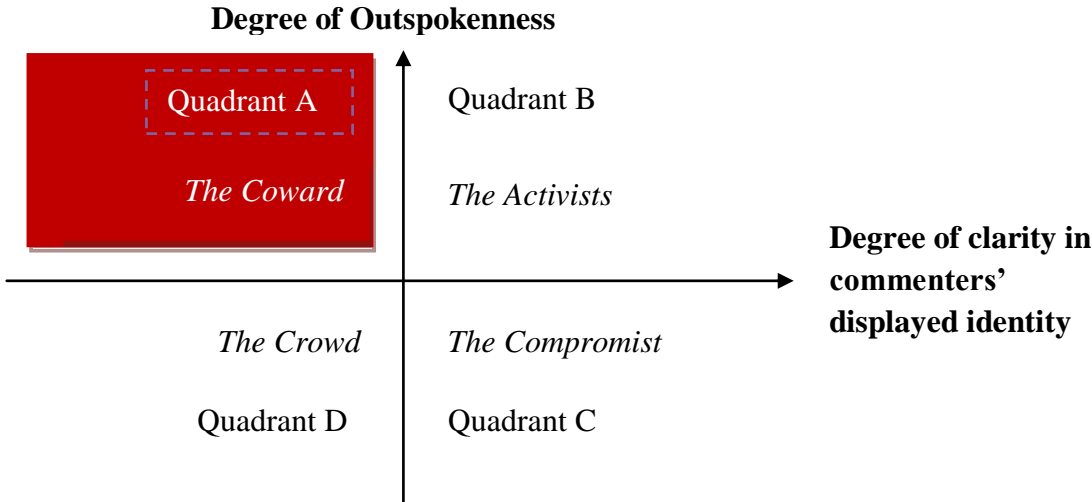


Furthermore, *is the level of readers’ anonymity proportional to the level of readers’ outspokenness in expressing their opinion?* A large portion of the readers (62%) are anonymous. The largest portion of them (72.58%) [45% of total] were anonyms who delivered their comments in a denouncing/insulting/cynical ways (see Chart 4. Formations of Comments).



They were both cynical/denouncing and anonymous. They were outspoken when they on concealment, hence these commenters (who are the vast majority among all commenters) belong to the Coward Quadrant. The result also indicated that value-laden and identity-laden issue is closer to If the two B quadrants correspond negatively, it means that the zone of restraint. People are concern more about concealing their individuality rather than their opinion. Hence, this research would argue that the spiral of silence theory is also proven in this case. The commenters are likely hesitant to deliver their opinion supposed they should deliver it in offline world. However, they are more eager in sharing their opinion in this case since they can hide their personal identity.

Figure 3. Intersection of Readers' Preferred Identity Display and Degree of Outspokenness

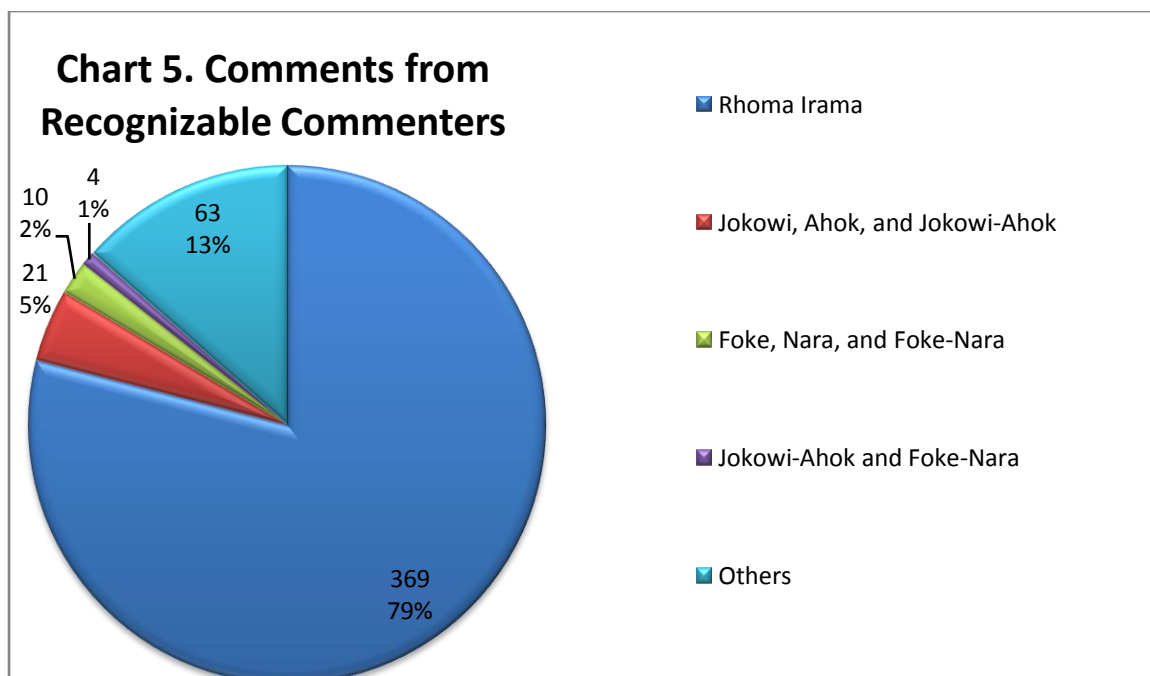


The contrast results are shown at the group of commenters who displayed recognizable identities (names and pictures). The total number of this group is relatively small (77 comments or 16% of total comments). From these, only 46 comments (9.66% of total) which shared denouncing/insulting/cynical comments while displaying full recognizable identities (see Chart 5. Comments From Recognizable Commenters). Once again, it is strengthen the Debunkers' claim that people tend to be more open and outspoken when they interact in online world –in which they can hide their true identity--, including in commenting news items in online news portal.

The heightened debate among commenters which is apparent in this research strengthen some claims of Holmes which stated 6 new characteristics of internet compared to those so-called traditional media. The willingness of readers to share comments (hence they become commenters) and the debate among them is an evidence that internet democratize the public (media consumer to be precise). It is also proven that the production of messages were decentralized. It was not the ultimate monopoly of media institution since any generic people could produce and share his/her message. However, the structure is not completely shifting from centralization to decentralization since the power of the public to produce message and transfer meaning is not yet as big as media institution. Most of the people can only 'distance' themselves further from the influence of the media and at the same time try to offer the 'alternative view' to others. However, their ability to do so is still limited compared to media institution.

The debate in comment forum is also an evidence that the interaction between media and audience is not a two-ways communication as claimed by Holmes. It is already a multi-ways communication in which there are multiple two-ways communication both between media institution-audience and among the audience.

Many people believe that the mechanism in internet are mostly individual-oriented, and it is true. However, the debate in internet which start and escalate quickly, trigger the creation of social awareness even faster and with stronger impact rather than the traditional media can do. Many people believe that the development of social awareness is the characteristic of traditional media, while in fact the internet can create the same social awareness even faster and more tangible.



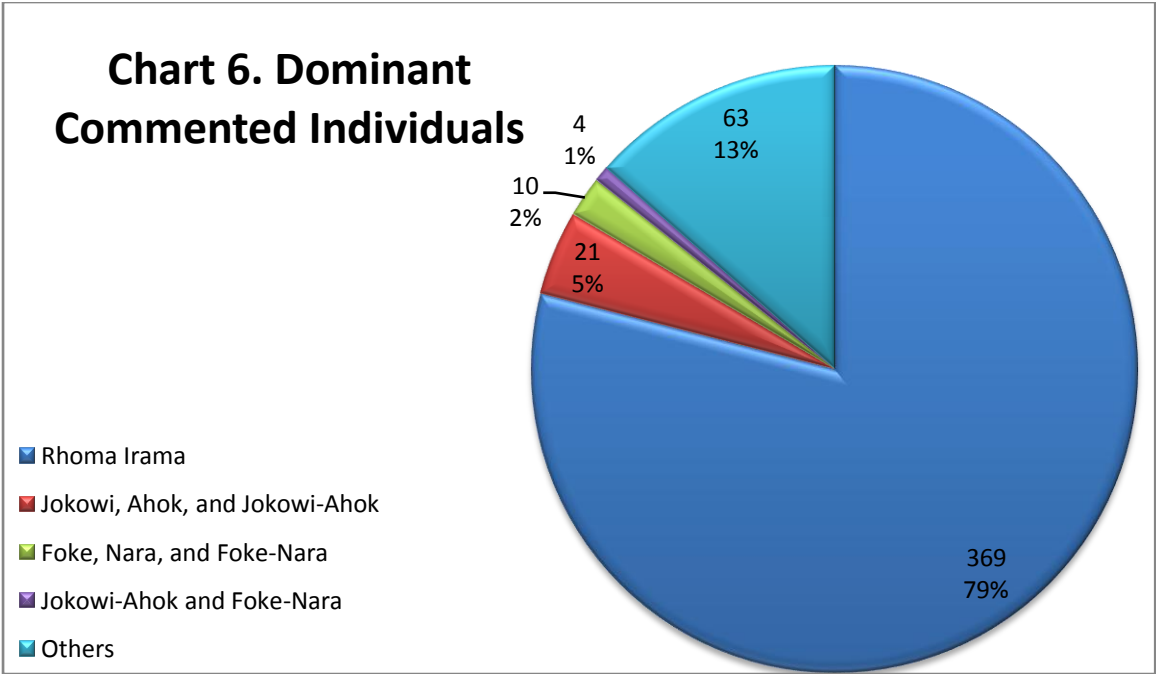
Qualitative Analysis

After revealing the trend that vast majority of the comments belong to ‘Coward’ quadrant, it is important as well as interesting to uncover the most frequently cited references. As shown on Chart 3. Tone of the Comments, the vast majority of comments (67%) have denouncing/insulting/cynical tone. What references they refer to when delivering such harsh comments?

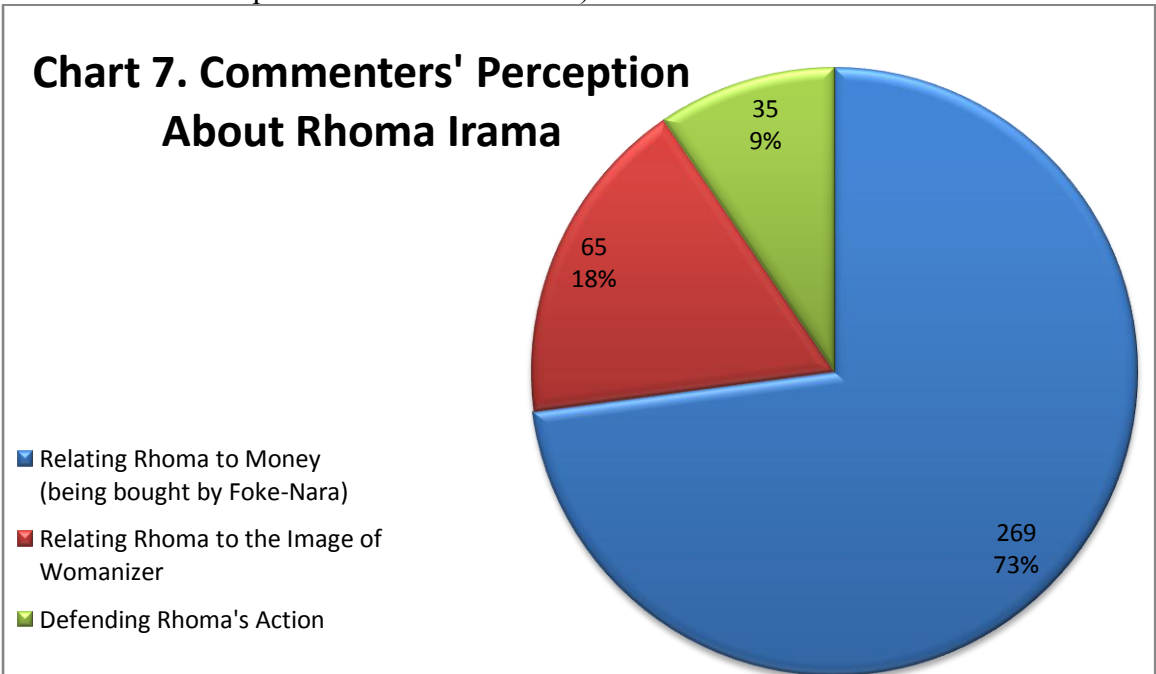
Concerning the issues displayed on two news items which analyzed in this research, there are some possible themes to emerge:

1. The principal actor at the spotlight (Rhoma Irama)
2. The actors at the context of the issue (Jokowi-Ahok and Foke-Nara)
3. Context related to the issue (Jakarta gubernatorial Election, Islam [Islamic teachings], Ethnicity [Chinese, Jakarta/Betawi, native people])

The vast majority of the comments focused on Rhoma Irama (369 = 79%). Only 98 comments (21%) focused on others, which are Jokowi, Ahok, and Jokowi-Ahok (5%), Foke, Nara, and Foke-Nara (2%) and both Jokowi-Ahok and Foke-Nara (1%) (see Chart 6. Dominant Commented Individuals). This result implies that the ‘actor’ attracted more attention than the context in which the actor involved.



How commenters perceive Rhoma Irama? Here the context play a significant role. Vast majority of commenters whose comments focused on Rhoma Irama perceived him as hypocrite and inconsistent person (81%, or 71.52% of total comments) (see Chart 7. Commenters' Perception about Rhoma Irama).



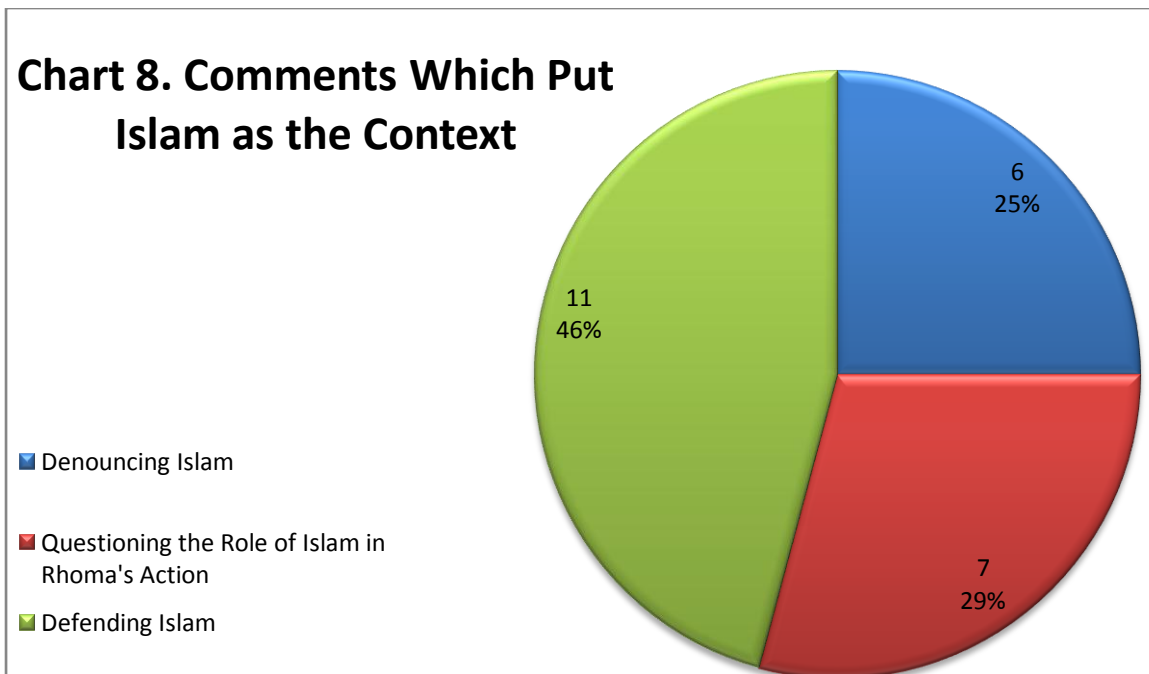
The dominant reference for these type of opinion is that Rhoma already been 'bought' by Foke-Nara (269 comments, 73%). The second dominant reference is Rhoma Irama's polygamy track record for which some commenters labelled him as womanizer (65 comments, 18%). Rhoma's short marital relationship with Angel Lelga, one of Indonesia's peripheral celebrity was the dominant reference in this context (18 commens, 27.69%).

Foke bisa apa sih? Jakarta malah mengalami kemunduran... Kenapa dia bisa ditinggal oleh wagubnya. Pasti ada yg salah! (Santo Sihalo06 Aug 2012 14:47:14 WIB)

Regarding the context of the issue, Jakarta gubernatorial election still the dominant context. The religion context (Islam) came way second (24 comments, 5.13%). From total comments which put Islam as their context, 6 comments (25%) denounced Islam, 7 comments (29%) questioned the role of Islamic teaching in Rhoma's action, and the other 11 comments (46%) were defended Islam (see Chart 8. Comments Which Put Islam as the Context). Samples of this group of comments are as follow:

kemarin ane liat video nya sampai menghina2 entis / sukunya ahok and menghina2 non-muslem juga tuh. Apa itu yg di ajarkan di islam mu bang roma?..... (Cowok Jelek06 Aug 2012 12:13:24 WIB)

Bagi Umat Islam yang masih meyakini bahwa Al Quran itu Firman ALLAH SWT Yang SUCI, maka tanya pada diri anda apakah salah bagi umat ISLAM MENJALANKAN PERINTAH ALLAH SWT UNTUK MEMILIH PEMIMPIN YANG SEIMAN DAN SEAGAMA?????????..... (Syamsul Fhuddin06 Aug 2012 11:07:27 WIB)



There are also some commenters who see imbalance of the media and people in general in perceiving Islam-related issues. They see that most of the media and people tend to be harsh in commenting Islamic-related things and fail to show similar response when dealing with things related to other religions. These kind of comments are as follow:

knp giliran yg kampanye ulama selalu dibesar2kan.. giliran pendeta2 didiamkan saja?. Pesannya pun wajar, sesuai Syariat Islam. yg ga mau pilih foke ga usah ribut. Maju Foke - Nara. Allahuakbar (ss1306 Aug 2012 11:08:32 WIB)

Waktu kampanye putaran I ada beberapa gereja di Jakarta yang terang-terangan mendoakan pasangan no urut 3 koq ngga ada yg protes... Giliran Rhoma yang berdakwah dihadapan jamaahnya sendiri tanpa menyebut nama calon koq semua pada ribut.... Benar2 toleransi yg ANEH...!! (tamrinmeda06 Aug 2012 14:35:23 WIB)

The comments tend to be in a diametral opposition. The majority of comments oppose Rhoma's action without a slight effort to understand the background. Most of the commenters put Rhoma's action in their own standard and share comments accordingly. Some other commenters see others' comments as 'mine versus yours' which is a precise reflection of 'they versus us' way of thinking. This condition suggests that online comment forum become a very productive medium in nurturing and contrasting the in-group and out-group feelings. The commenters seem to identify and learn other commenters' points of view as something to be confronted, not a topic to be discussed further. As Stets and Burke (2000) argued, one's self-esteem is enhanced by evaluating the in-group and out-group on dimensions that lead the in-group to be judged positively and the out-group to be judged negatively. This is clearly shown at the commenters' debate about Rhoma Irama's remark.

In general, the hypothesis of this research is proven. Degree of identity and value in a news item is proportional to the degree of commenters' anonymity and level of outspokenness.

Conclusion

Issues related to religion and values are considered sensitive and they were attracted large number of anonymous comments. It showed that most of the commenters were unwilling to open their identity completely when dealing with sensitive issues. It is perhaps driven by their fear that harsh comments on value and identity-related issues will trigger backlash to them from those within the outside group (those who have different identity and/or value preference). Both actor and context of the issues received large attention and helped shape commenters' comments, however individuality of the actor in concern (Rhoma Irama) was more on spotlight. This condition could be the effect of the image which earlier associated with the actor. The content of comments and the way the commenters share their comments indicate that online comment forum is a medium to strengthen one's identity and nurturing and contrasting the in-group and out-group feelings.

Further Research

This research is not yet to answer qualitative questions such as "why the commenters hide their identity when debating identity and value-laden issues?" and "what are the role of identity and value preference in commenters' interactivity"? A semi-structured interview to anonymous commenters will be helpful in revealing those questions as well as functioning as triangulation toward the conclusion derived from content analysis.

It is also important to investigate whether the level of anonymity proportional to the level of online media's tabloidization (whether the higher the level of media's tabloidization attracts higher number of anonymous comments)?



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Appendix




List of Comments and Commenters' Identities

No.	Picture	Name & Date	Comment	Identity	Contents	Tone
1.		Arifambudi 11 Aug 2012 03:59:41 WIB	jakowi ahok maju terus pantang menyerah	1	3	2
2.		Black Uniform 10 Aug 2012 23:39:22 WIB	air mata buaya.....	1	3	1
3.		ricarica_gukguk 10 Aug 2012 19:05:21 WIB	Belum pada tahu siapa "leony.agatha" ya...??? Dia kan pembantunya Foke...!!! Ya maklumlah mbela'in majikan...! Ntar kalo nggak mbela'in majikan kagak dapet THR buat pulang kampung dech...!!!!	1	3	1
4.		psrbaru 10 Aug 2012 14:50:21 WIB	Selamat!!! JOKOWI menjadi walikota terbaik tingkat Asia Pasifik. "Joko, or Jokowi, was recognized for rallying Solo citizens to abide by municipal policies, according to Peter Wood, the head of the United Cities and Local Government for Asia Pacific, who spoke at the Delgosea conference" (thepacificglobe.com August 09, 2012)	1	3	2
5.		satrio_kejepit 10 Aug 2012 12:02:38 WIB	saya rasa leony.agatha ada sangkut pautnya dengan pejabat2 korup di babel yg dendam sama ahok ...memang kalo orang baik berada di dalam sistem yg rusak akan selalu difitnah..maju terus jokowi-ahok!	1	2	2
6.		genba2012 10 Aug 2012 10:54:48 WIB	dulu anas diminta digantung di monas, setelah ke klinik tongfang, syukurlah hanya disuruh bungee jumping di monas pake tali rafia, terima kasih tongfang	Exc	Exc	Exc











7.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Raffi Ahmad 10 Aug 2012 09:58:57 WIB	Rakyat Indonesia lama2 keblinger. perkataan bung Rhoma kan benar, kok dianggap salah. Selamat datang bencana, hancurkan indonesia! ganti dengan generasi yg cerdas!	2	2	1
8.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	ld doyoubelieveingod 09 Aug 2012 23:47:45 WIB	Klo Jokowi dikatakan lebay, lha ini apa namanya? 🙄	1	2	2
9.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	ld doyoubelieveingod 09 Aug 2012 23:44:12 WIB	mau jelas dan akurat? datang aja ke beltim.. 🙄	1	3	3
10.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	ld boss_khuntien 09 Aug 2012 22:07:16 WIB	Aduh. Aduh. Siapa juga sih yang mau mendengar omongan bang Rhoma. Inul dibilang haram karena goyangannya erotis, tapi dia sendiri 'goyang' di atas 6 istri.	1	2	1
11.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	tw Wahyudi Lee 09 Aug 2012 17:06:15 WIB	Yusuf Muhammad, namanya gabungan dari 2 nabi tapi kelakuannya gabungan dari 2 setan	Exc	Exc	Exc
12.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	ld jelisto 09 Aug 2012 16:06:53 WIB	Bung Rhoma ..harusnya insyaf ya dgn perkataannya	1	3	3
13.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Yusuf Muhammad 09 Aug 2012 13:51:45 WIB	Sampaikan KEBENARAN itu walau pahit dirasakan oleh orang lain. Buat Bang Rhoma maju trs pantang mundur membela yang BENAR!	3	2	2
14.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Deny Aditya 09 Aug 2012 12:56:07 WIB	Dalam kutipan ayatnya Rhoma sudah benar, tapi perlu di garis bawah bahwa kita hidup bukan di negara Agama tapi di negara Beragama, yang penganutnya bermacam-macam Agama, dan azas negara kita adalah Pancasila. Sebaiknya Rhoma memahami dimana mesti berbicara seperti itu, koridor yang mana yang akan dipakai saat PILKADA Jakarta berbicara di koridor yang salah ya resikonya. Satu aja pesanku buat Bang Rhoma Introfeksi diri. Berapa banyak orang yang ada sakiti ok, Wassalam.	3	3	3






















15.		f Deny Aditya09 Aug 2012 12:22:22 WIB	Bang Rhoma kritiknya tajam, beberapa artis sampai menangis di depan dia, kalau Rhoma sadar itu karma alasan apapun juga.Goyang Inul Haram, tahu-tahu dia goyang dengan yang lain he he he he he.Ba Inul balasan dari Allah nih.....	3	2	1
16.		f Gugus Gembul09 Aug 2012 00:04:31 WIB	Rhoma cuma pembonceng gelap di tim kampanye Fucke-Nara. Di Putaran I, dia kagak nongol, eeee di putaran II, tiba-tiba dia nongol bak pahlawan kesorean yang menyusup di tim sukses si kumis. Kalo sudah ketahuan begitu, apa sebutan yang pas kalau tidak seorang PRAGMATIS.	1	3	1
17.		f Syarif Hidayat08 Aug 2012 23:05:52 WIB	bang.haji Roma yang sangat terhormat dan mulia . . .lebih baik anda ngaca dulu pake kaca Nako wkwkwkwkwk	3	3	1
18.		f Edwin Angow08 Aug 2012 21:53:14 WIB	Tuhan itu adil....smakin dihujat smakin dipakai-Nya..... Maju tak gentar membela yang bayar itulah Pak Haji Rhoma.....	2	2	1
19.		id suey408 Aug 2012 18:28:16 WIB	PUT.I: 4 KANDIDAT TERMASUK ALEX-NONO n HNW-DIDIK DLM SETIAP KAMPANYE n DEBAT SELALU MENELANJANGI BUKTI2X FAKTUAL YG NON-SARA FOKE GAGAL n HRS DILENGSERKAN!PUT.II: PARPOL2X KANDIDAT YG KALAH BERAKROBRAT RIA DUKUNG FOKE-NARA ATAS NAMA SEIMANLAH,SEAQIDAHLAH, BUKAN CHINALAH(KASIHAN SARA DIKAMBINGHITAMKAN) PDHL DEMI MENUTUPI POLITIK TRANSAKSIONAL DUIT n BAGI KUASA:BANCAAN PARA ELIT2X RAKUS-SERAKAH SOK LUPA-PIKUN FOKE	1	1	1















			GAGAL ITU INCUMBENT MUSUH BERSAMA TAK SESUAI JANJI = TIPIKAL KOALISI MALING SBY!			
20.		 fadhil.ruru08 Aug 2012 12:12:09 WIB	Si Raja Kawin, Ceramah bela yang bayar.	2	2	1
21.		 Putera Negeri08 Aug 2012 10:50:04 WIB	Makanya jadilah orang Indonesia yang pintar dong "Berfikir dahulu baru bicara" ente ji tipe produk orang Indonesia zaman orde baru "NGOMONG DULU BARU BERFIKIR" nah selamat berfikir ye bang haji semoga rntr pinteran dikit	1	3	1
22.		 Bonek Mania08 Aug 2012 08:03:52 WIB	Yg paling menjijikkan ttg video Rhoma berdurasi 7 menit, Rhoma bilang kalo orang tua Jokowi itu * (kaafir). Apa itu bukan fitnah? Seorang haji yg tahu agama melakukan fitnah keji, menggunakan ayat suci utk kepentingan kekuasaan. Dasar tukang kawin....	1	1	1
23.		 boimhood08 Aug 2012 07:59:23 WIB	Kalo emang laki2 yang gentle yang sering kawin cerai,,cium tangan Jokowi coba,,jangan cuma Inul aja yang disuruh...	1	2	1
24.		 Muhammad Bisri08 Aug 2012 03:58:55 WIB	ISU klasik...kampanye hitam yang disebar ditempat suci...apakah roma orang yang paling sempurna sempurna disisiNya?	3	2	1
25.		 pemikirRasional 08 Aug 2012 02:23:03 WIB	Biar bagaimanapun suri tauladannya JOKOWI sungguh mempesona..cermin ketulusan,,dan pemimpin dngn hati nurani... dijamin para pejabat DKI Jakarta skrg bakalgakkbisa tidur nyeyak lagi dibawah pimpinan gubernur Jakarta baru... rasain loh selama ini makan duit haram...pasti kena getahnya..	1	2	2
26.		 Roy Palgunadi08 Aug 2012 00:42:03 WIB	ustadi(ustad durung dadi)	2	3	1

















27.	<input type="checkbox"/>		and7707 Aug 2012 21:30:11 WIB	seperti lagunya SLANK "TONG KOSONG NYARING BUNYINYA"	1	3	1
28.	<input type="checkbox"/>		jumijolah07 Aug 2012 14:29:50 WIB	liat di TV OON hahaha si haji esek 2 ini keliatan sekali kebingunan di tanya .. udah jelas 2 tu vidionya .. dasar mau berkelit dia .. nyalah 2 hin orang yg menyebarkan bilang ada yg mau adu domba antara umat beragama .. yg ada juga lo tu rhoma haji esek 2 .. rasis	1	1	1
29.	<input type="checkbox"/>		Morten Tarigan07 Aug 2012 13:24:52 WIB	Buat yng bela rhoma, Waduh belum liat isi video ceramahnya dah pada comment . Yang di tuntutan adalah 7 menit dari isi dakwahnya. Bukan keseluruhan. Dalam 7 menit itu tidak ada bicara alquran, yg ada kampanye, menyebut dan menghina jokowi ahok, menuduh yg tidak benar, menghasut dan penuh dengan sara. 7 menit itu lah yg diuntut oleh panwaslu. Ngerti ga sih semua ni...bahkan dr menit ke 4-7 dilarang kpi untuk diputar di televisi, krena sngat bermuatan sara.	3	1	2
30.	<input type="checkbox"/>		Judhianto07 Aug 2012 13:04:55 WIB	Dulu Rhoma adalah satria bergitar yang tegar. Setelah 3x berobat ke Klinik Tong Fang, alhamdulillah Rhoma sudah bisa nangis. Terima kasih Foke	3	3	1
31.	<input type="checkbox"/>		Edi Garment Garment07 Aug 2012 11:12:37 WIB	setuju	1	3	3
32.	<input type="checkbox"/>		lordkluntunx07 Aug 2012 10:39:02 WIB	kayaknya angel lelga mau dikawin gara2 tangisan buaya ini ya...??	Exc	Exc	Exc
33.	<input type="checkbox"/>		mbojim07 Aug 2012 09:32:51 WIB	Buat yang comment tanya diri sendiri dulu dah baca Al Quran atau Hadits kah? Bisa nyalahin orang? Jangan sampai ucapan menjerumuskan diri sendiri ke dosa	1	2	2
34.	<input type="checkbox"/>		prinsipygrbeli07	jelaslah oma n pngikutnya dangkal semua..yg beginian	1	1	1















		Aug 2012 09:11:01 WIB	dijadiin panutan..masuk ke jurang iyaa			
35.		 Wan Adi 07 Aug 2012 09:04:44 WIB	Menjijikan muka Cabul ngaku-ngaku ulama.	1	2	1
36.		 no_fpi 07 Aug 2012 08:47:01 WIB	Salah kutip. Ayatnya ga bisa dipercaya	1	2	1
37.		 baksosolo_06 07 Aug 2012 07:57:34 WIB	Cengeng bgt sih,,uncalono sego kucing telung bungkus mengko rak meneng	1	3	1
38.		 Sencang Werute 07 Aug 2012 07:38:06 WIB	AIR MATA BUAYA	3	3	1
39.		 Leonardo Bayu Adi Prasetya 07 Aug 2012 06:59:57 WIB	AIR MATA BUAYA	2	3	1
40.		 Harry suhendra 07 Aug 2012 06:51:26 WIB	Pensiun woy!!! Untung anak elo ga kaya elo, semoga kedepannya juga ga seperti elo.Jangan2 anak orang laen itu wkwkwk	1	2	1
41.		 Tabung.Gas 07 Aug 2012 06:35:59 WIB	antara hati dan perbuatan sangat BEDATERLALU raja mesum	2	3	1
42.		 juliadi 07 Aug 2012 05:10:21 WIB	cukup sampai disini karir anda Rhoma Irama dan sebaiknya jangan muncul lagi, lagu dan gaya anda udah ga ada faedahnya selain nyakitin kuping karena tercoreng oleh perilaku anda sendiri.... met menikmati stroke	1	2	1
43.		 orang_orang 07 Aug 2012 02:47:22 WIB	Bang Oma, jangan sedih...saya selalu dukung abang, setau saya selama Foke menjambat sebagai Gubernur DKI, di daerah Kota kita bisa nonton striptease. Nah abang harus sabar dan berjiwa besar untuk mendukung yg seiman yaitu Foke. Krn belum tentu kalau Jokowi-Ahok jadi pemimpin DKI, striptease itu akan masih ada. Saya juga takut kalo ditutup. Inget ga bang waktu abang saya pinjemin wig	1	2	1













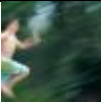






			dan kacamata model gayus waktu kita nonton striptease bareng...asik2 kan bang. Bang jangan nangis ya, jangan			
44.		 liga21 07 Aug 2012 01:47:30 WIB	payah abang kita satu ini..!!,lupa dia tinggal dinegara pancasila yg berbhineka tunggal ikabalik lagi dah bang ke SD...	1	2	1
45.		 Saladdin Sultan 07 Aug 2012 01:38:30 WIB	JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com - Mantan wakil Presiden, Jusuf Kalla, menilai calon gubernur DKI Jakarta, Fauzi Bowo atau Foke, tidak memenuhi kriteria sebagai seorang gubernur Jakarta yang baik. Menurutnya, Foke jarang mau mendengar pendapat dari orang lain, termasuk bawahannya ataupun rakyat yang merupakan atasannya. "Jakarta butuh perubahan. Jakarta butuh orang yang paham dan mau mendengarkan orang lain. Pak Foke jarang mendegar orang lain," ujar Jusuf Kalla	2	3	2
46.		 alipsica 07 Aug 2012 01:01:47 WIB	Lebai... situkang kawin selalu berdalih bawa-bawa kutip ayat quran, buat gw dia manusia munafik berlindung diantara orang-orang bodoh	1	1	1
47.		 Adhi Priyatna 06 Aug 2012 23:05:45 WIB	kalo bgt sama aja dong dg yg Coment....? (sorry) ga liat diri ya, makanya ada pribahasa yg menghujat belum tentu lebih baik dari pada yg di hujat. kalo seseorang itu bersalah...harusnya di luruskan bukan di hujat kalo ga mau ikut ke neraka, salah salah yg di hujat jadi sadar dan bertaubat yg menghujat ga nyadar dirinya lebih hina jadi masuk neraka deh....naudzubillah Bang haji jg manusia bkn malaikat. kalo anda yg coment termasuk apa ya....yg so suci tu justru yg bgtuuuu.	2	2	2
48.		 Bonek Mania 06 Aug 2012 23:02:47 WIB	TUKANG KAWIN RAJA CABUL... INGET WAKTU RHOMA DIGEREBEK WARTAWAN LAGI BERDUA	1	2	1










			SAMA ANGEL LELGA... 			
49.		 Jeng_Yayuk06 Aug 2012 22:04:03 WIB	ksatria bergitar dijatak pengamen	1	3	1
50.		 johnywoo06 Aug 2012 21:57:56 WIB	dasar buaya, air mata buaya. Di otaknya hanya ada bu aya. Otak mesum.	1	2	1
51.		 jokosuper99906 Aug 2012 21:46:50 WIB	satria bergitar ngupas bawang merah	1	3	1
52.		 dali.mardali06 Aug 2012 21:03:25 WIB	Maju terus Bang Rhoma Irama, ini adalah cobaan yang diberikan Allah SWT, kami selalu mendukungmu, jangan pernah gadaikan akidahmu	1	1	2
53.		 Uwi Mathovani06 Aug 2012 20:57:35 WIB	Hypocrite drama queen!	2	3	1
54.		 mrheru06 Aug 2012 20:46:36 WIB	P Jokowi selalu memberi contoh kepada kita utk saling menghormati dan memaafkan sesama manusia. Mari kita berbesar hati, biar rakyat yg menilainya. Urusan Bang roma biar serahkan sj ke Panwaslu. P Jokowi adalah pemimpin yg pantas di jadika suri tauladan buat umat manusia.	1	3	2
55.		 bamboe06 Aug 2012 20:45:51 WIB	bang Rhoma, bukannya nyanyiin "135 juta" di depan media jauh lebih baik daripada ngelakonin netesin air mata?	1	2	1
56.		 William Suryajaya06 Aug 2012 20:13:26 WIB	Dari luar keliatannya beriman, padahal ente Siluman..	3	2	1
57.		 Kms Candiwalang06 Aug 2012 19:48:29 WIB	manusia paling munafik sejagad raya. ... air mata kadal buaya. ...!!! emang ente pikir warga Jakarta bisa terharu liat ente? lol.	1	2	1
58.		 Wahyudi Lee06 Aug 2012 16:55:31 WIB	Kualat sama inul ha ha ha	3	3	1

		WIB	uuu uuuuuuuuuuu			
68.		 triyatmi06 Aug 2012 15:11:19 WIB	Cara kamu menyampaikan ajaran ALLah kepada masyarakat itu, SALAH BESAR Rhoma Kelapa. Sedangkan Allah itu Dzat Yang Maha Pengasih lagi Maha Penyayang kepada Mahkluk Hidup di dunia....Hanya dengan sepeinggal ayat itu, kamu lantaran ingin menghancurkan kedamaian negeri yang beraneka suku ragam agama? Apakah kamu juga benar2 BERSIH????	1	2	1
69.		 bekisar06 Aug 2012 15:10:07 WIB	maaf, saya jg simpati dengan jokowi, tetapi saya sedih dengan mayoritas * yang justru mengeluarkan statement yang merugikan agamanya...	1	1	2
70.		 Ade Ayu S06 Aug 2012 15:10:00 WIB	TER LA LU STRESS, TIMSES FOKE MAU SERANG JOKOWI ? INI BISA JADI BAHAN SERANGAN BUAT ANDA TENTANG KELEMAHAN CHOW KHO WIE..... kom.ps/ACC1EDMAAF, MAJIKAN ANDA dan ANAS SUDAH DPO KPK, TUNGGU GILIRAN YA.	3	2	1
71.		 hengki cahyadi06 Aug 2012 15:06:09 WIB	sungguhhh..terlaluuuu.....	3	3	3
72.		 roynerock06 Aug 2012 14:53:19 WIB	@bekisar..siapa yg memojokan islam,kita cuma ga mau islam dimanfaatkan oleh oknum2 tertentu untuk politik.ini jokowi yg sdg dipojokan,jangan mengalihkan masalah.lagipula sapa yg tau ente kmarin pilih jokowi?ini bukan soal islam tapi soal karakter si Oma bini 6 ini.	1	1	1
73.		 jumijolah06 Aug 2012 14:49:10 WIB	@berkisar sok aja itu kan hak ente gan .. trus harus pengumuman ? .. trus semua harus bilang wow ? lol	1	3	3
74.		 bekisar06 Aug 2012 14:43:34 WIB	semakin islam dipojokan oleh pendukung jokowi, tadinya saya mau pilih jokowi, terpaksa saya pilih foke	1	2	2

75.		 yuwandi00906 Aug 2012 14:42:55 WIB	Bang Haji, bagaimana klo kite bikin lagu yang judulnya, Menangis diPanwaslu",... Sekalian ambir video klip diPanwaslu.	1	3	1
76.		 jumijolah06 Aug 2012 14:42:16 WIB	ya ullah nangis keabisan janda atau perawan kali wkwkwkwkw .. alah basi rhoma irama sok suci ..	1	2	1
77.		 Chun Soo06 Aug 2012 14:38:13 WIB	Munafik....kok ya ada yg percaya sama orang kaya gitu. Angel lelga dikemanain sekarang bang haji...wkwkwk	1	2	1
78.		 koding7406 Aug 2012 14:35:45 WIB	Kalau memang mau ikhlas dan netral, ya jangan jadi pendukung Foke-Nara. Jadinya kan bias, ini bener-bener ikhlas atau kampanye? Saya sering kok denger penceramah menyampaikan hal yang sama, bahkan seminggu setelah pemilu di Sucoffindo, dia jelas bukan tim pendukung.	1	3	3
79.		 hard2hard06 Aug 2012 14:35:04 WIB	CENGENGtakut dipisahkan dari istri muda	1	3	1
80.		 MbahRagil06 Aug 2012 14:32:19 WIB	capek deh bang haji nih, badan gede dongok macem SBY aja	1	3	1
81.		 cukupAbbie06 Aug 2012 14:28:12 WIB	Ya saya sangat setuju tempat ibadah adalah tempat yg otonom untuk berdakwah :saya dapat memahami air mata Roma..sabar bang Haji Tuhan selalu bersamamu, dan Tuhan senang dengan org2 yg menyampaikan pesan2 kebenaran Tuhan(terlepas Roma dg segala track record'a terutama perempuan itu urusan dia sm Tuhan saya hanya mendukung pesan2 kebenaran yg dia sampaikan saja	1	2	2
82.		 JITE06 Aug 2012 14:16:06 WIB	Bukti rekaman sudah ada ente masih masih berbohong, kagak usah lah nangis2 kyk maen sinetron aj, dari dulu memang ente kagak bener, kalau ngomong sok suci bawa2 ayat Alquran, tapi kelakuan ente jauh	1	1	1

			dari ayat2 Alquran,			
83.		 koment_aje06 Aug 2012 13:57:21 WIB	Udah, ente cuma cocok nya jadi umpang Buaya	3	3	1
84.		 Light12306 Aug 2012 13:53:18 WIB	Sickooooo!! Makan tuh agama!	1	2	1
85.		 detikas06 Aug 2012 13:43:27 WIB	kalo seandainya ada pemuka agama lain khotbah ayat di igreja, bilang jangan sampe musl*m jadi pemimpin karena dia musl*m, masih berani konsisten gak itu bukan SARA?	1	2	2
86.		 Pelor06 Aug 2012 13:34:38 WIB	haji kok nggilani... gembeng pisan	1	3	1
87.		 Agung Widodo06 Aug 2012 13:33:36 WIB	Itulah yang dinamakan penjual kitab Allah, Menggadaikan potongan ayat dengan uang, wajarlah Menangis menyesali kesalahan. Semoga diampuni Allah, makanya kalau khotbah mikir dulu karena honor gede ngejeplak apa saja mau.	2	3	1
88.		 Johan Sunarko06 Aug 2012 13:30:42 WIB	Waktu ceramah sara di mesjid gue liat videonya garang kale.. Skrg koq jadi lebay kale?? Pake acara nangis segala.. Sudahlah... Jangan menambah dosamu dengan kemunafikanmu.. Pa lagi ini bulan suci ramadon... Jika benar2 tidak ada niat tuk merugikan pasangan jokowi-ahok dan tak ada unsur sara.. Sumpah pocong aja di mesjid. Tu baru gue n laennya percaya kalo memang kamu bersih niatnya	1	3	1
89.		 wsew1206 Aug 2012 13:25:36 WIB	TERLALU !!!!	1	3	3
90.		 detikas06 Aug 2012 13:25:20 WIB	cup cup jangan nangis bang.. lain kali jangan suka main pelintir ayat ya..	1	3	1
91.		 Ronald Nagario P06 Aug 2012 13:19:53 WIB	ahh ente Terlalu makanya jadi menangis!!!	2	3	1









92.		 budi cahyadi 06 Aug 2012 13:14:44 WIB	Hadeuh ini baru bung roma yg klihatan.yg g kelihatan mah buanyak bner.tw knp pda kompak gini 'tema' ceramahnya pas mw pilgub.sungguh ter..la..lu	3	3	2
93.		 Ardian Adityawarman 06 Aug 2012 13:14:15 WIB	Kasihannya banget yg masih menganggap gubernur itu pemimpin, gubernur itu pesuruh rakyat.. Pantas aja Foke sombong,ternyata dia anggap dirinya Pimpinan tho.. Haduuuuuuuhhhhhh	2	3	3
94.		 kanjeng_mami 2506 Aug 2012 13:12:00 WIB	Pake jurusnya Inul ya Bang Haji ??... Nangis bombay.... Mudah2 an dapet banyak simpati, yaaa....	1	3	1
95.		 denmomod 06 Aug 2012 13:11:48 WIB	yang disampaikan oleh bang rhoma itu ayat quran, kok pada keberatan sih dan menyampaikannya juga di masjid, tidak apapa kan ?	1	2	2
96.		 meauah 06 Aug 2012 13:05:13 WIB	r1k4.. oouwwhh rr1k444... hi1ks hi1ks...	1	2	1
97.		 Budy_syahbana 06 Aug 2012 13:04:33 WIB	Menangis, menangislaaaah..., jika kau merasa menyesal.	2	3	3
98.		 Dik Firman 06 Aug 2012 13:04:26 WIB	Waduh..... Napa bang haji jadi cengeng gitu? TERLALU.....	1	3	1
99.		 wendi wijarwadi 06 Aug 2012 13:02:50 WIB	sebagai pedangdut, ane hormat ama ente. sebagai publik figure, Angel Elga Jawabannya,,,Dulu, ketika megawati dicalonkan presiden, ulama berkoar, haram presiden perempuan. eh, pas mega jadi presiden, yang koar2 yang duluan jadi wapres...heran	3	1	1
100.		 deep_throat 06 Aug 2012 12:58:06 WIB	Menangis jangan menangis, karena tiada yang percaya Air Mata Buaya	1	3	1
101.		 yyrw 06 Aug 2012 12:55:50 WIB	Hei Bung Rom, Sungguh TERRLALU... Bukannya ente itu pendukung Salah satu pasangan kan... katanya Ustadz,,, Ustad poligami kalee,,,,, wkkkkkkkk'	1	3	1











102.	<input type="checkbox"/>		hati_nurani_neg 06 Aug 2012 12:50:47 WIB	Rhoma Irama busuk mana pantas jadi ustadz, pantesnya jadi tokoh poligami munafik	1	3	1
103.	<input type="checkbox"/>		onosup 06 Aug 2012 12:49:58 WIB	@all Silahkan pilih yang kalian suka, tapi inget semua diminta pertanggungjawabannya	1	3	3
104.	<input type="checkbox"/>		Yadi Mulyadi 06 Aug 2012 12:49:37 WIB	Rhoma nangis karena sedih melihat sebagian umat islam tidak mengerti tentang ayat yang dia sampaikan, malah mempermasalahkannya	3	1	2
105.	<input type="checkbox"/>		Gaboon Sigon 06 Aug 2012 12:48:23 WIB	Kitakan bukan mencari pemimpin agama tapi yg memimpin kota kita untuk menjadi lebih baik, makanya agama jgn dicampuradukan dengan politik karena maksud dan tujuannya berbeda. Jangan menangis dong malu!	3	3	1
106.	<input type="checkbox"/>		Ulo_dak_bemato 06 Aug 2012 12:46:58 WIB	Dia nangis bukan menyesali kena kasus sara tp ttg firman Allah di surat al imran. Dia menangis krn kebenaran ayat tsb.	3	2	3
107.	<input type="checkbox"/>		Doni yulia 06 Aug 2012 12:46:40 WIB	duh roma. kacian... ini cntoh uztad yg salh jurusan... ngapain ngikut politik... ngaji ya ngaji. kalo nangis sediain EMBER AJA	3	2	1
108.	<input type="checkbox"/>		dongkel 06 Aug 2012 12:46:38 WIB	a	Exc	Exc	Exc
109.	<input type="checkbox"/>		lurahdolly 06 Aug 2012 12:44:57 WIB	Bukan sok nebak enggak ? Kayaknya ni besok yang kagak milih jokowi bakal nyesel karena dia pilihan rakyat bukan partai???so gabung semua ke pokeman liat aja rakyat pilih siapa? Pilih yg menyeramkan/pilih yang santun sahaja orang dah tau bang????pembela pemimpin korupsi kayaknya haram juga tu bang???anda ini berjuang Demi allah apa demi uang? Wallahu a,lam	1	2	1
110.	<input type="checkbox"/>		superman_ID 06 Aug 2012	udah mulai sepi..!! wkwkwkwkw..padahal gw sangat menikmati baca	Exc	Exc	Exc











		12:44:49 WIB	komen2nya..			
111.		id maspardi06 Aug 2012 12:44:08 WIB	Maju terus Bang..... Tetap semangat..!!	2	2	2
112.		id kangkomen06 Aug 2012 12:43:25 WIB	Jangan salah paham. Kita milih gubernur tu artinya kita milih orang yang akan kita pekerjakan untuk ngurus kota ini, bukan untuk jadi pemimpin kita. Dia kita bayar melalui pajak. Jadi mau dia islam atau bukan yang penting dia cukup cakap untuk kita bayar sebagai pengurus kota. Tolong camkan hal itu, terutama untuk orang2 yang fanatik tanpa pakai logika.	1	1	1
113.		id thesig06 Aug 2012 12:42:13 WIB	Seandainya Bang Roma tidak masuk kancah politis (dengan mendukung salah satu Cagub), kejadiannya mungkin akan berbeda.....hadeuhhh. Pudar satu lagi deh....	1	3	1
114.		id pdo300406 Aug 2012 12:41:27 WIB	Palsuuuuuu	1	3	2
115.		id pekaes06 Aug 2012 12:39:54 WIB	loe khan congor Foke.. jelas2 iklan di TV gitu kok..kenapa gk sejak putaran 1 loe ceramah kayak gitu..kalo loe ceramah ayat gitu dan loe bukan tim-nya foke gk masalah..lha ini.. jelas2 iklan di TV buat Foke kok..	1	2	1
116.		id joyomronto06 Aug 2012 12:38:34 WIB	KENA Lagi bang roma!! tapi bener juga sih.. cm tidak tepat waktunya saja..	1	2	3
117.		id prodemocracy06 Aug 2012 12:37:22 WIB	aduh kasian ..nangis...cup..cup...nenen ya ma tante angel ? cini...cini...	1	3	1
118.		id joyomronto06 Aug 2012 12:36:59 WIB	KENA LAGI BANG ROMA!!	1	3	3
119.		id hasanbdr06 Aug 2012 12:36:41 WIB	Bang roma sedang main film berjudul air mata pemburu fulus..	2	3	1
120.		id samirduran06 Aug 2012 12:30:33 WIB	salam buat angel elga, bang!!	1	3	1






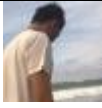

						
121.		id sirbas06 Aug 2012 12:30:15 WIB	oke lah kalo begitu	Exc	Exc	Exc
122.		f Anggi Chan06 Aug 2012 12:28:28 WIB	AIR MATA BUAAAAAAAAAYYA...darat,	1	3	1
123.		id nevets06 Aug 2012 12:26:57 WIB	kalo yg bayar beda agama, si bulu ini pindah agama ga ya utk berkoar2 n sandiwara 🙄 dah siap kali ya 2 bulan sebelum putaran 2 dengan segala macem alesan 🙄 *ngakak lagi*	1	2	1
124.		id dongkel06 Aug 2012 12:25:29 WIB	Tuh kan gue kate jg ape, udahlah maapin aja dia. Die nangis dah tuh. Maklumin aja dah, namenye jg org lg jualan jasa kampanye. Ape aje sesuai pesenan langganan, yg penting laku. Udahlah bang, cup cuuppp...	1	2	1
125.		id samirduran06 Aug 2012 12:24:42 WIB	Konsep pemerintahan demokrasi saat ini dengan konsep pemerintahan jaman dahulu. Dalam demokrasi, istilah "penguasa" ataupun "pemerintah" senantiasa terdiri atas tiga unsur: legislatif, eksekutif dan yudikatif. Tidak satupun dari ketiga unsur ini berkuasa secara absolut dalam menentukan hidup mati negara dan rakyatnya. Anggota DPR bisa dipenjara, presiden dan gubernur bisa disidik, hakim bisa dipecat - bila tidak amanah. Hal ini sangat berbeda dengan konsep "penguasa" pada jaman dulu, dimana seorang pemimpin = penguasa tunggal yg menentukan kebijakan secara otoriter dan absolut, sehingga sangat riskan bila memilih pemimpin yg tidak seiman.	1	2	3
126.		id nevets06 Aug 2012 12:24:37	dibayar berapa sih? tumben bersuara lengkap dengan drama	1	2	1











		WIB	nya, sebelum2nya ga perna, coba aja peljarin historikalnya dulu mah sibuk kawin (istilah biologi - bukan nikah) tergantung highest bidder ya bos? 🙄 *ngakak*			
127.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fRutik Hartanty 06 Aug 2012 12:24:32 WIB	SUNGGUH TERLALU... bang Roma... ga tau malu... sudah tau salah masih tetap mangkir.. ga usah pake nangis2 segala dech.. di dpn Pers. Dasar Haji munafik...	3	1	1
128.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fDodi Sunardi 06 Aug 2012 12:22:48 WIB	bisa terbalik nih kalo begini... Foke bisa naik lagi, pemilih jadinya akan bersimpati ke rhoma irama...	3	3	3
129.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 idokip 06 Aug 2012 12:22:33 WIB	susah banget kirm komentarnya detik??????	Exc	Exc	Exs
130.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fKasharyanto Kash 06 Aug 2012 12:21:02 WIB	LEBIH BAIK DI PIMPIN ORANG YANG GA BERIMAN TAPI MIKIRIN RAKYATNYA, DARIPADA DI PIMPIN ORANG YANG KATANYA BERIMAN, BERSORBAN TAPI TIDAK PEDULI KE RAKYAT..	3	1	3
131.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fCarolin Dewi 06 Aug 2012 12:20:54 WIB	kl ngomong tanpa ngaca it SESUATU YA	3	2	1
132.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 idjaku77 06 Aug 2012 12:19:21 WIB	Dominasi Piala Citra 2012, Kategori " AIR MATA KERANJANG DAN BUAYA".	1	2	1
133.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fBadeg's Wahyudi 06 Aug 2012 12:19:13 WIB	anda benar bang rhoma !! semoga anda bebas !	1	2	2
134.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fMuhammad Syarifuddin 06 Aug 2012 12:18:54 WIB	hehehe... jangan TERLALU lah..kan buat bang haji menangis tuh. sekali lagi, TERLALU.	3	2	1
135.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 idpunkass 06 Aug 2012 12:18:07 WIB	Cuih....Playboy cengeng, Agama cuma jadi kedok demi kepentingan, ini nih..yg di benci RasulAllah	1	1	1
136.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 timWNI 06 Aug 2012 12:17:56 WIB	TUTUP SAJA ARTIKEL INI ,KALO PERLU SEKALIAN DETIKNEWS bila tidak bisa menjadi pengulas berita yang	Exc	Exc	Exc










			NETRAL!!!SAYA BUKAN PENDUKUNG SEMUA CALON.SAYA HANYA BENCI DENGAN MEREKA YANG MEMBAWA AGAMA KE POLITIK!DAN BILA DETIKNEWS tidak NETRAL, ANDA pun ,sangat mengecewakan!Artinya Kualitas Detiknews sangat parah!			
137.		 haripunto06 Aug 2012 12:17:10 WIB	Hahaha...giliran cuap2 ga mikir..semua ditabrak..dijelek2an..begitu semangat dan berwibawa.....eh..sekarang nangis..makin keliatan deh mutunya ..cup..cup..cup ..ngarang lagu aja yuk bang..siapa tau malah laku..emang disitu kan abang jagonya..wkwkwkwk	2	2	1
138.		 atmoxp06 Aug 2012 12:16:43 WIB	Panteslah kalo Indonesia susah majunya..	1	3	3
139.		 Hendra August Aug 2012 12:16:37 WIB	kalo agama di campur aduk sama politik bisa berabe..bisa-bisa orang yang ngakunya beriman doyan korup juga..buktinya dana al-quran aja di embaaat..	2	2	3
140.		 Kasharyanto Kash Aug 2012 12:15:35 WIB	MAAF...PAK RHOMA IRAMA INI KIRAIN LAKI LAKI...????? KALAU LAKI LAKI HARUSNYA DI PANGGIL PANWASLU GA USAH BAWA PENDUKUNG BANG.....KARENA UCAPAN ITU KELUAR DARI BANG RHOMA, BUKAN DARI PENDUKUNG, KENAPA SEBUAH NEGARA HARUS ADA ATURANYA??? SUPAYA ORANG TIDAK SEENAKNYA BERBUAT ATAU BERUCAP	3	2	1
141.		 John Wiley Aug 2012 12:14:52 WIB	Ada yang masih percaya sama orang model Rhoma Irama?	1	3	1











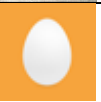

142.		 wind128706 Aug 2012 12:13:47 WIB	Jadi intinya mnrt ni org. biar orgnya korup, ga bsa kerja.. ga peduli aspirasi rakyat, didukung partai korup. yg pnting seiman trus ttp diplih ? duh , sama anak SD aja kalah otaknya.	1	1	1
143.		 Cowok Jelek06 Aug 2012 12:13:24 WIB	kemarin ane liat video nya sampai menghina2 entis / sukunya ahok and menghina2 non-muslem juga tuh. Apa itu yg di ajarkan di islam mu bang roma?	1	2	1
144.		 Bachtiar Arifien06 Aug 2012 12:11:57 WIB	Ya begini ini kalau artis udah nggak laku lagi,dibayar berapa sih sama mereka.semua dah pada tau karna duitlah kau ngomong kayak gitu,bawa-bawa dalil AGAMA lagi.di otakmu duit adalah segala-galanya...TER..LA....LU	2	2	1
145.		 muhandas06 Aug 2012 12:10:36 WIB	Model begini ngaku ulama,ustad, terus apalagi Bang Rhoma, ? jangan2 ustad mesum atau munafik	1	1	1
146.		 roynerock06 Aug 2012 12:10:36 WIB	Yang ga masuk komennya bukan kritis to pro sana sini,tp karena padatnya komen yg masuk,cb ajh lagi.setau gw gt haha	Exc	Exc	Exc
147.		 Jazz201006 Aug 2012 12:10:34 WIB	wadooohhh...provokatif banget ya..	Exc	Exc	Exc
148.		 imWNI06 Aug 2012 12:10:24 WIB	detiknews!!!jelaskan hal ini! komentar kresekitem : detik lucu. komentar gw gak ditampilin. cuma yg pro jokowi doang yg ditampilin. buat moderatonya, coba lah yg imbang. anda timses nya jokowi apa??? Kenapa tidak muncul? Detiknews, saya harap anda sebagai website pemberita. Janganlah membela salah satupihak!bila anda tidak bisa netral lebih baik anda tidak usah memasang membawa nama 'news'!	Exc	Exc	Exc
149.		 kresekitem06 Aug 2012 12:09:35 WIB	sama kayak yg komen. lucu. orang syiar agama dibilang SARA. yg blg SARA berarti gk	1	1	1





			ngerti agama. dalam segala hal, islam mengajarkan memilih pemimpin yg seiman. ketauan si joko sama pendukungnya gak ngerti agama.			
150.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 hari pamono 06 Aug 2012 12:09:14 WIB	pemain sandiwara mengatasnamakan agama untuk mencapai maksud tertentu...udah kuno bang , rakyat tidak bodoh	2	3	1
151.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 nevets 06 Aug 2012 12:09:05 WIB	nyari sensasi dari preman grup sonet 1 + 2 pake ngompol ga tuh?	1	3	1
152.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Rian Chipmunks 06 Aug 2012 12:09:02 WIB	ya setidaknya pasangan lawan yg tidak didukung pak haji gak suka kawin siri sama artis baru yg klo udah mulai banyak nuntut bisa ditinggal begitu aja... akhlak mu seperti apa pak haji?? mau jadi kayak Haji Muhidin di sinetron Tukang Bubur Naik Haji??	1	1	1
153.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 eatsleepplaydru 06 Aug 2012 12:08:58 WIB	<i>ZZZZZZZZZZZZZZZZZZ.....</i>	Exc	Exc	Ex
154.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 minuters 06 Aug 2012 12:08:33 WIB	Kalau nanti jokowi-ahok terpilih jadi gubernur, itu kehendak Allah apa bukan bang haji?	1	2	1
155.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Marudut Marhalim 06 Aug 2012 12:07:44 WIB	Duh Bang, Batal dong puasanya...Terlalu..!	3	3	1
156.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Amanat Gesang 06 Aug 2012 12:07:14 WIB	The Changchutter: Racun...racun...racun.	2	3	1
157.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Dafit Amboradull 06 Aug 2012 12:06:27 WIB	sungguh terlalu	2	3	3
158.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 eatsleepplaydru 06 Aug 2012 12:05:43 WIB	hahahaha.....	2	2	3
159.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Mirza Ahmad 06 Aug 2012 12:05:26 WIB	duh gayanya sinetron bgt. kaya artis infotainment bgt sih bang. Ter...la...lu...	2	2	1






160.		idkresekitem06 Aug 2012 12:04:45 WIB	detik lucu. komentar gw gak ditampilkan. cuma yg pro jokowi doang yg ditampilkan. buat moderatornya, coba lah yg imbang. anda timses nya jokowi apa???	1	3	2
161.		idnevets06 Aug 2012 12:03:53 WIB	kok postingan saya ga ada ya? mang terlalu kritis ya?	1	2	3
162.		fHamzah Fiter06 Aug 2012 12:01:08 WIB	banyak bicara menebar fitnah,dan munafik paling dibenci Allah,paman nabi sampai akhir hayat bukan islam,namun nabi sangat menyayangi pamannya,,beliu tidak pernah menjelek2kan pamannya,memfitnah,menjatuhkan ,mengintimidasi,bung RHOME0 jgn mengutip hadis sepotong2 hanya mengambil keuntungan bagi calon yg anda usung,,seharusnya anda kutip tentang masalah pernikahan,,dimana anda PAKARNYA,renungkan apa perbuatan anda sdh benar?? menurut kami ANDA MUNAFIK,!!!!!!!	2	1	1
163.		twFerry Ferdiansyah06 Aug 2012 11:59:52 WIB	Wah asiik nih nih forum rame banget, kalo dinilai hampir 98% mengkritik bang oma dan sisanya 2% yg dukung dia. Tapi kalo dinilai dgn kepala jernih emang gak pantes bgt sih oma ngomong SARA dimasjid apalagi dia udh teken kontrak sama Foke. Jadi gak sabaran neh pilkada putaran 2 mau liat kira2 Foke makin keok gak ya...	3	3	3
164.		fMD Didoth06 Aug 2012 11:59:07 WIB	cup cup cup.. udah udah jgn nagis.. ntar diketawain mbak inul loh.. sini sini main gitar-gitaran lagi..	1	2	1
165.		fRiyu Yudhi06 Aug 2012 11:58:57 WIB	Ngooookkkk,,,,,	Exc	Exc	Exc
166.		idOetjoeps06 Aug 2012 11:58:55 WIB	@onosup : jangan bawa2 minoritas dalam hal ini.. anda sepertinya sama ndableknya dgn bang haji... mata anda buta.. dan	1	1	1

			nurani anda sudah sakit... tertutup oleh kebencian... sebaiknya anda malu dgn agama yg anda anut.. trrima kasih...			
167.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 gusbond06 Aug 2012 11:58:08 WIB	teeerrrrlaaluuuuu.....	1	3	1
168.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Wahyu Mulyo Prabowo06 Aug 2012 11:56:35 WIB	ADOH KYK GINI DIBILANG ULAMA, kudu pake dalil apa lagi nih... sungguh T.e.r.l.a.l.u	3	2	1
169.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 udiartawan06 Aug 2012 11:56:27 WIB	T E R L A L U	1	3	1
170.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 imWNI06 Aug 2012 11:56:23 WIB	Rhoma Irama, Jangan membawa agama Islam untuk membela dirimu! Kmu hanya semakin memperburuk citra Agama Islam dimata dunia!!!!	1	1	1
171.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Tole Begu06 Aug 2012 11:55:47 WIB	Yang otaknya otak udang selalu bangga dengan statement Mayoritas . mayoritas berlaku di jaman perbudakan . saat ini yg dibutuhkan Kwalitas .semakin sering anda bicara mayoritas semakin jelas anda menunjukkan otak anda adalah OTAK UDANG .	1	1	1
172.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 bocah nakal06 Aug 2012 11:55:44 WIB	Tak tak sudi tak tak tak tak ku tak sudi tak tak sudi tak tak tak sudi tak sudi yak	1	3	1
173.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Oetjoeps06 Aug 2012 11:55:18 WIB	hahaha... aer mata buaya.... cengeng jg ya ternyata....	1	3	1
174.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 pelesetan_setan06 Aug 2012 11:54:10 WIB	ayat yang disebut bang haji cocoknya buat pemilihan pimpinan masjid(karena ga pantas org * yang mimpin jumat, klu slohat jumat). jangan di campurkan di jabatan publik/pemerintahan(kalau di publik itu udah urusan sara.	1	1	1
175.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Syahrul_Jihad06 Aug 2012 11:53:04 WIB	terlalu ini cari pemimpin Jakarta !!! AIR MATA BUAYA DARAT	2	2	1
176.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 Andi Multimedia Pundi06 Aug 2012 11:52:31	Katakanlah jika itu benar walau terasa pait...	2	2	2



		WIB				
177.		f Linda Lestari Mulyana06 Aug 2012 11:51:42 WIB	Td gw liat videonya JELAS BGT roma nyebut cagub,bw2 suku dn agama,prihatin bgt ngaku2 dai tp ko ky gt	3	3	1
178.		id rahmasaja06 Aug 2012 11:51:22 WIB	..ayat itu dipahami secara kontekstual, jangan tekstual. Bang, malu badan gede bulu dada lebat begitu, giliran suruh tanggung jawab di panwaslu mewek. T E R L A L U.	1	1	1
179.		f MD Didoth06 Aug 2012 11:50:30 WIB	yahh mewe\\'.. batal dong puasanya	1	3	1
180.		id rakyatsakithati06 Aug 2012 11:49:29 WIB	kampanya hitam...	1	3	3
181.		f Benny 'Codet' Setiawan06 Aug 2012 11:47:17 WIB	Ne ada lagu buat lo rhoma,alay anak layangan...	3	3	1
182.		f Yusuf Rifai Ridho LintangPamungkas06 Aug 2012 11:47:07 WIB	mudah2an hanya karena Khilaf dan semata-mata menyampaikan Ayat-ayat Alloh, hadapi dengan senyuman Bang Hajii??	2	2	2
183.		tw syamsul_hidayat06 Aug 2012 11:46:21 WIB	Alasan mengada - ada, sudah jelas dia Jurkam Kumis, lagian ngapain bawa2 Politik ke dalam Masjid ??@	3	2	1
184.		id onosup06 Aug 2012 11:46:01 WIB	Dimana mana minoritas kalo dikasih kesempatan biasanya ngelunjak ga tau diri....come on maju terus bang haji	1	2	2
185.		tw imWNI06 Aug 2012 11:45:48 WIB	Manusia!!!! tolong bedakan POLITIK DENGAN AGAMA.Tapi saat ini,saya terluka.Selama ini saya menghargai Rhoma Irama,dengan karya2 nya yng membantu membesarkan budaya Indonesia.tapi ternyata sebagai ulama dirinya tidak bisa membedakan antara politik dengan agama.Saya kecewa,sangat kecewa!Bila dirinya belum siap menjadi ulama, lebih baik bangun dan kembangkan iman pada diri	1	1	3

			sendiri dahulu.AKU BENCI DENGAN SEMUA ORANG YANG MEMBAWA AGAMA PADA KAMPANYE POLITIK!!!!itu semua yang menyebabkan adanya SARA.SAYA ORANG INDONESIA,saya tidak mau NEGARA INDONESIA diisi dengan mereka yg tidak bisa membedakan POLITIK dgn AGAMA.			
186.		 rakysakithati0 6 Aug 2012 11:45:47 WIB	jangan bawa2 agama bang oma...jika jokowi-ahok macam2 sama agam kita mau demon dia dan gantung di monas...saya yakin orang kaya jokowi,dahlan iskan mereka mementingkan rakyat kok...ngga sok2sokan kaya ente yg penampilan agama tapi suka kawin...mau g loe rhoma irma klo suuh kawin samajandayg di pinggir jalan jd pengemis???? pasti jawabanya ogah kan hihhi ngomong sunah rosul tapi mau nya sama janda cantik....huuuuuuuu payah	1	3	1
187.		 Benny 'Codet' Setiawan 06 Aug 2012 11:45:04 WIB	@uya: ne kayanya tim sukses foke	Exc	Exc	Exc
188.		 taufiq.umar 06 Aug 2012 11:44:40 WIB	emang mantap dah jokowir-ahok, memecah suara islam dengan mengangkat isu SARA, kita yang berantem, jokowir-ahok yang mendulang suara Hahaha	3	2	3
189.		 handy88 06 Aug 2012 11:44:40 WIB	Air mata buaya, lebayyy amat sih bang haji, pake ngerahin massa pendukung segala, Cappee deh	1	2	1
190.		 mahfoeth 06 Aug 2012 11:44:34 WIB	inilah saudara saudara, contoh orang munafik yang berkedok dengan ayat ayat tuhan! dia pikir dia raja, padahal di cuma raja dangdut!!!	1	2	1
191.		 imWNI 06 Aug 2012 11:44:19 WIB	Manusia!!!! tolong bedakan POLITIK DENGAN AGAMA.Jujur saya SANGAT	1	1	3

			<p>tidak setuju dengan tuduhan islam sebagai teroris. Tapi saat ini, saya terluka. Selama ini saya menghargai Rhoma Irama, dengan karya2 nya yang membantu membesarkan budaya Indonesia. tapi ternyata sebagai ulama dirinya tidak bisa membedakan antara politik dengan agama. Saya kecewa, sangat kecewa! Bila dirinya belum siap menjadi ulama, lebih baik bangun dan kembangkan iman pada diri sendiri dahulu. AKU BENCI DENGAN SEMUA ORANG YANG MEMBAWA AGAMA PADA KAMPANYE POLITIK!!!! itu semua yang menyebabkan adanya SARA. SAYA ORANG INDONESIA, saya tidak mau NEGARA INDONESIA diisi dengan mereka yg tidak bisa membedakan POLITIK dgn AGAMA.</p>			
192.		<p> pelesetan_setan0 6 Aug 2012 11:43:39 WIB</p>	<p>agama ada pilihan hidup manusia. ga pantas agama di giring ke politik, karena politik dan agama ga bakalan membawa keadilan bagi kehidupan beraneka ragam budaya asli indonseia. (agama dan politik seperti siang dan malam hari)</p>	1	2	3
193.		<p> Muhammad Isa 06 Aug 2012 11:43:17 WIB</p>	<p>Bang Oma Irama..., kita ini milih Gubernur dan Wagub, bukan milih "pemimpin" seperti yang dimaksud di ayat Al quran, gak ada hubungannya.. Terlalu</p>	2	2	3
194.		<p> Michi Valent 06 Aug 2012 11:43:16 WIB</p>	<p>angel lelga yg punya darah tionghoa lu embat, giliran ahok yg mo benerin jakarta lu tolak, coba klo ahok diganti kelaminnya trus dibedakin jgn2 lu embat jg ... wkwkkwk</p>	2	1	1
195.		<p> dasarkuyak06 Aug 2012 11:42:49 WIB</p>	<p>Bang Haji itu ulama? plissss deh... 😊</p>	1	2	1

196.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Syahrul Jihad06 Aug 2012 11:42:26 WIB	mewek ini pemilihan gubernur , bukan takmir Masjid	2	2	1
197.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 heriwitono06 Aug 2012 11:40:50 WIB	Ustad, Haji tidak luput dari khilaf, yang tahu hati manusia sesungguhnya adalah Allah SWT. Mudah-2an motivasi ceramah yang disampaikan memang semata-mata mencari ridho Allah SWT, namun kalau sebaliknya menggunakan ayat-ayat Allah SWT untuk kepentingan tertentu, tentu bang Haji Rhoma sudah paham konsekuensinya...	2	1	3
198.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Tole Begu06 Aug 2012 11:40:48 WIB	Terlalu gampang emang berlandung di Pembenaran . Rhoma Irama gak jauh beda dengan watak2 FPI yg selalu pakai bahasa ngerocos di Pembenaran . Berkacalah kau sebelum kiamat menjemputmu .	1	1	1
199.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Setiadjit Santosa06 Aug 2012 11:40:41 WIB	bang haji ini dulu waktu saya mulai kuliah di bogor namanya oma (tanpa rh) dan biasa ngerumpi di jalan bangka 38a, tempat kost saya; cuma keislamannya yang nambah; lainnya sarua keneh;lagu andalannya "ling-ling";eeh eeh eeh sekarang mendaulat dirinya sebagai ulama; sejak kapan nabi saw mencontohkan berdakwah dengan musik, dengan menghujat sana-sini; audzu bika min dzalik, semoga bang haji segera istighfar;	3	1	1
200.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Junaedi Ahmad06 Aug 2012 11:40:21 WIB	ga kagetlah ma statement bang Rhoma, dia paling pinter kalo bikin lasan tuk membenaran dirinya dan slalu bawa2 nama agama, ingatkan kejadian pas ketahuan di apartemen ma angel lelga, apa alasan bang rhoma.." Angel tu agamanya Nol skali jd saya membimbingnya" mungkin klo bang rhoma ketahuan bobo2 ma angel lelga pasti alasan yg keluar dr mulutnya..." Salah satu	3	1	1

			Bhinneka Tunggal Ika harga mati. Indonesia dr lahir dan selamanya negara demokrasi, bkn negara agama.			
210.		 ariprapanca06 Aug 2012 11:35:45 WIB	Bang rhoma, anda itu kutu loncat. Gw inget dulu wktu pemilu tahun 90an, lu pdukung fanatik PPP, knp tau2 loncat ke Golkar? Bikin pgemar u kaget en kecewa. Skrg u dukung siapa? Demokrat? Gk punya pndirian.	2	2	1
211.		 gualagi06 Aug 2012 11:35:00 WIB	@ exall. Angel lelga kan berkaitan dg urusan syahwat bang haji, jadinya kalau sampai dimusuhin juga itu namanya T E R L A L U mari dukung fauzi bowo utk menjadi mantan gubernur dki.	1	2	1
212.		 rakyat7506 Aug 2012 11:34:44 WIB	hari gini masih rasis dan korup, ga bakal maju ini negara!!	1	1	1
213.		 parlansetiaji06 Aug 2012 11:34:00 WIB	Gue nggak tahu.Emangnya JOKOWI-AHOK nggak beragama Islam?Berarti nggak sholat dong !	1	1	1
214.		 dwi.detik06 Aug 2012 11:33:59 WIB	Kenapa ente tidak mendukung Ust Nurwahid diputaran pertama, yang insya allah lebih soleh dari bang kumis.	1	2	1
215.		 Adi GM Fitre06 Aug 2012 11:33:42 WIB	katanya pemimpin yg islam, tapi dia diam saja sa,at maqam cucu yg mendirikan islam mau digusur,itu kah yg di dukung Raja jenggot...?Dasarr raja ,kalau diamau tidak tau baik buruk lagi.	3	1	1
216.		 balancer06 Aug 2012 11:33:37 WIB	Cape dah ngeliatin komentar2 pembaca detik, mending jualan es teh manis sm nasi bungkus.. NASI NASII.. TEH TEEHH.. TETEEHH.. 🍵	Exc	Exc	Exc
217.		 belajarsehat06 Aug 2012 11:33:19 WIB	Mudah-mudahan Alloh memudahkan kita semua untuk menjadi islam yang kaffah	1	2	3
218.		 Iwa06 Aug 2012 11:32:50 WIB	sekarang banyak ulama yang menjual agama demi uang,,	2	2	3
219.		 dede_okede06 Aug 2012	saya juga sedih Bang, knp banyak pejabat yg ngaku Islam	1	2	3











		11:32:42 WIB	tapi tetep korupsi....			
220.		 dwi.detik06 Aug 2012 11:32:29 WIB	Kalo mau memilih bedasarkan agama yang sama saja.. kenapa ente di putaran pertama tidak mendukung Ust Nurwahid saja yang Insya Allah jelas jelas lebih soleh dari pada Bang Kumis.	1	2	1
221.		 ottut06 Aug 2012 11:31:47 WIB	orang paling munafik sejagat, penjahat kelamin nomor wahid	1	2	1
222.		 roynerock06 Aug 2012 11:30:54 WIB	Ceramahnya di glodok bang kalo ga diketawain lu..mikir SARA kapan mau maju lo...kasih kesempatan keturunan membangun ibu pertiwinya..kami juga ingin ikut membangun negeri,jangan dicemooh bang..!!	1	1	1
223.		 KelvinSmith Bangeet06 Aug 2012 11:30:50 WIB	APA SIH MAU NYA MULUTMU...	2	2	1
224.		 Hendra Yo06 Aug 2012 11:30:23 WIB	Semua jg tau kalo Rhoma itu timses Foke, klo gak percaya search aja di youtube dgn kalimat " Fokelah kalau begitu "	2	2	2
225.		 Denny Thejaya06 Aug 2012 11:29:54 WIB	kenapa ya sekarang banyak ulama dan ustad beri ceramah mengenai pemimpin...apa ini terkait Pilkada?	3	3	3
226.		 maymuen joong06 Aug 2012 11:29:17 WIB	Mulutmu Harimaumu sungguh T.E.R.L.A.L.U #jrengjreng	2	3	1
227.		 Andi Multimedia Pundi06 Aug 2012 11:29:04 WIB	emg kalo sesuatu yg baik it pasti bnyk sekali cara unt merobohkannya,supaya g bisa masuk ke GEDUNG DPR,br g tahu apa apa yg da di dlmnya,krn mrka smua takut cacing cacing,kikikikiki #q cacing2#	3	3	3
228.		 Aduriz Ariz06 Aug 2012 11:28:49 WIB	Penafsirannya udah ga jaman untuk diterapkan di masa kini, pendakwah kadang suka menafsirkan lurus. Makanya jangan heran kalo suka sesat pengikutnya, termasuk yg	2	1	1








			berdakwah. romak iramak, di bui ajj, merusak kebhinekatunggalikaan Indonesia. Labelnya haji, tapi otaknya ditaruh di syahwat hahahaha			
229.		 arjunawijaya580 6 Aug 2012 11:28:47 WIB	Dg adanya pilkada bikin org jadi MUNAFIK !!Elu2kan calon pilihannya (krn dah dibayar !!,Jelek2in calon lain, dg hati panas...entah bgm caranya..Begitu kepilih,gak sesuai keinginannya,kecewa..dipukul,. .injak..aah mending Golput..HIDUP GOLPUT..	2	2	1
230.		 uusoke 06 Aug 2012 11:27:53 WIB	Susah deh kalo yang komentar nggak pernah baca Qur'an dan tafsirnya.	1	2	1
231.		 meremaja06 Aug 2012 11:27:25 WIB	malu malu dong malu malu dong kamu cuma omong kosong. nangis lagi.... emang enak. dulu loe bikin Inul nangis sambil simpuh depan loe. skr loe yang nangis. KARMA coy.	1	2	1
232.		 Purnama Bintang 06 Aug 2012 11:27:18 WIB	harap maklum aja ya, sekarang banyak orang disuruh para koruptor untuk mengadu domba atas nama Agama, agar dia bisa terus menjabat dan terus korupsi. Orang yg menghasut semuanya orang-orang yg bermasalah, kemungkinan dia juga ikut menikmati uang korupsi (uang haram) sehingga gak punya malu untuk menjual atas nama Agama. Bisa saja sudah gak punya uang lagi untuk kawin lagi.	1	2	1
233.		 Maha Shop 06 Aug 2012 11:27:11 WIB	AIR MATA BUAYAAAAAAA.....Jadi orang koq ga ada SADARNYA??? Gmn jakarta Mau maju kl org nya aja kaya gini????	1	2	1
234.		 Haji Tole 06 Aug 2012 11:26:19 WIB	Maaf ini perintah allah swt	1	2	1
235.		 detikxxx06 Aug 2012 11:25:52 WIB	Kalau gw sholat jum'at dipimpin orang * gw ngga akan mau, tapi ini kan urusan yang beda urusan yang menyangkut pemerintahan	1	1	1







			yang berhubungan dengan ekonomi, keamanan kesejahteraan , dll, satu agama untuk apa kalau ahirnya korupsi atau ngga becus juga mimpinnya, Jangan nangis gitu !!! ngga malu sama bulu dada...wakakak,..			
236.		apase_lege06 Aug 2012 11:25:12 WIB	saya mendukungmu bang haji...jaman sekarang maklum aja ya bang..banyak yg nggak ngerti ajaran agamanya sendiri..banyakan islam ktp...asal njeplak aja kalo komen....apalagi musuh islam...woow paling suka kalo ngehina....sadarlah minoritas....terus sampaikan ayat2 Allah bang haji..walau apapun tantangannya	1	1	2
237.		Roni Sarbani06 Aug 2012 11:25:09 WIB	ah...cemen, jualan agama aja berani kok ngadepin panwaslu nangis?jual nama Allah untuk nafsu kekuasaan aja berani dengan resiko neraka kok cuman resiko penjara 3bulan aja nangis?pa kabar si lelga? masih suka ngamar kan?	3	1	1
238.		roynerock06 Aug 2012 11:25:02 WIB	Malu ama bini2 yg sekampung tuh..cengeng amat..!!!	1	2	1
239.		guee.doang06 Aug 2012 11:24:59 WIB	hidup jokowii, bang rhoma elo rasis !! kelaut ajee..!!	1	3	1
240.		uusoke06 Aug 2012 11:24:18 WIB	LANJUTKAN BERDA'WAH BANG OMA, KAMI SALUT DGN ANDA	1	2	2
241.		Nanang Baskara06 Aug 2012 11:23:32 WIB	mbok sudah... kita itu beraneka ragam. jangan mnyelesaikan masalah dengan dalih agama.. gak cukup... negara kita butuh keteladanan. Untuk Bang Roma.... jangan mikir dari perspektif diri. .. tapi lihatlah diluarpun juga ada kebenaran. Peace Indonesiaku.	2	1	3
242.		komreg06 Aug 2012 11:23:28 WIB	Dia nyebut dirinya ulama... Ulama dari mana?? Kege-er-an dia. Dia itu hanya penyanyi dangdut. Ilmu agamanya	1	1	1










			karbitan. Dalil-dalilnya lemah dan hanya pembenaran untuk kepentingan nafsu pribadinya. Jangan terkecoh manusia yg mengaku ulama kayak gini.			
243.		 Irwannanto06 Aug 2012 11:23:18 WIB	adooooooh bang rhoma!!ndak pduli agamanya apa yg pnting dia jujur&kerja untk rkyat!ndak liat apa yy korupsi alQuran seakidah,,,mngkn bgi bng roma biarpn korupsi&kwin cerai ndak pa2 yg pntng seagama!!ya ajoor negoro iki	2	1	1
244.		 tanmei06 Aug 2012 11:23:10 WIB	PANWASLU_ lebay, orang menyuruh pilih pemimpin dari golongannya kok dibilinag SARA... wedewhhhhhhjjj	1	2	2
245.		 ibenkda06 Aug 2012 11:23:10 WIB	Orang yang mengaku-aku ulama ini telah menjual agama demi segepok uang kampanye politik. TERLALU!Ingat: Ada goresan pedang di atas tulang! Allah membaca yang ada di hatimu. Entah azab apa yang akan turun karena mengadu domba rakyat!	1	2	1
246.		 Bagus Hengki06 Aug 2012 11:22:21 WIB	COGLOK E DLOGOK JARAN!!!!	2	2	1
247.		 Geiler06 Aug 2012 11:22:05 WIB	TERLALU, berani ngomong nangis ditanggung jawab !!	1	3	1
248.		 uusoke06 Aug 2012 11:21:50 WIB	BANG HAJI HANYA MENYAMPAIKAN AYAT AL-QUR'AN.KEBENARAN AL-QUR'AN TETAPLAH SEBUAH KEBENARAN,KARENA AL-QUR'AN FIRMAN ALLAH,BARANG SIAPA TAK PERCAYA DG AL-QUR'AN BERARTI DIA TAK PERCAYA DG ALLAH,SIAPA YG TAK PERCAYA DG ALLAH BERARTI DIA BUKAN PEMELUK AGAMA ALLAH...	1	1	2

			kebhinekaannya			
259.		f Pak Tarno Tolongdibantu06 Aug 2012 11:19:21 WIB	kiye wong podo ora nyambet gawe apa yak? sing coment ko akeh temen...pada karo aku berati..wkwkwk mas.oma seorang da'i harus nya layak jadi pemimpin,tapi kok cara ceramahnya jauh dari kriteria seorang pemimpin? TERLALU yakin,sung ah...	1	2	1
260.		id trisaera06 Aug 2012 11:19:18 WIB	Astaghfirullah..masih bnyk orang orang koment gk make akal sehat. Semua hanya koment berdasar napsu. Napsu Paling benar.Padahal belum tentu tau kebenarannya.!	1	3	1
261.		f Adi Bujana06 Aug 2012 11:19:00 WIB	Anda jgn coba jadi ustad...coba lihat dulu kelauan anda. Sangat memalukan.	2	2	1
262.		f Bodrox Oke06 Aug 2012 11:18:47 WIB	Kalo Quraish Sihab yang ngomong saya percaya. Kalo separuh politisi separuh ulama separuh pedangdut..... siapa sudi. Terlalu.	1	2	1
263.		id ben16110806 Aug 2012 11:18:23 WIB	PENJARAKAN HAJI GADUNGAN... PANWASLU HARUS TEGAS DAN BERANI. JANGAN MENGECEWAKAN RAKYAT.	1	3	1
264.		f Adrian Wowor06 Aug 2012 11:17:42 WIB	...saya sangat suka dengan lagu2 bang Haji, tetapi dalam kasus ini, mungkin bang Haji harus banyak belajar lebih banyak lagi tentang \\Kebhinekaaan....	2	2	3
265.		id wong_bener06 Aug 2012 11:17:21 WIB	kenapa ayat itu bang haji sampaikan pada saat sekarang....? saat pilkada....? jika tidak ada sesuatu.	1	3	1
266.		id iceage06 Aug 2012 11:17:12 WIB	sungguh T E R L A L U ... *jengjeng	1	3	3
267.		id batu_karang06 Aug 2012 11:17:09 WIB	Rhoma, Tuhanmu saja memberikan matahari yang sama untuk semua suku, agama, bangsa, ras, kaya, miskin, dll....lha kok kamu yang berasal dari tanah kok ngomong2 ayat Tuhan...belum pernah di pecel sandal nich mulutnya sama	1	1	1

			Tuhan.			
268.		f Johan Gnanotira06 Aug 2012 11:17:03 WIB	Sepertinya air matanya air mata buaya.. sama seperti lagunya....	1	2	1
269.		id arieafdwichahyo06 Aug 2012 11:16:49 WIB	Jambang aja di panjangin, rambut aja sok Elvis, Raja Dangdut, kaya lo yang paling bagus aja. Dasar munafik, digoyang Angel Lelga diam juga Lo, dasar bang*sat	2	2	1
270.		tw \$\$ HD06 Aug 2012 11:16:45 WIB	Air mata si buaya darat.	1	2	1
271.		id ben16110806 Aug 2012 11:16:40 WIB	Kalo sampe panwaslu membebaskan haji gadungan ini. bubarkan panwaslu. Sudah ada barang bukti yang nyata. berikan hukuman yang berat kepada haji gadungan ini. Jangan menangis utk mencari simpatik rakyat kau haji gadungan.	1	2	1
272.		tw celo06 Aug 2012 11:16:28 WIB	Negara gagal ya gni, isinya org yg fanatik!! Apa2 dikaitin ma agama ky 4gamanya pling bner aja..ga heran nih negara ga maju2..	1	1	1
273.		f Bagus Hengki06 Aug 2012 11:16:21 WIB	CUP CUP CUP.....AJINOMOTO	2	3	1
274.		f Jackal Foo06 Aug 2012 11:16:14 WIB	Cocoknya direndam di septic tank,,,soalnya bau busuk si rhoma,,sbagai ulama,,ucapannya bukannya membimbing,,malah mencerai-beraikan,,	1	1	1
275.		f Yudi Anto06 Aug 2012 11:16:05 WIB	Inilah tipe manusia yang suka menjual ayat-ayat Allah SWT depi kepentingan duniawi !!!!!!!	2	2	1
276.		id matankulanang0 6 Aug 2012 11:15:52 WIB	Mas Totot,perlu diketahui pemberi komen 99% pengangguran,tapi punya komputer dan modem.	Exc	Exc	Exc
277.		f Asa Nur Rochman06 Aug 2012 11:15:04 WIB	ingat peristiwa pengusuran makam mbah priok 14 april 2010, udh pada lupa tuh foke- nara cs	Exc	Exc	Exc

278.	<input type="checkbox"/>		f Jackal Foo06 Aug 2012 11:14:23 WIB	Lagian ceramah pake bawa2 sara....coba ceramah topiknya masalah korupsi.....atau mslah orang takabur dan penipu yg ktnya ahli ternyata cmn pepesan kosong.....bisa juga masalah enaknya bisa kawin dng perempuan yg banyak.....!!!!" Udah gx ush nangis...nti nyak ente ane suruh nyusul ke panwaslu....biar panwaslu diomelin krn udh bikin anaknya nangis	1	2	1
279.	<input type="checkbox"/>		f Yoko Subroto06 Aug 2012 11:14:18 WIB	PENJARAKAN AJADAH CAPEK DENGARIN OMONGAN RHOMA DI AJA GAK BENAR.	2	3	1
280.	<input type="checkbox"/>		f Rusli Chan06 Aug 2012 11:14:04 WIB	Anda jgn pakai ayat sepotong-sepotong jelaskan juga hukumnya memilih koruptor atau orang dari golongan koruptor yg buat rakyat menderita,dan pimpinan yg membiarkan rakyat makan dari tong * ,mengemis,nggak sekolah karena miskin,digusur ketika cari makan,sedangkan pimpinannya enak2 naik mobil dan buncit perutnya karena kekenyangan,itulah yg terjadi di jkt saat ini,juga jelaskan alasan yg diizinkan polygami bukan asal cantik dan muda aja langsung dihembat,camkan itu bang Haji.	2	1	1
281.	<input type="checkbox"/>		f Djoe' San06 Aug 2012 11:13:53 WIB	Air mata buaya ? Di bayar brapa Ente...	1	3	1
282.	<input type="checkbox"/>		id ariefdwicahyo06 Aug 2012 11:13:44 WIB	Makanya kalau gak tau jangan sok-sok-an. Belagu sih Lo, hee...hee...	2	3	1
283.	<input type="checkbox"/>		f Asa Nur Rochman06 Aug 2012 11:13:43 WIB	jokowi-ahok dihadapan oma irama spt inul daratista, kalo foke-nara spt angel lelga, naudzubillah min zaliq, haram & terkutuk	3	3	1
284.	<input type="checkbox"/>		id asyrf06 Aug 2012 11:13:34 WIB	bang rhoma.. inilah perasaan INUL DARATISTA sewaktu anda hujat..	1	3	1

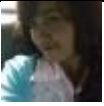

















285.	<input type="checkbox"/>		f Jofa Jofa Sarjono 06 Aug 2012 11:13:21 WIB	ngga inget bineka nh..... Ama pancasila	3	2	3
286.	<input type="checkbox"/>		f Indra Hikmawan 06 Aug 2012 11:13:15 WIB	Jika pemimpin it tidak amanah mengurus warga sebagai seorang pelayan masyarakat termasuk dzolim kah? Atau mending dzolim ngak pa2 yg penting seiman?	2	2	3
287.	<input type="checkbox"/>		f Joe Jericho 06 Aug 2012 11:13:13 WIB	ya penyanyi Ya ustadz Ya pemburu wanita Ya provokator juga loe bang,,	3	3	1
288.	<input type="checkbox"/>		id Post It 06 Aug 2012 11:12:40 WIB	Inilah salahnya kalau menganggap Presiden, Gubernur, Bupati adalah PEMIMPIN dan PENGUASA. Padahal yg benar itu adalah mereka itu PELAYAN. Jadi Bang Oma, kalo Foke itu pemimpin dan penguasa, maka Jokowi-Ahok adalah pelayan.	1	3	3
289.	<input type="checkbox"/>		id mukeijo 06 Aug 2012 11:11:58 WIB	judul lagunya "tembok derita"	1	3	1
290.	<input type="checkbox"/>		tw Ronal B. Hutagaol 06 Aug 2012 11:11:54 WIB	Satu lagi nih.. Jangan Jadikan AGAMA Jadi KORBAN yaaa.... Jangan Jadikan AGAMA tempat PENCUCIAN dosa-dosa... Jadikan AGAMA sebagai RULE HIDUP Kita. Toh terbukti kan, Jakarta untuk tempat bermain anak makin hilang, lapangan bola makin hilang, apa2 ketemu ASPAL. Giliran mau yang nyaman musti bayar... Klo Pemimpin AGAMA ya musti SEAGAMA, kalau Pemimpin POLITIK gak bicara AGAMA Apa??	3	3	3
291.	<input type="checkbox"/>		tw Java Mania 06 Aug 2012 11:11:00 WIB	Maju terus bang jangan ragu paling di sel 3 bulan, keluar penjara sialnya buang ke laut paling cuma beli ayam hitam, sisanya khan masih banyak bayaran kemarin	1	2	1
292.	<input type="checkbox"/>		id aris223506 Aug 2012 11:10:40 WIB	beginilah kalo musisi sudah terkontaminasi menjadi politisi...	1	2	1












293.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 pegawai_negara 06 Aug 2012 11:10:28 WIB	munafik, maling teriak maling	1	2	1
294.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fHendra August06 Aug 2012 11:10:24 WIB	kalo yang ngegarong duit dana al-quran orang apa yah..	2	2	1
295.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fJoe Jericho06 Aug 2012 11:10:11 WIB	Haaaaduuh, bung rhoma sungguh teeeerrrlaaaluuu...	3	2	1
296.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fGuddeal Rama06 Aug 2012 11:09:51 WIB	bang haji klo mau sebut dalil jangan musim pilkada jadi bisa buat panutan tapi klo udah menjadi pesanan ama to calon, yaaaaa cuapek deh ojo_ojo karna fulus !!!!!!!!!	1	2	1
297.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 idvidel06 Aug 2012 11:09:45 WIB	Maju terus Bang Rhoma. walau banyak yang menghujat. Walau banyak yang menghina.	1	2	2
298.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 idvhermin06 Aug 2012 11:09:37 WIB	hua...ha...ha....ada-2 ajah ni si abang...!	1	3	3
299.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fAsa Nur Rochman06 Aug 2012 11:09:35 WIB	bagi para pendukung foke-naracs, ucapan seorang oma irama (mengaku sebagai ulama) yg sesat & menyesatkan, "dakwah & fatwa" bagi umat islam utk memilih calon pemimpin dari kalangan agama islam tanpa berfikir atau menjelaskan bagaimana calon pemimpin itu layak atau tidak melaksanakan amanah rakyat, ga ada sama sekali muhasabahnya, lebih baik memilih dengan buta & nantinya terperosok, nauzubillah min zaliq, terkutuk	3	1	1
300.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 fApin Surapin06 Aug 2012 11:09:25 WIB	hidup jokowi!!! maju terus kalah leweh tuh si kehed..	3	3	2
301.	<input type="checkbox"/>	 idmochtar.abadi06 Aug 2012 11:09:13 WIB	Lha bukannya Rhoma juga nyebut2 masalah suku di pidatonya??? ini juga diambil dr ayat manee bang hajiii?? jangan yg soal agama aja ente omomngin soal sukunya gimaneee????	2	1	2




302.		 wongwongan06 Aug 2012 11:08:59 WIB	lagian ngapain sih bang rhoma pake kampanye buat si kumis..... kalo rajin nyanyikan banyak yg suka.....	1	3	3
303.		 Diding Nurislam 06 Aug 2012 11:08:55 WIB	Maju terus Bang Haji... Oma, Foke sudah terbukti membangun Jakarta... yg lain kelaut aj.	2	3	2
304.		 lanax06 Aug 2012 11:08:53 WIB	Belum terlambat bang haji, bertobatlah dann dukung jokowi ntar kampanye!	1	3	2
305.		 KelvinSmith Bangeet 06 Aug 2012 11:08:45 WIB	AKU KECEWA DGN MU ..MULUT MU TAK SEMANIS NYANYIAN MU...	2	2	1
306.		 Ndaru Wahyu Prihatien 06 Aug 2012 11:08:41 WIB	Jadi kambing congek nya foke ente bang....	2	2	1
307.		 ss1306 Aug 2012 11:08:32 WIB	knp giliran yg kampanye ulama selalu dibesar2kan.. giliran pendeta2 didiamkan saja?. Pesannya pun wajar, sesuai Syariat Islam. yg ga mau pilih foke ga usah ribut. Maju Foke - Nara. Allahuakbar	1	1	2
308.		 Vincentius Ferry 06 Aug 2012 11:08:06 WIB	penjahat kelamin!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!1	3	2	1
309.		 Dihad Widayat 06 Aug 2012 11:08:04 WIB	bang rom?dalil mu itu cocok diterapkan di negeri yang menggunakan hukum islam?indonesia menggunakan uud 45 bung, ingat ini negara dibentuk dengan tali bhenika tunggal ika bung?kalau negara dipimpin orang munafiq, ciri ciri berkata dusta/berjanji ingkar,,korupsi dsbb?akan hancurlah negara itu?orang munafiq ialah sejelek jeleknya kaum penghuni neraka	2	1	1
310.		 Julian Pratama 06 Aug 2012 11:07:51 WIB	kalo emang mesti milih cagub-cawagub yg Islam berarti harus golput dong. Emangnya Foke Islam? Kalo pemimpin Islam kok tingkah lakunya kayak gitu (ga usah dijelasin lagi lah ya,	3	1	1


			udah terlalu banyak bukti)? Islam KW doang kali tuh			
311.		 Java Mania06 Aug 2012 11:07:47 WIB	Manusia memang sering khilaf apalagi bini baru kebutuhannya banyak, daun muda memang banyak maunya terpaksa dech ngobyeknya ke segala urusan utk cari uang	1	2	1
312.		 vhermin06 Aug 2012 11:07:45 WIB	T.E.R.L.A.L.U....!!! ni si bang haji....!!!	1	2	2
313.		 Ronal B. Hutagaol06 Aug 2012 11:07:34 WIB	sETAHU ane JOKOWI - AHOK itu nyalonin jadi PEMIMPIN Daerah (POLITIK) bukan Nyalonin Jadi PEMIMPIN AGAMA. So, dimana salahnya??? Lebih baik mulai sekarang Masyarakat di Ajarin yang BENER, AGAMA itu dijadikan Cara BAGAIMANA menjadi MANUSIA yang TAKUT DOSA, berbuat BAIK dan SALING MENGHARGAI, bukan MEMPOLITISASI AGAMA...	3	2	1
314.		 shiroamachi06 Aug 2012 11:07:28 WIB	yang penting seagama, korupsi dan kerjanya ga bener, gpp. bener gitu Oma?	1	2	1
315.		 Syamsul Fhuddin06 Aug 2012 11:07:27 WIB	Bagi Umat Islam yang masih meyakini bahwa Al Quran itu Firman ALLAH SWT Yang SUCI, maka tanya pada diri anda apakah salah bagi umat ISLAM MENJALANKAN PERINTAH ALLAH SWT UNTUK MEMILIH PEMIMPIN YANG SEIMAN DAN SEAGAMA???????	2	1	3
316.		 Apin Surapin06 Aug 2012 11:07:24 WIB	eh...kalah..leweh kehed siah..!!	3	2	1
317.		 D34th06 Aug 2012 11:07:01 WIB	azab - bencana - neraka sdh ada disini...lengkap kap gak sah dcari lagi mbekkk hitamnya 🍀	1	2	1
318.		 seronok06 Aug 2012 11:06:55 WIB	pernyataan yg sungguh merusak harga diri n martabat. apa benar yang maha kuasa mengajarkan kalau tidak boleh perbedaan	1	1	1



























			agama untuk saling mencintai dan saling mendukung. pernyataan yg membuat anak kecil tertawa.			
319.		 mukeijo06 Aug 2012 11:06:54 WIB	ngawur	1	2	3
320.		 Anoru Ueda06 Aug 2012 11:06:54 WIB	Wah bg roma,,batal tuh puasanya..nangis si.."hehehe	1	3	1
321.	3 	 Robby Shatterhand06 Aug 2012 11:06:53 WIB	Manusia Munafik	1	2	1
322.		 Defry Irsan06 Aug 2012 11:06:44 WIB	mulutmu harimau mum bang	3	2	3
323.		 tosmart06 Aug 2012 11:06:30 WIB	yg komen banyak banget. gada kerjaan ya? sama dong kaya gw.. ayo bang haji.. lu musti jujur...	Exc	Exc	Exc
324.		 kasian06 Aug 2012 11:06:19 WIB	air mata buaya darat..	1	2	1
325.		 Rendra Regen Rais06 Aug 2012 11:06:05 WIB	Karena dia tim sukses foke, siapa yg percaya walau yg disampaikannya benar..	2	2	3
326.		 Linda Lestari Mulyana06 Aug 2012 11:05:27 WIB	Sbnernya ga pantes jg da'i jd timses,dn ga mgkin jg roma ga dpt uang speser pun dr foke	2	2	1
327.		 Anti_Corrupt06 Aug 2012 11:05:16 WIB	Baang, neng Lelga gimana baaanggg....	1	2	1
328.		 copjend06 Aug 2012 11:05:15 WIB	Rh0ma menangis karena teringat jika di bui, akan pisah sama bini2 mudanya...hiks...	1	2	1
329.		 emir.ahmad06 Aug 2012 11:04:55 WIB	komentar para ka fir, menghina ulama, memusuhi Allah SWT dan mendukung ka fir lainnya demi sesuap nasi. Istighfar kalian jangan mau dibutakan oleh janji-janji palsu manusia	2	1	1
330.		 Bayu Ubay06 Aug 2012 11:04:32 WIB	Mereka takkan pernah membangun Jakarta... Maju terus bang Haji... maju terus bang Foke - Nara.	2	3	2

331.		 Dea Lase06 Aug 2012 11:04:25 WIB	preettt	2	3	1
332.		 Java Mania06 Aug 2012 11:04:16 WIB	Berdakwah di masjid tdk masalah malah wajib yg salah Juekam Pilkada kampanye di rumah ibadah (salah) yg kedua Masa sebelum masa kampanye Jurkam Tim sukses tidak boleh memakai ruang publik utk kampanye jagonya (salah). Minimal 2 salah ini yg hrs dipertanggungjawabkan bang OMa	1	3	3
333.		 michael_fray06 Aug 2012 11:04:07 WIB	sungguh T.E.R.L.A.L.U....makanye jgn kebanyakan begadang bang..itu tiada artinyaaaa..	2	3	1
334.		 Post_It06 Aug 2012 11:04:01 WIB	Jokowi - Ahok kan bukan nyalon jadi pemimpin, melainkan pelayan... jadi memang gak melanggar ketentuan agama apapun..	1	2	1
335.		 D34th06 Aug 2012 11:03:51 WIB	hahaha mixing putih dan hitam bikin manusia pada gila 🤪	1	2	1
336.		 Bani Tok06 Aug 2012 11:03:43 WIB	terlalu	1	3	3
337.		 jesit4n06 Aug 2012 11:03:30 WIB	Tangisan bermuatan politik. T e r l a l u !!!	1	2	1
338.		 deathclaw_sanctuary06 Aug 2012 11:03:22 WIB	pak jokowi bukan islam yak...trus napa kemarin gua taraweh ama beliau yak...ah mungkin gua lagi ngimpi..	1	2	1
339.		 Abdul Rohim06 Aug 2012 11:03:10 WIB	Sudah terlalu banyak bangsa ini yang durhaka kepada Allah SWT, tunggu saja azab Allah akan datang kepada bangsa ini, tertawalah kalian sekarang, biarkan saat ini kami yang menangis, katakanlah yang benar walaupun pahit, teruskan perjuangan, mudah-mudahan di bulan Ramadhan ini ada pencerahan, khususnya orang-orang yang mengaku beragama	3	2	2











			Islam.			
340.		f Herry Kartika06 Aug 2012 11:03:03 WIB	Oalah ma roma....!!!sok pintar..	3	3	1
341.		f Alex Sandria06 Aug 2012 11:02:18 WIB	Kawin siri lagi enak nya he2	3	2	1
342.		ld toexy06 Aug 2012 11:02:14 WIB	Bagi no hp nya neng Angel dong banggg....	1	2	1
343.		f Yusen Widjaja06 Aug 2012 11:02:02 WIB	cuma formalitas...kg mgkn diputuskan bersalah...mana berani pemerintah	3	3	3
344.		ld ujangsyariffudii n06 Aug 2012 11:01:57 WIB	katakanlah, walaupun itu pahit saya gk suka sama dia tapi saya setuju dengan dia ALLAHU AKBAR	2	2	2
345.		f AkiAki Putunembahsast ro06 Aug 2012 11:01:44 WIB	Hanya karena politik tuh....makanya ceramah pada tempat nya,dpt apa anda mndukung parpol....kini nama besarmu jd tercemar kan? Copot aja status raja dangdut nya,ganti jadi antek parpol..	1	2	1
346.		ld D34th06 Aug 2012 11:01:39 WIB	buaya lagi menangis 🤔	1	2	1
347.		ld styx06 Aug 2012 11:01:32 WIB	Bang, masih pegang no telpon neng Angel nggak... boleh dong dishare dimari....	1	2	1
348.		f Putri Lestari06 Aug 2012 11:01:31 WIB	Bang Haji ngga salah..Allahu Akbar!!!	2	1	2
349.		f Tal Ben Haim06 Aug 2012 11:01:14 WIB	Cengeng amat sich ni orang,..ngomong kayak gk ada sekolahny aja,.	1	2	1
350.		ld toexy06 Aug 2012 11:01:12 WIB	kalau dakwah di Masjid itu tdk salah, krn seorang ulama hrs menyampaikan,trgantung msyrakat ikut atau nolak,...yg penting bang haji kan hanya berdakwah,...	1	1	2










351.		mrkotopbgt06 Aug 2012 11:01:01 WIB	Gak usah jualan ayat2 utk tujuan politik lah... Kl mau dakwah ya yg bener/murni, bukan bertujuan utk memenangkan salah satu pasangan Pilkada begini... Kasihan para ummat yg tlg dihasut	1	1	1
352.		fTsaqif Inayah06 Aug 2012 11:00:59 WIB	tangisan buaya...	3	2	1
353.		fLina Nurdiana06 Aug 2012 11:00:52 WIB	Rhoma Irama elu g inget lagu lu sndri: 135 juta penduduk indonesia,,terdiri dari banyak suku bangsa itulah INDONESIA!!! Lu pilih pemimpin seagama tapi KORUP GAK AMANAH ato yang AMANAH??? Douche!	3	2	3
354.		fHendra August06 Aug 2012 11:00:49 WIB	..trus kalo yang mengkorupsi dana al-quran ente bilang orang apaa..orang berimankah..?	2	2	1
355.		fAntonisty Follower06 Aug 2012 11:00:35 WIB	akting lu bgs rom, dasar brewok	1	2	1
356.		fLaura Fey06 Aug 2012 11:00:33 WIB	kirain nangis nggak diijinin kawin lagi ma istri2nya.. hehe.	3	2	1
357.		ldD.P.R06 Aug 2012 11:00:14 WIB	Orang yang mendampingi Irama rata-rata pengamen yang tidak punya kerjaan. Roma Irama salah satu orang yang merusak kedamaian di Indonesia ini.	1	3	1
358.		fHasymi Hadi06 Aug 2012 10:59:53 WIB	sombong kale ...	Exc	Exc	Exc
359.		Angiin Malaam06 Aug 2012 10:59:52 WIB	KALIAN KALIAN ITU YANG COMENT SEPERTI ORANG GILA GA BAKALAN DENGAR BANG HAJI RHOMA IRAMA NYA JUGA KALO COMENT DI SINI	1	3	1
360.		fBayu Ubay06 Aug 2012 10:59:39 WIB	udah bang rhoma nangisnya ntar aja bareng foke-nara abis penghitungan hasil putaran 2	2	2	1







361.		 pegawai_negara 06 Aug 2012 10:59:29 WIB	iya deh pak ustadz ente paling bener dah.... apalagi kalo masalah sunnah Rasul...	1	1	1
362.		 Diding Nurislam 06 Aug 2012 10:59:25 WIB	Maju terus bang Haji... menang atau kalah bukan tujuan. Katakan yg benar walau itu pahit...kulihaq walau kana murron.	2	1	2
363.		 Jeger Sodix Part II 06 Aug 2012 10:59:20 WIB	betul sekali bang haji....	1	2	2
364.		 Nova Priyanto 06 Aug 2012 10:59:10 WIB	yang tau ya dirinya sendiri apa murni penyampaian ayat tsb atas nama Allah atau ada hal lain dibalik penyampaian tsb..lw itu yg terjadi sungguh TERLAAALU....	2	2	3
365.		 Tempat Itu Kafe Komik 06 Aug 2012 10:59:04 WIB	Ksatria bergitar berair mata buaya? ksatrianya mana ya ☹️	1	2	1
366.		 Alex Xsibit 06 Aug 2012 10:58:39 WIB	HAHAHAHA....MALU JI...ORANG MAKIN GAK RESPECT SM ENTE,MALU JI,LIAT YG KORUPTOR LATAR BELAKANGYA BUKAN AGAMANYA...TERGANTUN G MANUSIANYA JL.	1	2	1
367.		 Java Mania 06 Aug 2012 10:58:28 WIB	Lanjut Bang Haji sesuai resiko dengan imbalan yg diterima.Teman abang saja yg kebangetan sudah tahu kampanye di rumah ibadah tdk boleh kok malah disuruh kampanye....kasihan Abang adalah korban Kezoliman...	1	2	2
368.		 aditia warman 06 Aug 2012 10:58:25 WIB	Mulai keluar drama lagu dangdutnya,mecari simpati,makanya kl mau bcara itu pikir dulu.kl dia bukan tim sukses foke dan hanya sebagai dai mngkin orang maklum,tapi kl dia sebagai jurkam yg dibayar foke tentu ceritanya jadi beda	2	2	3
369.		 dwi780 06 Aug 2012 10:58:11 WIB	apakah dai seperti ini pingin anda tiru , pikirkanlah 1000x, dia manusia seperti kita dan	1	2	1










			bukan allah seperti yg kita muliakan. ingat sisi lainnya bung roma???			
370.		 noapadang06 Aug 2012 10:58:11 WIB	raja dangdud cengeng.....	1	2	1
371.		 .Nvw&T6f6V&0 6 Aug 2012 10:57:57 WIB	air mata buaya, munafik lo	1	1	1
372.		 Teddy Azhar 06 Aug 2012 10:57:56 WIB	bang di cariin angel legla noh.minta tanggungannya jgn mau enaknua dong	2	2	1
373.		 wongqeren06 Aug 2012 10:57:56 WIB	itu air mata buaya. dari dalam bibir dan hatinya tidak keluar sedikitpun penyesalan. dasar ulama palsu.	1	2	1
374.		 detik6442406 Aug 2012 10:57:49 WIB	Mu-na-fik!	1	2	1
375.		 hoheh06 Aug 2012 10:57:45 WIB	kmrin jd pengamen, trus ustadz skrng jd aktor	1	2	1
376.		 dkibersih06 Aug 2012 10:57:41 WIB	Kawin lg aj..	1	2	1
377.		 dkibersih06 Aug 2012 10:57:03 WIB	Minta kawin lg kali..	1	2	1
378.		 Yakub Katoar 06 Aug 2012 10:56:40 WIB	Tangisan itu akan terulang lg nanti, saat melihat hasil penghitungan suara.... kita semua tahu siapa pemenangnya.....	3	2	3
379.		 Wulan Sumunar 06 Aug 2012 10:56:35 WIB	air mata buaya	2	2	1
380.		 Hendra August 06 Aug 2012 10:56:29 WIB	Cengeng.....	2	2	1
381.		 bagus06 Aug 2012 10:56:16 WIB	bang haji2 ada2 aj	2	3	3
382.		 der_kaizer06 Aug 2012 10:56:12 WIB	Panwas-nya sj yg kurang krjaan! Bs jd si panwas org suruhan prabowo, ut cr2 ksalahan org!	1	2	2













			Lanjut terus bang haji, smpaikn kebaikn2 walau itu terasa pahit!			
383.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 jokowiyono06 Aug 2012 10:55:46 WIB	nangis lihat jagoannya kalah..sementara harga diri sudah dijual habis-habisan	2	2	1
384.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 hasiholland06 Aug 2012 10:55:20 WIB	Mungkin saja agama sejenis yang dianutnya ini berkata demikian. Tapi di negara sekuler seperti Indonesia, hal tsb sungguh tercela dan haram hukumnya.	1	1	1
385.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 HELLYEAH06 Aug 2012 10:55:18 WIB	brewok doang tebal...ternyata cengeng.	1	2	1
386.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 jokowiyono06 Aug 2012 10:54:23 WIB	kekeliruan berfikir seperti rhoma sudah kronis dan umum tanda dia belum layak jadi dai	2	2	1
387.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 hendy_hen06 Aug 2012 10:54:06 WIB	Air mata buaya.	1	2	1
388.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 D.P.R06 Aug 2012 10:54:05 WIB	Roma Irama kan orangnya Picik, makanya sekali kali jalan-jalan ke luar negeri sana supaya otakmu tidak seperti katak dalam tempurung. Dasar Haji yang kurang ajar, taunya hanya main perempuan.	1	2	1
389.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 hendy_hen06 Aug 2012 10:54:03 WIB	Air mata buaya.	1	2	1
390.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 kentonkentin06 Aug 2012 10:53:10 WIB	cengeng banget wak haji !	1	2	1
391.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Bagus Hengki06 Aug 2012 10:51:59 WIB	Air mata KIPMET.	2	2	1
392.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Giest06 Aug 2012 10:51:52 WIB	sungguh terlaaaalu...	1	2	3
393.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Anto Galea19 Aug 2012 01:46:18 WIB	aqu yg msh bujang gak ngurusin isu saramu, bagi2 donk gmn tip menggaet aweve cuantiq	1	2	1
394.	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Anto Galea19 Aug 2012 01:30:51 WIB	cobaan yg berat bagi bang rhoma sebagai raja dangdut, raja mesum, moga g dpt predikat raja	1	2	1

			sara y			
395		f Agus Satya08 Aug 2012 08:47:19 WIB	Hehe....ternyata tebakan ane bener Rhoma Irama gak pinter2 amat..... sudah maklumin aja org bodoh ini yg ngomong	2	2	1
396		f Roma Phen07 Aug 2012 09:11:04 WIB	takut juga ama hukum,dipanggil ma aparat langsung berdalih,,dasar raja mesum,,,	1	2	1
397		ld Tabung.Gas07 Aug 2012 06:32:46 WIB	raja mesum	1	2	1
398		f D Heru Taruna Putra07 Aug 2012 00:53:06 WIB	heuuuu....mendingan perbaiki diri sendiri dari pada nyuruh orang untuk buat hal yang benar	2	2	1
399		tw meauah06 Aug 2012 22:42:02 WIB	mungkin bang roma ini lg disoriented atau malah sejak dulunya sdh begitu.. masuk parpol tak populer, jd kandidat tak laku, dan sekarang jd pendukung bermasalah pula. mending jd raja dangdut aja bang, bertahanlah disitu. jika dalam dakwah menyelipkan pesan politik untuk memilih satu kandidat dan bukan yang lain adalah kampanye bos, itu jelas.	1	2	1
400		ld tianess06 Aug 2012 22:07:36 WIB	bang rhoma...malam ini berdakwah di kamar saya yaa...udah seminggu lobang saya gak dapat dakwah dr abang nih...miss u..	1	2	1
401		ld ricarica_gukguk 06 Aug 2012 21:40:34 WIB	Ijaklah terus Jokowi-Ahok. Karena semakin keras injakannya, akan semakin populer.	1	2	1
402		f Djamin Mohamad06 Aug 2012 21:34:35 WIB	maju terus bang haji.... agama diatas segala galanya...	2	1	2
403		ld dali.mardali06 Aug 2012 21:09:13 WIB	Maju terus Bang Rhoma Irama, ini adalah cobaan yang diberikan Allah SWT, kami selalu mendukungmu, jangan pernah gadaikan akidahmu	2	2	2
404		ld as-cu06 Aug 2012 21:08:12 WIB	klo angel bisa berubah jadi mualaf kenapa bung rhoma tidak merobah ahok juga? apa kalah	1	2	1

















			pamor?			
405	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Taufik Prihanto 06 Aug 2012 21:07:48 WIB	Kalo emang dakwah isinya bisa juga disampaikan ditempat lain seperti di bangkalan madura.....apa bisa tu dakwah yg 7 menit disampaikan di sana ? Atau di tempat lain selain jakarta ? Kalau tdk bisa....orang awam saja tau....itu tetap kategori kampanye.Sayang....tempat ibadah kok dijadikan kegiatan spt itu, kalau emang dakwah lebih baik isinya spt bagaimana memperbaiki akhlak bangsa ini....	2	1	3
406	<input type="checkbox"/> 	ld kungaiko 06 Aug 2012 20:57:59 WIB	saya dengan angel lelga itu nikah siri.. bukan ngadu burung...	1	2	1
407	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Musafir Tangguh 06 Aug 2012 20:33:34 WIB	lempar batu sembunyi tangan.."ada udang di balik batu"	1	2	1
408	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Pipit Tri Ambarwatie 06 Aug 2012 20:18:09 WIB	KASIANNN BANG ROMAAA	2	2	2
409	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Ken Dedes 06 Aug 2012 19:44:24 WIB	klo berdakwah g usah nyebut2 namacalon bung?tema yg lain kek apa kek lho di bayar berapa?sampai mengorbankan harga diri	1	2	1
410	<input type="checkbox"/> 	tw marthinezt 06 Aug 2012 19:14:47 WIB	hmmm...lempar batu sembunyi tangan ini mah.	1	2	1
411	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Yoko Subroto 06 Aug 2012 16:33:25 WIB	TERJEPIT PINTAR LOE BERDAKWAH,, DASAR.....	2	2	1
412	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Predy van Dwiteun 06 Aug 2012 16:26:36 WIB	Bos oma, ente gak usah ceramahin orang lah, apalagi berdakwah. cuma bikin jelek agama islam aja. mending ente banyak bertobat.	1	1	1
413	<input type="checkbox"/> 	f Askfi Zahn 06 Aug 2012 16:25:56 WIB	Knpa ngak dulu2 dakwah gituan,	1	2	1


















414		aboebaqar06 Aug 2012 15:42:33 WIB	Ngaca dulu baru berdakwa..Allah juga tahu kelakuanmu rhoma	2	2	1
415		morpheus_id06 Aug 2012 15:41:45 WIB	membawa ayat untuk kepentingan dunia juga berat lho pertanggungjawabannya.. lebih islami mana dari sifat kepemimpinan Islam, H Fauzi Bowo atau H Joko Widodo.. Mana yang lebih amanah dalam soal janji dan keuangan negara.. mana yang lebih meneladani Umar ra. dalam soal perlakuan ke rakyat jelata.. Waktu ahok jadi bupati Belitung Timur bagaimana syiar Islam di sana apakah mengalami kemunduran/penindasan ?	1	1	2
416		kabayan_simanukalit06 Aug 2012 15:35:50 WIB	Sayangnya dia Rhoma Irama, seandainya Ustadz seperti Quraysi Shihab mungkin beda ceritanya. Politik dan agama jangan dicampuraduk dong Bang Rhoma!	1	2	3
417		tanmei06 Aug 2012 15:33:37 WIB	Sabar bang rhoma, anda sudah di jalan yang benar (pilih pemimpin dari golongannya), banyak disekitar kita yg tidak suka dengan islam__	1	2	2
418		Ronald Miccel06 Aug 2012 15:33:29 WIB	sebelum menghina orang laen liat diri sendiri dulu bung sudah bener apa belum... kerjaan kawin mulu,jatohin orang... ga bosen" puasa" ngomongin orang buat apa puasa kalo kerjaan nya ngadu domba sm fitnah orang biar indonesia rusuh bukan nya buat yg bener...HAJI cm gelar doang ga sesuai sama perbuatan !	2	2	1
419		Damkar Hudi06 Aug 2012 15:30:03 WIB	Karena Jagoannya kalah prestasi...makanya nyari isu SARA sbg jalan terakhir...waduh kasihan...di abad 21 gini msh saja isu SARA sbg senjata andalan. Warga DKI jgn kau bodohi bang Rhoma... Foke yg membayar kamu sdh tdk pantas memimpin lg kota Jakarta tercinta ini.	1	2	1

420		f Syahrul Attapani 06 Aug 2012 15:29:51 WIB	Ustadz2 yang lain, sampaikan yang benar itu meskipun pahit. Hati-hati komentar buat yang berpuasa, menghujat orang itu bisa menghilangkan pahala puasa, hanya dapat haus dan lapar saja...	3	2	2
421		id policeman06 Aug 2012 15:29:02 WIB	walah dangdut kg laku sok berdakwah.. apa idup si rhoma udah bener apa tuh???inget pengadilan Allah yg akan paling adil.	1	2	1
422		id kaum_bejad06 Aug 2012 15:28:41 WIB	lidah bercabang dua gini niih...	1	2	1
423		id tanmei06 Aug 2012 15:27:50 WIB	KPU lebay, org menyuruh pilih pemimpin dari golongannya dianggap sara... cape' deuuuehhhhh.	1	2	2
424		id uglyduckling06 Aug 2012 15:22:22 WIB	Begadang jangan begadang tereettttt.. jrenngg.. kebanyakan begadang kali nih jadi keseleo lidahnya..	1	2	3
425		f Damkar Hudi 06 Aug 2012 15:20:45 WIB	Puasa2 kok Bohong bang Haji????? Sdh biasa yahhh... Ceramahmu jauh berbanding terbalik dg ceramahnya AA Gym... tolong belajar lg ke Darut Tauhid dulu biar pintar berdakwah nantinya... kan anda skg sdh tdk laku lagi sbg penyanyi kecuali buat ngisi kampanye saja.	1	2	3
426		id contour3306 Aug 2012 15:19:58 WIB	ooohhh, jelas sekarang. berarti dakwah nya itu SARA yah...	Exc	Exc	Exc
427		f Syahrul Attapani 06 Aug 2012 15:19:06 WIB	Kokoberuk, Pejabatnya beragama, tapi hukum agama tidak diterapkan. Tetap aja korupsi merajalela. Coba yang korupsi potong tangan. Pasti yang lain akan takut..	3	2	3
428		id obaja3106 Aug 2012 15:18:53 WIB	berdoa utk pasangan tertentu boleh saja,tapi bukan berdakwa utk psangan tertentu. moga2 omah irahma bisa membedakannya.....TER...LA... L U.	1	2	1


















429		 Raw Dag06 Aug 2012 15:15:29 WIB	Semua timses pendukung Jokowi berhak menghujat menghina ayat kitabNya, para ulama, quranNya, atau malah mungkin Allahnya para ummat tetapi jangan membodohi dengan melakukan tipuan tuduhan SARA kpd pemimpin agama yng berdakwah, dan biarlah pemimpin agama diberi hak syiar agama juga tanpa hrs ditakuttakuti sbg SARA	1	2	2
430		 Nggragass06 Aug 2012 15:13:26 WIB	Bang Haji punya kemampuan di musik...udah fokus disitu saja...gak usah ikut2 ranah politik (gak kapok apa berulangkali gagal di politik).....atau karena UANG. WALLAHU ALAM	1	2	3
431		 psrbaru06 Aug 2012 15:11:31 WIB	bang Rhoma mendadu-domba masyarakat Jakarta. memprihatinkan	1	2	3
432		 Uli Yanti06 Aug 2012 15:05:56 WIB	Ya udah pilih Foke aja sanalah, sudah lelah dengan carut marut negeri ini, apalagi ibukotanya yang amburadul dan macetnya makin parah! Biar lestari tuh macet n tua bareng di jalan sampai foke selesai jadi gubernur periode ke-2. Ngurus kota bisanya sepotong-sepotong kaya roti dan anggaran yg dibagi2!	2	2	3
433		 Obeth9906 Aug 2012 15:05:42 WIB	Mengapa berdakwah harus mengobarkan kebencian.. sentimen...?? padahal sama2 anak bangsa indonesia. heraanannn..!! Bener apa kata Gusdur.. Dia kira dia raja beneran.. padahal hanya raja Dangdut ...	1	2	1
434		 Diding Nurislam06 Aug 2012 15:04:04 WIB	Setiap kita adalah Da'i penyampai agama : katakanlah walau satu ayat... HIDUP BANG HAJI... TERUSLAH BANGUN JAKARTA DAN INDONESIA, HIDUP BANG FOKE...LANJUTKAN.!!!	2	2	2




435		 Diding Nurislam 06 Aug 2012 15:04:00 WIB	Setiap kita adalah Da'i penyampai agama : katakanlah walau satu ayat... HIDUP BANG HAJI... TERUSLAH BANGUN JAKARTA DAN INDONESIA, HIDUP BANG FOKE...LANJUTKAN.!!!	2	2	2
436		 Maha Wisnu 06 Aug 2012 15:02:33 WIB	Yang komen ini sebenarnya pada ngeliat langsung kejadiannya pas rhoma dakwah, atau cuma ngeliat beritanya sih... heran dah... kalo ada yang punya link videonya mau dong gue biar gue bisa ikut komen hahaha...	2	2	2
437		 Puti Novera 06 Aug 2012 15:02:24 WIB	Dalam usia senja yang sarat warna-warni hidup sebagai pria, musisi, dan terkadang mubaligh, seharusnya Raden Haji Oma Irama bertindak lebih arif. Jangan bertingkah kayak politisi senayan.	3	2	3
438		 Diding Nurislam 06 Aug 2012 15:01:57 WIB	Teruslah berdendang,...mereka memang ga suka bang Haji dari dulu, mereka ga suka agama jadi sandaran hidup, Islam mengajarkan Politik, Bang Foke	3	2	2
439		 Lynox 06 Aug 2012 15:01:03 WIB	Udah ga bisa bersaing di dunia musik, pengen ngetop sbg ulama... Jual agama, Gila popularitas...	1	2	1
440		 Samuel Petrosky 06 Aug 2012 15:00:28 WIB	dasar orang munafik. kasian banget. tong kosong nyaring bunyinye.	2	1	1
441		 Maha Wisnu 06 Aug 2012 14:59:22 WIB	Ini yang komen sebenarnya ngeliat langsung kejadiannya atau cuma ngeliat berita trus ikut komen.... gue mah cuma bisa bilang terlaluuuuu.....	1	1	3
442		 kamvret 06 Aug 2012 14:58:57 WIB	malam2 kaga di kamar artis lagi bang?? tau aja loe bang sarang2 enak. !!!	1	2	1
443		 jumijolah 06 Aug 2012 14:58:05 WIB	si raja dangdut .. eh jadi haji rhoma tetep kalo selangakangan mah wkwkkwwkwk ngakak	1	2	1
444		 My_Opinion 06 Aug 2012 14:57:17 WIB	Seharusnya bang Haji ngerti memakai gelar Haji itu bukan untuk gaya2-an tapi harus menunjukkan dan memberi contoh yang baik dalam	1	2	1

			prerilaku, memberi ceramah agama itu harus bertanggung jawab, jangan menggunakan ceramah agama untuk kepentingan pribadi atau orang tertentu saja, Mesjid itu tempat ibadah yang harus setril jadi jangan digunakan untuk urusan kampanye,			
445		 Pak RT Pak RT06 Aug 2012 14:56:49 WIB	Kalo dasarnya udah bobrok ya pasti bobrok...mau jadi pemuka kek, jadi apa aja ya bobrok...	1	2	1
446		 kokokberuk06 Aug 2012 14:56:45 WIB	pemimpin dan para pejabatnya repoeblik ini dari doeloe beragama,tapi ANEHNYA KORUPSINYA MERAJALELAapa ini HALAL menurut agama???	1	2	3
447		 OKLAN06 Aug 2012 14:56:10 WIB	ustad artis,,,,,,,,,artis jadi ustad. ,, weleh weleh	1	2	1
448		 jumijolah06 Aug 2012 14:55:12 WIB	lol haji rhoma .. ngakak	1	2	1
449		 xwrzs06 Aug 2012 14:55:05 WIB	rhoma... kawin dulu sanah...	1	2	1
450		 kecell06 Aug 2012 14:53:29 WIB	rupanya Bang Roma hanya melihat keimanan dari kulitnya saja,, kasihan betul ni orang,	1	2	1
451		 xwrzs06 Aug 2012 14:53:27 WIB	huekkk.... cuihhh.... rhoma... rhoma...	1	3	1
452		 mandul06 Aug 2012 14:53:00 WIB	memang sih Allah yang mengarahkan manusia dan kamu hanya "membantu" menyampaikannya (kapan diangkat jd pembantunya ya?) tetapi kamu melenceng dari kebenaran,kamu menciptakan kebencian antara sesama ,emang disuruh ngomong gitu ya sama Allah?	1	1	1
453		 anak_amber106 Aug 2012 14:52:39 WIB	maaf, di gereja pendeta dilarang untuk ikut berpolitik, kecuali dia sudah di pecat dari seorang pendeta	1	2	3
454		 Diding Nurislam06 Aug	Hidup bang Haji... menang kalah soal biasa... teruslah	2	2	2

		2012 14:50:59 WIB	kumandangkan"perjuangan dan do'a menuju jakarta yang lebih maju...LANJUTKAN. !!!.... bang Haji & bang Foke sudah terbukti membangun Jakarta, Yg lain coba2 dan Nyari Obyekan..PDIP Terbukti jual aset negara, Gerindra coba2 (Lon ada bukti)			
455	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Inu Kertapati 06 Aug 2012 14:50:49 WIB	Isi dakwah si rhoma itu bermasalah. Sportif dong..ngakuin, jangan berkelit.	2	2	1
456	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Raw Dag 06 Aug 2012 14:50:43 WIB	Tak masalah Jokowi n Timsesnya jualan apa saja ttng dirinya yng dianggap baik tapi dilarang keras menuduh ulama pemimpin agama berlaku SARA hanya gara-gara mengutip quran keyakinannya. Terkadang sulit dimengerti ttp hrs diterima bahwa persepsi SARA bisa dng kuatnya dianggap benar oleh ummat	1	2	2
457	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 yudistra 06 Aug 2012 14:48:48 WIB	Harus memilih yg se iman itu sdh jelas diajarkan dan dianut oleh semua agama dan para pemeluknya	2	1	3
458	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 camexl 06 Aug 2012 14:48:43 WIB	Rhoma Irama,,Banyak Bacot Mancla mence,,,	1	2	1
459	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Diding Nurislam 06 Aug 2012 14:47:38 WIB	Hidup Haji Oma... Mereka kelabakan ga punya tempat dibulan romadhon ini..menang kalah soal biasa " perjuangan	2	2	2
460	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Santo Sihaloho 06 Aug 2012 14:47:14 WIB	Foke bisa apa sih? Jakarta malah mengalami kemunduran... Kenapa dia bisa ditinggal oleh wagubnya. Pasti ada yg salah!	3	2	2
461	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Aldi Adrian 06 Aug 2012 14:46:46 WIB	tapi dapet duit kampanye dari sikumis kan	3	2	1
462	<input type="checkbox"/> 	 Alex Sandria 06 Aug 2012 14:46:33 WIB	Kalau berdakwah kasi tau dong ke jemahnya jangan suka kawin tidak lapor istri, tiba2 dengan Angle Lelga putus	2	2	1
463	<input type="checkbox"/>	 toga16 06 Aug 2012 14:46:14 WIB	serahkan Polisi,jaksa aja sebagai penegak hukum biar pengadilan yg putuskan kan ada bukti2 dan	1	2	3

			saksinya, agar hal yg sama tdk terulang lagi dalam pilkada2 lainnya.			
464	<input type="checkbox"/>	 f Divaloca Shop 06 Aug 2012 14:45:51 WIB	udah ketahuan salah, sekarang memakai agama sebagai tamengnya.	1	2	1
465	<input type="checkbox"/>	 id kebongakak06 Aug 2012 14:45:24 WIB	tokoh agama yang mendukung tokoh politik = menjual agama kalau mau jadi pendukung, lepaskan atribut keagamaan, ngga perlu berlindung di balik agama. kalau agama dicampur politik.... kacau deh.	1	2	3
466	<input type="checkbox"/>	 id tommy.widjaja06 Aug 2012 14:43:24 WIB	komen yang paling tepat adalah: SUNGGUH TER LA LU	2	2	1
467	<input type="checkbox"/>	 f Dhee Cuantik06 Aug 2012 14:39:55 WIB	astaghfirullah roma, ayat al quran kamu jual berapa? dibayar berapa kamu oleh kumis? ter la lu	1	2	1
468	<input type="checkbox"/>	 id b.sunardi06 Aug 2012 14:38:43 WIB	sekalo foke tetap foke...ga mempan dengan pencitraannya si kutu loncat jokowi Ahok.	1	2	1
469	<input type="checkbox"/>	 id ben16110806 Aug 2012 14:37:44 WIB	Ini orang kalo naik haji bukan KABAH yang di puterin, tapi peti telur yang di puterin.. Belajar Agama gak full, baru belajar satu ayat ud liat yang bohai2, baru baca lagi satu ayat, pikirannya ud ke zina, baru baca satu ayat lagi, timbul hati iri dan dengki. maka nya dakwah yang keluar dari mulut haji kardus "haji yang otak nya kosong soal agama", bau telur busuk dan ajarannya gak bisa berpendidikan, cuma ada pelajaran menghujat, mencaci, memfitnah.	1	1	1
470	<input type="checkbox"/>	 f Muselih Sudjita06 Aug 2012 14:37:28 WIB	Bentar lagi idul fitri.. yok kita siapakan hati untuk saling memaafkan.. kita semua saudara... diakhirat nanti hanya allah yang tahu...	3	2	3
471	<input type="checkbox"/>	 f Sen PI06 Aug 2012 14:36:33 WIB	Duh....ud tua pdhl mending tenang2 aj, gak ush ikut2an. Agama itu suci MBOK Jangan d BAWA2 tohk Pak Haji ?????? .	2	2	3

472		 tamrinmeda06 Aug 2012 14:35:23 WIB	Waktu kampanye putaran I ada beberapa gereja di jakarta yang terang-terangan mendoakan pasangan no urut 3 koq ngga ada yg protes... Giliran Rhoma yang berdakwah dihadapan jamaahnya sendiri tanpa menyebut nama calon koq semua pada ribut.... Benar2 toleransi yg ANEH...!!	1	1	2
473		 uusoke06 Aug 2012 14:30:54 WIB	Benar sekali Bang RHOMA,kebenaran dalam Al-Qur'an sekejam apapun harus disampaikan, Rasululohpun waktu berda'wah dulu banyak rintangannya.SALUT buat RHOMA..salam	1	2	2
474		 kresekitem06 Aug 2012 14:30:36 WIB	pendukung jokowi-ahok pada bebel kayaknya. jelas2 rhoma dakwah masih aja dibilang SARA. padahal islam jg ngajarin buat cari pemimpin yg seiman	1	2	2
475		 freedomsolution 06 Aug 2012 14:27:19 WIB	kayaknya... jemaat yg di kasi dakwah malu ama tu mas haji roma irama... kan jemaatnya pilih Jokowi-ahok.. wkwkwkwkwkwkwk      	1	2	1
476		 pskynero06 Aug 2012 14:27:09 WIB	biskuit rhoma dan si kumis ! klob dah !	1	2	1
477		 whiteuser06 Aug 2012 14:26:04 WIB	yang mengagkat rhoma sebagai ulama siapa? gak pantas dia mengadakan ceramah, pengetahuannya ttg Islam dangkal!! gelar hajinya hanya sebagai kamufase untuk bisa kawin sebanyak2nya.. me..ma..lu..kan!! sungguh ter..la..lu!!	1	2	1
478		 rio_ganteng06 Aug 2012 14:24:51 WIB	air mata buaya darat.....	1	2	1
479		 jimmykucluk06 Aug 2012 14:24:31 WIB	ngelesss aj loe...	1	2	1

480		rio_ganteng06 Aug 2012 14:22:41 WIB	rhoma urus dulu istri-istri ente jangan bawa agama untuk mendulang duitrhoma bloon.....rhoma tukang kawin.....	1	2	1
481		masruhut06 Aug 2012 14:22:31 WIB	Dakwah yg sangat Komprehensif, shg MENYEBAR KEBENCIAN	1	2	1
482		andrew23406 Aug 2012 14:22:05 WIB	Lagunya udah gak laku, goyangan wiper kaca pun udah gak laku, jubah superman - iihhhh jijay sekali. Makanya jual ayat suci.	1	2	1
483		kebongakak06 Aug 2012 14:19:47 WIB	dimana politik campur dengan agama, maka negaranya tidak pernah maju, bahkan akan hancur.	1	3	3
484		atmoxp06 Aug 2012 14:18:00 WIB	Yasudahlah.. biarkan aja.. nanti kan semua ada ganjarannya dari Yang Maha Kuasa..	1	2	3
485		Satriyo Putranto06 Aug 2012 14:17:44 WIB	Ust Rhoma, kamu ini menjual ayat-ayat Allah dengan harga yang murah. (liat At-Taubah 9:9). Ter.. la... lu...	2	2	1
486		freedomsolution 06 Aug 2012 14:17:25 WIB	wkwkwkwkkkwwkkww...  lucu bgt si Mas Haji Roma ini pun.... wkwkwkwkwkwkwkwkwk...	1	2	1
487		komentox06 Aug 2012 14:17:10 WIB	Semoga Pakdhe Roma bisa sadar.. Cukup jadi Raja Dangdut aja..	1	2	3
488		achnug1906 Aug 2012 14:16:37 WIB	Betul sekali RI tidak salah, dan itu adalah hak RI untuk menyampaikan. Pertanyaan yang perlu dijawab oleh RI adalah : Apakah tidak ada materi yang lain lagi, yang harus disampaikan??? yang kedua Pemilihan materi itu pesanan orang atau memang pilihan RI??? ingat Sang Khaliq tidak pernah tidur	1	1	3
489		Nada Goeltom06 Aug 2012 14:16:02 WIB	betul mbah,,oe jg setuju..itu olang kulang keljaan ya...hahaha	2	1	1

**MANAJEMEN KOMUNIKASI PENGELOLA RUMAH SINGGAH DALAM
MEMBANGUN HUBUNGAN ANTARPRIBADI DENGAN ANAK-ANAK JALANAN
DALAM KONTEKS PRA DAN MASA PEMBINAAN**

(Studi pada Rumah Singgah SEKAR DKI Jakarta)



Oleh

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**PROGRAM STUDI ILMU KOMUNIKASI
FAKULTAS ILMU SOSIAL DAN ILMU POLITIK
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ABSTRACT

This research is about how the management of communication managers in building houses Interpersonal Relationships with street children. This study focuses on Shelter Homes SEKAR Jakarta SEKAR consideration is one that houses a pilot project of the Ministry of Social Affairs (Ministry of Social Affairs) in addressing the problem of street children after the financial crisis. Some of the theories used in this study is symbolic interactionism theory, uncertainty reduction theory and the theory of social penetration. The approach of this research is descriptive qualitative. Data collection techniques used are (1) in-depth interviews to (a) the manager of the shelter SEKAR (b) target street children SEKAR, (2) observation nonpartisipatori, as well as exploring relevant data through books, websites, scientific journals, research reports the document. Test the validity of the data through several activities, including (a) observing directly to the field, (b) Using more than two-Info to obtain precise data and not subjective, (c) the authors to confirm the data on resources, (d) presents data detailed, systematic and comprehensive, (e) conduct discussions with colleagues who are expected to audit the research done and give some input. The results showed that in a review of the theory of uncertainty reduction measures undertaken by the manager of Shelter Homes SEKAR, are (1) creates warmth verbal communication by improving communication both to the street children themselves and the parents of these children, (2) improve information retrieval about the child through the introduction and approach to his parents, (3) creating conditions conducive so kids want to reveal his true identity. Additionally SEKAR managers can create relationships that result in self-renewal concept on street children auxiliaries. Stigma as a marginal street children who are not ethical and not skilled, changed for the better. It can not be separated from the role of which is raised by the managers in developing them, as part of the management process of symbolic communication. Finally, the Social Penetration Theory tinjuan there are at least two ways in which the manager SEKAR in building interpersonal relationships with street children auxiliaries, namely: 1) expand the scope of activities. This is indicated in a variety of activities programmed by the manager SEKAR. This was in addition to improving the skills of children, is also a means for them to cultivate good relationships with the coaches and with other children, (2) to deepen communication materials. It looks at how the managers are approaching the surrogate children by talking and counsel members every bedtime, even a friend to confide them.

Key words: Management Communication, interpersonal relationships, shelter and street children

BAB I

PENDAHULUAN

A. Latar Belakang Masalah

Anak jalanan di Indonesia bukanlah sebuah fenomena baru. Jumlahnya setiap tahun semakin bertambah saja. Berdasarkan data dari Dinas Sosial DKI Jakarta, jumlah anak jalanan pada tahun 2009 sebanyak 3.724 orang, tahun 2010 meningkat menjadi 5.650 orang, dan pada tahun 2011 meningkat menjadi 7.315 orang. Mereka bekerja sebagai pengelap kaca mobil, pedagang asongan, joki 3 in 1, parkir liar, penyemir sepatu, penjual koran, pencuci kendaraan, menjadi pemulung barang-barang bekas. Sebagian lagi pengemis, pengamen, dan bahkan ada yang menjadi pencuri, pencopet atau terlibat perdagangan sex.³ Menurut Unicef, sebagaimana dikutip Rusmana⁴ anak jalanan adalah mereka yang meninggalkan rumah, sekolah dan lingkungannya, usia mereka di bawah 16 tahun dan hidup menggelandang di jalanan dengan berpindah-pindah.

Anak jalanan seringkali didentikkan sebagai kaum marjinal yang berperilaku menyimpang. Label preman pun bahkan melekat pada diri mereka. Tidaklah salah bila masyarakat memiliki pandangan seperti itu karena sebagian dari anak-anak jalanan itu secara disengaja seringkali berpenampilan urakan. Seperti menggunakan celana kumal yang ketat dan robek, rambut dibiarkan acak-acakan atau bahkan gimbal. Hidung, telinga serta bibir terkadang ditindik, serta penggunaan aksesoris lain yang memperlihatkan sosok anak Bengal. Dalam perspektif sosikultural⁵ maupun dalam teori penamaan (*labeling theory*)⁶, melalui penampilan seperti itu sesungguhnya mereka tengah mengkomunikasikan identitas dan jati diri mereka.

Perilaku komunikasi mereka di jalanan pun seringkali membuat orang-orang ketakutan. Hal itu tidaklah mengherankan karena tingkat pendidikan sebagian besar dari mereka rendah, bahkan tidak sedikit dari mereka yang belum pernah mengenyam pendidikan formal. Dari Sekretariat Forum Komunikasi Rumah Singgah Se-DKI⁷ diperoleh data karakteristik anak jalanan berdasarkan pendidikannya pada tahun 2008 adalah sebagai berikut:

³ <http://megapolitan.kompas.com/read/2011/08/24>

⁴ Rusmana, Aep. 20012. *Pemberdayaan Anak Jalanan*. Jakarta: Universitas Indonesia

⁵ Griffin. 2003. *Communication Theory (5th ed)*. New York: Mc.Graw Hill

⁶ *Labeling theory* seringkali diterapkan dimasyarakat dalam bidang criminal di tahun 1960-an. Pada tataran teoritis, labeling mengandung ide tentang arti diri seseorang individu dalam kancah "panggung sandiwara" atau dalam kehidupan sosial (dikutip dari Muji Sutrisno dan Hendar Putranto (ed) dalam buku Teori-Teori Kebudayaan terbitan Kanisiun tahun 2005)

⁷ Diakses melalui website <http://www.scribd.com>

Tabel Data Anak Jalanan di Jakarta Berdasarkan Pendidikan Pada Tahun 2008

No	Tingkat Pendidikan	L	%	P	%	Jumlah	%
1	Tidak Sekolah	39	2,99	25	1,92	64	4,90
2	DO SD	140	10,73	46	3,52	186	14,25
3	Lulus SD	159	12,18	146	11,19	305	23,37
4	DO SLTP	97	7,43	60	4,60	157	12,03
5	Lulus SLTP	134	10,27	90	6,90	224	17,16
6	DO SLTA	45	3,45	20	1,53	65	4,98
7	Lulus SLTA	58	4,44	34	2,61	92	7,05
8	Kejar Paket A	44	3,37	23	1,76	67	5,13
9	Kejar Paket B	68	5,21	23	1,76	91	6,97
10	Kejar Paket C	48	3,68	6	0,46	54	4,14
Total		832	63,75	473	36,25	1.305	100

Dengan demikian dapatlah dimaklumi apabila perilaku mereka tidak mengadopsi nilai-nilai kesopanan dan jauh dari etika serta estetika yang baik. Tentunya mereka tidak bisa dibiarkan begitu saja. Studi yang dilakukan oleh Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta pada tahun 2003 menyimpulkan bahwa dalam penanganan masalah anak jalanan ini harus berorientasi pada tiga model, yakni⁸: *Pertama, Family base*, *Institutional base*, dan *Multi-system base* yakni model pemberdayaan melalui jaringan sistem yang ada mulai dari anak jalanan itu sendiri, keluarga anak jalanan, masyarakat, para pemerhati anak, akademisi, aparat penegak hukum serta instansi terkait lainnya.

Pembentukan rumah singgah baik yang dikelola secara swadaya ataupun perorangan saat ini telah menjadi salah satu institusi sosial informal yang memiliki peran cukup penting dalam melakukan pembinaan terhadap anak-anak jalanan. rumah singgah diharapkan tidak saja sekedar menampung, tetapi juga bisa menjadi institusi pendidikan nonformal yang dapat mengubah pola perilaku, pola pikir serta perilaku komunikasi mereka ke arah yang lebih baik. Tentu saja hal tersebut tidak untuk membebankan sepenuhnya kepada rumah singgah dan pengelolanya, tetapi ini dikarenakan Rumah singgah memiliki potensi untuk menjadi agen transformasi. Bagi anak-anak jalanan, rumah singgah di anggap lebih *hommie* dan menyenangkan dibandingkan dengan tempat-tempat penampungan lainnya---seperti panti asuhan--yang kerap penuh dengan aturan ketat.

Menurut catatan forum komunikasi pengelola rumah singgah se-DKI Jakarta, saat ini di Jakarta tercatat ada sekitar 27 rumah singgah⁹. Program pembinaan yang diberikan di sini diharapkan menjadi sarana resosialisasi bagi anak jalanan setelah mereka berada pada kondisi desosialisasi. Oleh karena itu mengacu pada pendapat Erving Goffman, sebenarnya rumah singgah pun---meski tidak mengungkung para anak jalanan dengan peraturan formal yang sangat ketat---dapat juga dikatakan sebagai salah satu kategori *total institution*¹⁰ dinilai mampu berperan sebagai agen sosialisasi yang secara efektif bisa mentransformasi perilaku anak jalanan menjadi lebih baik.

⁸ Universitas Muhammadiyah Jakarta (UMJ) bekerjasama dengan Balatbangsos Departemen Sosial RI. Upaya Pencarian Model Yang Efektif Dalam Penanganan Anak" di JABODETABEK dan Surabaya yang Berbasis Pada Pemberdayaan Ekonomi Keluarga. 2003

⁹ Wawancara dengan wardoyo, koordinator forum komunikasi rumah singgah se-DKI.

¹⁰ Total institution adalah suatu tempat tinggal dan bekerja yang di dalamnya terdapat sejumlah individu dalam situasi yang sama, terputus dari masyarakat yang lebih luas untuk jangka waktu tertentu, bersama-sama menjalani hidup yang terkungkung dan diatur secara formal (Kamanto Sunarto. 2004. *Pengantar Sosiologi*. Jakarta: Fakultas Ekonomi Universitas Indonesia).

Mengingat karakteristik serta kepribadian anak-anak jalanan yang dibinanya berbeda-beda satu sama lain, sudah pasti setiap rumah singgah memiliki aturan serta cara tersendiri di dalam melakukan pembinaan. Salah satu hal penting yang harus diperhatikan oleh para relawan dan pengelola rumah singgah adalah persoalan komunikasi. Tanpa komunikasi yang baik dan menyenangkan bagi para anak jalanan, jangankan untuk mengikuti program pembinaan dan pemberdayaan, hanya untuk sekedar mampir saja rasanya mereka tidak akan mau. Suasana komunikasi yang tidak menyenangkan hanya akan membuat para anak jalanan tidak betah dan tidak mustahil mereka kembali ke jalanan.

Mendorong perubahan perilaku pada anak-anak jalanan baik melalui pemberian keterampilan maupun pembinaan, tentunya tidak akan berhasil bila tidak disertai dengan komunikasi yang baik. Seringkali program-program pembinaan tidak mencapai tujuan yang diharapkan hanya karena kurangnya penerimaan secara terbuka serta pengayoman dari pihak-pihak pemberi pembinaan. Oleh karena itu persoalan pengelolaan komunikasi dalam menghadapi para anak jalanan menjadi sangat penting. Sebab, apabila sudah tercipta kedekatan maka transformasi nilai akan mudah diadopsi oleh mereka. Tetapi persoalannya adalah penciptaan hubungan antarpribadi ini tidaklah mudah dibangun. Oleh karena itu masalah yang dirumuskan dalam penelitian ini adalah “Manajemen Komunikasi Pengelola Rumah Singgah Dalam Proses Pra dan Masa Pembinaan Pada Anak-Anak Jalanan”. Penelitian ini fokus di Rumah Singgah SEKAR di Kota Jakarta dengan pertimbangan Jakarta merupakan kota terbesar di Indonesia dengan berbagai persoalan sosial yang kompleks, persoalan anak jalanan di Jakarta setiap tahun selalu mengalami penambahan yang cukup signifikan. Selain itu secara nasional pada tahun 1998 Rumah Singgah SEKAR merupakan salah satu *pilot project* Departemen Sosial untuk penanganan masalah anak jalanan yang berbasis rumah singgah. Selain itu SEKAR saat ini merupakan salah satu rumah singgah selain menggunakan *center base* sebagai metode pembinaan, juga menerapkan sistem *community base*, yakni melakukan sinergi dengan masyarakat dalam pembinaan pada anak jalanan di wilayah tertentu dengan tujuan untuk merubah perilaku anak jalanan ke arah yang lebih baik..

B. Pertanyaan Penelitian

Adapun fokus pertanyaan penelitian ini adalah sebagai berikut:

1. Bagaimana upaya pengelolaan komunikasi dan interaksi yang dilakukan oleh pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR pada sebelum pembinaan?
2. Peran apa yang dimunculkan oleh pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR dalam proses pembinaan terhadap anak-anak jalanan?
3. Bagaimana upaya pengelolaan komunikasi dan interaksi yang dikembangkan oleh pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR dalam membangun keakraban dengan anak-anak binaannya?

C. Tujuan Penelitian

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendapatkan gambaran informasi yang detil tentang:

1. Upaya pengelolaan komunikasi dan interaksi yang dilakukan oleh pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR pada sebelum pembinaan.
2. Peran apa yang dimunculkan oleh pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR dalam proses pembinaan terhadap anak-anak jalanan.
3. Upaya pengelolaan komunikasi dan interaksi yang dikembangkan oleh pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR dalam membangun keakraban dengan anak-anak binaannya.

D. Signifikansi Penelitian

Penelitian ini diharapkan memiliki signifikansi secara teoritis, akademis, praktis, sosial maupun metodologis sebagai berikut:

- E.1. Secara teoritis/akademis diharapkan hasil penelitian ini menjadi suatu pemahaman baru tentang strategi manajemen komunikasi, yang ke depannya bisa digunakan sebagai kerangka acuan teoritis untuk penelitian sejenis atau lanjutan. Selain itu hasil penelitian ini bermanfaat untuk pengembangan mata kuliah di bidang komunikasi.
- E.2 Secara praktis, diharapkan penelitian ini menjadi referensi bagi pihak-pihak terkait di antaranya:
 - a. Bagi pengelola rumah singgah lainnya: diharapkan menjadi acuan untuk mengembangkan pengelolaan (manajemen) komunikasi yang lebih baik dan tepat, atau bahkan mengadopsi strategi yang sama di dalam membangun dan membina hubungan dengan para anak jalanan.
 - b. Bagi pemerintah, diharapkan menjadi input untuk memberikan kontribusi dalam meningkatkan kapasitas diri pengelola rumah singgah melalui pemberian *training-training* pengembangan diri serta komunikasi. Tujuannya adalah untuk meningkatkan keterampilan pada relawan & pengelola dalam bidang komunikasi.

BAGIAN DUA

TINJAUAN LITERATUR

2.1 Landasan Konsep

2.1.1 Konsep Manajemen Komunikasi

Manajemen (pengelolaan) komunikasi berarti kegiatan merencanakan, mengolah, memproduksi serta menyampaikan pesan-pesan kepada komunikan secara verbal maupun nonverbal baik melalui media maupun secara langsung. Dalam hal ini seorang manajer komunikasi memiliki beberapa peran penting demi terwujudnya tujuan komunikasi yang efektif. Adapun peran tersebut antara lain¹¹:

1. Peran interpersonal (dalam peran ini mengacu terutama bagaimana interaksi yang dijalankan selaras dengan hasil yang diinginkan)
2. Peran informasional, berkaitan dengan bagaimana informasi itu disampaikan, diterima dan dianalisis dengan baik sehingga terwujud tujuan yang diraih.
3. Peran pemanfaatan informasi untuk pengambilan keputusan yang diperlukan demi terwujudnya tujuan yang diinginkan.

Dalam sebuah manajemen komunikasi terutama merujuk pada fungsi dan tujuan komunikasi itu sendiri. Salahsatu fungsi komunikasi yang penting adalah fungsi komunikasi social, setidaknya mengisyaratkan bahwa komunikasi itu penting untuk membangun konsep diri kita, aktualisasi diri, untuk kelangsungan hidup, untuk memperoleh kebahagiaan, terhindar dari tekanan dan ketegangan, antara lain lewat komunikasi yang bersifat menghibur, dan memupuk hubungan-hubungan orang lain.

2.1.2 Komunikasi Antar Pribadi

Mengacu pada pemajaman Miller dan Steinberg dalam bukunya *Between People: A New Analysis of Interpersonal Communication* sebagaimana dikutip Gudykunst dkk (1988) dan M.Budyatna & Mutmainnah (2004), “Ketika orang-orang melakukan komunikasi, mereka membuat prediksi (perkiraan) tentang efek-efek atau reaksi-reaksi dari perilaku-perilaku komunikasi mereka”.¹² Artinya, prediksi tersebut kemudian akan menggiring pelaku komunikasi untuk memilih strategi komunikasi seperti apa yang tepat agar proses komunikasi berikutnya berjalan dengan baik dan menguntungkan kedua belah pihak. Prediksi bisa terjadi pada komunikator (pemberi pesan) terhadap komunikan (penerima pesan) atau sebaliknya pada komunikan (penerima). Prediksi tersebut meliputi cultural yaitu memprediksi seseorang dengan menggunakan analisa data kultural umumnya terjadi pada pertemuan pertama kita dengan seseorang.

Dalam komunikasi antar pribadi ini terjalin hubungan antar pribadi. Hubungan antarpribadi dapat dijelaskan dengan cara mengidentifikasi dua karakteristik penting, yakni:¹³ (1) hubungan antarpribadi berlangsung melalui beberapa tahap, mulai dari tahap interaksi awal sampai ke pematangan. Tahapan ini dimulai dengan tahap kontak, tahap awal jalinan sebuah hubungan. Di sini ada beberapa macam alat indra yang berperan menghubungkan kita dengan orang lain.

¹¹ Diadopsi dari Hendry Mintberg, Manajemen Komunikasi Perilaku Organisasi, Kencana Prenada Media, 2007.

¹² M. Budyatna & Mutmainnah, Nina. 2004. *Komunikasi Antarpribadi*. Jakarta: Pusat Penerbitan Universitas Terbuka

¹³ Devito, Joseph. 1997. *Komunikasi Antarmanusia* (5th ed). New York: Hunter College of the City

Misalnya tampilan fisik. Tampilan fisik diyakini sebagian kalangan bisa menjadi pemicu orang lain untuk melakukan kontak atau tidak dengan tidak.

Tahap kedua adalah keterlibatan. Tahap ini merupakan tahap pengenalan lebih lanjut, di mana pelaku komunikasi satu sama lain sudah saling mengetahui, sehingga sangat memungkinkan di antara keduanya terjadi kesepakatan-kesepakatan tertentu. Tahap ketiga adalah keakraban. Pada tahap ini para pelaku komunikasi sudah mulai mengikatkan diri lebih jauh dan mendalam, karena didasari oleh perasaan cocok. Di antaranya sudah saling mengenal sifat serta kepribadian. Tahap berikutnya adalah perusakan. Adalah melemahnya ikatan yang mempertalikan dua orang atau lebih. Pada tahap ini pelaku mulai merasa ada ketidakpuasan, kekesalan yang muncul sebagai akibat dari adanya friksi komunikasi baik yang eksplisit atau implisit yang tidak terselesaikan sesuai harapan. Akhirnya friksi tersebut bisa merenggangkan hubungan keakraban yang sudah terjalin.

Terakhir adalah tahap pemutusan. Dalam tahap ini kedua orang yang tersatukan dalam sebuah ikatan yang akrab dan hamonis menjadi terpisah karena sebuah konflik yang tidak teratasi dengan menyenangkan kedua belah pihak. Karakteristik yang kedua adalah hubungan antarpribadi berbeda-beda dalam hal keluasan (*breadth*) dan kedalamannya (*depth*). Hubungan dapat diuraikan menurut jumlah topic yang dibicarakan oleh dua orang serta derajat 'kepersonalan' yang mereka lekatkan pada topic. Banyaknya topic yang dikomunikasikan disebut sebagai keluasan (*breadth*) yang ditunjukkan dengan A,B,C,dst, dan derajat dalamnya 'kepersonalan' disebut sebagai kedalaman (*depth*).

2.1.3 Pengertian Anak Jalanan

Berbagai pengertian mengenai anak jalanan, diantaranya adalah menurut Kementerian Sosial Indonesia bahwa Anak Jalanan merupakan anak yang melewati atau memanfaatkan waktu mereka untuk melakukan kegiatan hidup sehari-harinya dengan di jalanan. Sedangkan menurut UU No 23 Tahun 2002, dinyatakan bahwa Anak Jalanan adalah anak yang menggunakan sebagian besar waktunya di jalanan. Pengelompokan anak jalanan tersebut adalah sebagai berikut:¹⁴

Pertama, Anak-anak yang tidak berhubungan lagi dengan orang tuanya (*children of the street*). Mereka tinggal 24 jam di jalanan dan menggunakan semua fasilitas jalanan sebagai ruang hidupnya. Hubungan dengan keluarga sudah terputus. Kelompok anak ini disebabkan oleh factor social psikologis keluarga, mereka mengalami kekerasan, penolakan, penyiksaan dan perceraian orang tua. Umumnya mereka tidak mau kembali ke rumah, kehidupan jalanan dan solidaritas sesama temannya telah menjadi ikatan mereka.

Kedua, Anak-anak yang berhubungan tidak teratur dengan orang tua. Mereka adalah anak yang bekerja di jalanan (*children on the street*). Mereka seringkali diindentikan sebagai pekerja migran kota yang pulang tidak teratur kepada orang tuanya di kampung. Pada umumnya mereka bekerja dari pagi hingga sore hari seperti menyemir sepatu, pengasong, pengamen, tukang ojek payung, dan kuli panggul. Tempat tinggal mereka di lingkungan kumuh bersama dengan saudara atau teman-teman senasibnya.

¹⁴ <http://anjel.blogdrive.com/archive/11.html>

Ketiga, Anak-anak yang berhubungan teratur dengan orang tuanya. Mereka tinggal dengan orang tuanya, beberapa jam dijalanan sebelum atau sesudah sekolah. Motivasi mereka ke jalan karena terbawa teman, belajar mandiri, membantu orang tua dan disuruh orang tua. Aktivitas usaha mereka yang paling menyolok adalah berjualan Koran. *Keempat*, Anak-anak jalanan yang berusia di atas 16 tahun. Mereka berada di jalanan untuk mencari kerja, atau masih labil suatu pekerjaan. Umumnya mereka telah lulus SD bahkan ada yang SLTP. Mereka biasanya kaum urban yang mengikuti orang dewasa (orang tua ataupun saudaranya) ke kota. Pekerjaan mereka biasanya mencuci bus, menyemir sepatu, membawa barang belanjaan (kuli panggul), pengasong, pengamen, pengemis dan pemulung.

2.1.4 Pengertian Rumah Singgah

Rumah singgah didefinisikan menurut Departemen Sosial RI merupakan perantara anak jalanan dengan pihak pihak yang akan membantu mereka. Rumah singgah merupakan proses informal yang memberikan suasana pusat realisasi anak jalanan terhadap sistem nilai dan norma di masyarakat. Fungsi rumah singgah adalah: (1) Membentuk sikap dan perilaku anak sesuai dengan norma yang berlaku dalam di masyarakat.(2) Mengupayakan anak anak untuk kembali ke rumah jika memungkinkan atau ke panti dan lembaga lainnya jika diperlukan.(3)Memberikan alternative pelayanan yang disediakan.¹⁵

2.1.5 Pengelola Rumah Singgah

Pengelola adalah orang-orang yang melakukan serangkaian usaha yang bertujuan untuk menggali dan memanfaatkan segala potensi secara efektif dan efisien untuk mencapai tujuan tertentu.¹⁶ Artinya dalam konteks rumah singgah, pengelola adalah orang-orang yang merencanakan, mengorganisasikan serta melakukan dan mengkontrol kegiatan untuk pembinaan anak-anak jalanan. Ada berbagai macam sebutan untuk pengelola rumah singgah, di antaranya sebagai pendamping, Pembina atau pekerja sosial.

2.2 Landasan Teori

Dalam penelitian ini penulis menggunakan beberapa teori di antaranya teori simbolik interaksionisme sebagai teori memproduksi pesan dan teori pengurangan ketidakpastian serta teori penetrasi sosial sebagai teori yang membahas pengelolaan hubungan. Masing-masing akan dipaparkan sebagai berikut:

I. Teori Interaksi Simbolik

Teori yang dicetuskan oleh George Herbert Mead dan dipopulerkan oleh Herbert Blumer ini menekankan pada hubungan antara simbol dan interaksi. George Herbert Mead mengemukakan apa yang disebutnya sebagai *mind, self and society*¹⁷. *Mind* adalah semua tindakan yang dilakukan oleh individu terhadap dirinya melalui interaksi dengan orang lain. Salah satu media yang digunakan dalam berinteraksi adalah bahasa yang merupakan sistem symbol verbal dan nonverbal untuk

¹⁵ *Pedoman Penyelenggara Pembinaan Anak Jalanan Melalui Rumah Singgah* (Departemen Sosial Republik Indonesia Direktorat Jenderal Bina Kesejahteraan Sosial, Juli 1999)

¹⁶ Harsoyo. www.id.shvoong.com. 28/01/2011

¹⁷ Richard West & Lynn H. Turner (terjemahan) 2008. *Pengantar Teori Komunikasi; Analisis dan Aplikasi*. Jakarta: Salemba Humanika

mengekspresikan pemikiran dan perasaan bersama. *Self* (diri) adalah kemampuan untuk merefleksikan diri kita sendiri dari perspektif orang lain. Diri berkembang dari sebuah jenis pengambilan peran yang khusus, seperti membayangkan bagaimana kita dilihat oleh orang lain. Mead menyebutnya sebagai **cermin diri** (*looking glass-self*), atau kemampuan kita untuk melihat diri kita sendiri dalam pantulan dari pandangan orang lain.

Sedangkan masyarakat (*Society*) menurut Blumer adalah jejaring hubungan sosial yang diciptakan manusia. Individu-individu terlibat di dalam masyarakat melalui perilaku yang mereka pilih secara aktif dan sukarela. Jadi, masyarakat menggambarkan keterhubungan beberapa perangkat perilaku yang terus disesuaikan oleh individu-individu. Ada dua bagian penting dalam masyarakat yang mempengaruhi pikiran dan diri. Pertama adalah orang lain secara khusus (*particular others*) merujuk pada individu-individu dalam masyarakat yang signifikan bagi kita. Orang-orang ini meliputi anggota keluarga, teman dan kolega di tempat kerja serta supervisor. Kedua adalah orang lain secara umum (*generalized other*) merujuk pada cara pandang dari sebuah kelompok sosial atau budaya sebagai suatu keseluruhan¹⁸

Teori Simbolik Interaksi ini kemudian dikembangkan juga oleh Ralph LaRossa dan Donald C. Teitzes, terutama yang berhubungan dengan kajian keluarga. Menurut mereka ada tiga prinsip utama dalam interaksi simbolik yang berkaitan dengan makna, bahasa dan pemikiran, yakni:

(1) Pentingnya makna bagi perilaku manusia;

Menurut LaRossa dan Teitzes pemikiran ini mendukung tiga asumsi yang dikembangkan oleh Herbert Blumer, yaitu:

a. Manusia bertindak terhadap manusia lainnya berdasarkan makna yang diberikan orang lain pada mereka.¹⁹

b. Makna Diciptakan Dalam Interaksi Antarmanusia

Menurut George Herbert Mead, makna dapat ada hanya ketika orang-orang memiliki interpretasi yang sama mengenai simbol yang mereka pertukarkan dalam interaksi.²⁰

c. Makna Dimodifikasi melalui Proses Interpretif

Blumer menyatakan bahwa proses interpretif memiliki dua langkah. *Pertama*, para pelaku menentukan benda-benda yang mempunyai makna. *Kedua*, melibatkan si pelaku untuk memilih, mengecek dan melakukan transformasi makna di dalam konteks di mana mereka berada.

(2) Pentingnya konsep diri (*Self Concept*)

Konsep diri adalah seperangkat persepsi yang relatif stabil yang dipercaya orang mengenai dirinya sendiri. Teori Interaksi simbolik tertarik dengan cara orang mengembangkan konsep diri. Teori ini menggambarkan individu sebagai diri yang aktif, yang didasarkan pada interaksi sosial dengan orang lainnya. La

¹⁸ Blumer, Herbert, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Methode*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1969, hal 16.

¹⁹ Richard West & Lynn H. Turner. 2008. *Pengantar Teori Komunikasi; Analisis dan Aplikasi*. Jakarta: Salemba Humanika

²⁰ Richard West & Lynn H. Turner. 2008. *Ibid hal 100*

Rossan dan Reitzes²¹ mengemukakan dua asumsi terkait dengan konsep diri ini, yaitu:

- a. Individu-individu mengembangkan konsep diri melalui interaksi dengan orang lain..
 - b. Konsep diri memberikan motif yang penting untuk perilaku. Mead berpendapat bahwa karena manusia memiliki diri, mereka memiliki mekanisme untuk berinteraksi dengan dirinya sendiri, dan mekanisme ini digunakan untuk menuntun perilaku dan sikap. Proses ini seringkali dikatakan sebagai prediksi pemenuhan diri (*self-fulfilling prophecy*), atau pengharapan akan diri yang menyebabkan seseorang berperilaku sedemikian rupa sehingga harapannya terwujud.
- (3) Hubungan antara individu dengan masyarakat²².
Pemikiran ini didukung oleh asumsi-asumsi berikut ini:
- a. Orang dan Kelompok dipengaruhi oleh Proses Budaya dan Sosial. Asumsi ini mengakui bahwa norma-norma sosial membatasi perilaku individu. Selain itu budaya secara kuat mempengaruhi perilaku dan sikap yang kita anggap penting dalam konsep diri.
 - b. Struktur Sosial Dihasilkan melalui Interaksi Sosial
ASumsi ini menengahi posisi yang diambil asumsi sebelumnya. Teori Interaksi Simbolik mempertanyakan pandangan bahwa struktur sosial tidak berubah serta mengakui bahwa individu dapat memodifikasi situasi sosial. Partisipan dalam interaksi dapat memodifikasi struktur dan tidak secara penuh dibatasi oleh hal tersebut. Dengan kata lain manusia adalah pembuat pilihan.

II. Teori Pegurangan Ketidakpastian (*Uncertainty Reduction Theory*)

Teori ini dikemukakan oleh Charles Berger. Menurutnya permulaan hubungan pribadi penuh dengan ketidakpastian. Teori ini fokus kepada hal mengenai bagaimana komunikasi manusia digunakan untuk memperoleh pengetahuan dan menciptakan pemahaman. Berger mengajukan sejumlah aksioma-aksioma untuk menjelaskan hubungan antara konsep utamanya tentang ketidakpastian dengan delapan (8) variabel kunci tentang pengembangan hubungan, yakni²³: *Pertama*, komunikasi verbal: biasanya ketidakpastian pada tingkat tinggi muncul pada permulaan tahap awal, ketika jumlah komunikasi verbal di antara orang-orang yang tidak saling mengenal tersebut meningkat, derajat ketidakpastian masing-masing pelaku interaksi dalam suatu hubungan akan menurun. Ketika ketidakpastian berikutnya berkurang, jumlah komunikasi verbal akan meningkat; *Kedua*, kehangatan non-verbal: ketika pengungkapan nonverbal meningkat, tingkat ketidakpastian akan menurun pada situasi interaksi awal. Sementara penurunan tingkat ketidakpastian akan menyebabkan meningkatnya pengekspresian komunikasi nonverbal.

²¹ Richard West & Lynn H. Turner. 2008. *Ibid* hal 101

²² George Ritzer & Douglas J. Goodman (terjemahan). 6th ed. 2005. *Teori Sosiologi Modern*. Jakarta: Prenada Media

²³ EM Griffin. 2003. *Communication Theory* (5th ed). New York: Mc.Graw Hill.

Ketiga, pencarian informasi: tingkat ketidakpastian yang tinggi menyebabkan meningkatnya perilaku pencarian informasi. Ketika tingkat ketidakpastian menurun, perilaku pencarian informasi akan menurun. *Keempat*, pengungkapan diri: tingkat ketidakpastian yang tinggi dalam suatu hubungan menyebabkan menurunnya tingkat keakraban isi komunikasi. Tingkat ketidakpastian yang rendah menghasilkan tingkat keakraban yang tinggi. *Kelima*, saling berbalasan: tingkat ketidakpastian yang tinggi menghasilkan tindakan resiprokal yang rata-rata tinggi. Tingkat ketidakpastian yang rendah menghasilkan tingkat resiprokal yang rendah.

Keenam, kesamaan: kesamaan yang dimiliki akan mengurangi ketidakpastian, sedangkan ketidaksetaraan menghasilkan ketidakpastian yang tinggi. *Ketujuh*, perasaan suka: peningkatan tingkat ketidakpastian menghasilkan menurunnya perasaan suka; sebaliknya penurunan ketidakpastian menghasilkan rasa suka yang meningkat. *Kedelapan*, jaringan bersama: jaringan komunikasi bersama akan mengurangi ketidakpastian, sedangkan kurangnya jaringan bersama akan meningkatkan ketidakpastian.

III. Teori Penetrasi Sosial (*Social Penetration Theory*)

Teori penetrasi sosial merupakan salah satu teori yang menjelaskan tentang pengembangan suatu hubungan yang dicetuskan oleh Irwin Altman dan Dalmas Taylor. Inti dari teori ini adalah bahwa suatu hubungan akan semakin dekat setiap saat (intim) ketika pelaku-pelaku komunikasi saling terbuka satu sama lain. Dengan demikian penetrasi sosial adalah proses peningkatan keterbukaan dan keakraban dalam suatu hubungan²⁴. Teori ini berpijak pada asumsi: (1) suatu hubungan sudah pasti akan mengalami kemajuan dari tidak intim menjadi intim; (2) Secara umum perkembangan hubungan bersifat sistematis dan dapat diprediksi; (3) Perkembangan hubungan mencakup depenetrasi (penarikan diri) dan disolusi; (4) Pembukaan diri merupakan inti dari perkembangan hubungan²⁵. Ada dua istilah yang relevan menjelaskan penetrasi sosial terkait dengan pembukaan diri (*disclosure*)²⁶, yakni:

- Kedalaman pengungkapan diri (*the depth of self disclosure*): menunjukkan derajat keakraban. Biasanya informasi yang dipertukarkan seputar data-data biografi. Dalam kerangka teori penetrasi sosial, Altman dan Taylor menggarisbawahi empat (4) observasi tentang proses penetrasi sosial yang terjadi pada dua orang atau lebih yang sedang berinteraksi.
 - a. Seluruh info tentang diri masing-masing dipertukarkan lebih sering dan lebih cepat dibandingkan informasi yang bersifat pribadi.
 - b. Pengungkapan diri akan timbal balik, terutama di tahap awal pengembangan hubungan.
 - c. Penetrasi akan terlihat cepat di awal hubungan, namun lambat ketika akan mencapai lapisan paling dalam.
 - d. Depenetrasi merupakan proses penarikan diri yang bertahap. Hubungan dua orang akan memburuk jika masing-masing sudah mulai menutup wilayah tertentu yang sebelumnya terbuka.

²⁴ Stephen W. Littlejohn. 1999. *Theories of Human Communication* (6th ed). USA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

²⁵ Richard West & Lynn H. Turner (terjemahan) 2008. *Pengantar Teori Komunikasi; Analisis dan Aplikasi*. Jakarta: Salemba Huma

²⁶ EM Griffin. 2003. *Op.Cit*

- Keluasan pengungkapan diri (*the breadth of self disclosure*); menunjukkan banyaknya bidang (*area*) yang diungkapkan. Tidak hanya masalah kuliah, tapi juga masalah hobi, keluarga, teman, dll yang diungkapkan secara detil oleh seseorang. Jadi sebuah hubungan yang intim harus menunjukkan adanya keluasan dan kedalaman pengungkapan diri tentang berbagai hal.

BAB III

METODOLOGI

Penelitian ini menggunakan paradigma interpretif yang bertujuan untuk membangun dan mengonstruksi sesuatu kehidupan sosial berdasarkan *setting* alamiah²⁷. Pendekatannya adalah kualitatif yang dikemukakan Menurut Bogdan dan Taylor²⁸ sebagai penelitian yang menghasilkan data deskriptif berupa ucapan, tulisan dan perilaku orang-orang yang diamati, sehingga peneliti dapat mengenali subjek dan merasakan apa yang mereka alami dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, yang mementingkan proses (bagaimana sesuatu terjadi) daripada produk hasilnya.

Subyek dalam penelitian ini adalah Pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR di Jakarta, sementara objek kajiannya adalah tentang manajemen komunikasi dalam membangun hubungan antar pribadi dengan anak-anak jalanan dalam konteks pra dan masa pembinaan. Dalam mencari data primer, teknik yang digunakan adalah wawancara mendalam kepada (1) *key informan* dan (2) *informan*. Selain itu peneliti juga melakukan observasi nonpartisipatori, serta mengeksplorasi data yang relevan melalui buku, website, jurnal ilmiah, laporan-laporan penelitian, dokumen-dokumen.

Dalam penelitian ini yang menjadi *key informan* adalah pimpinan rumah singgah SEKAR, Wardoyo (36 tahun). Sedangkan informan dalam penelitian ini adalah: Ali Usman (27 tahun, pengelola), Arifin (32 tahun, pengelola), Hasanuddin (25 tahun, pengelola), Desi (15 tahun, anak binaan SEKAR), Rini (16 tahun, anak binaan SEKAR), Fajar (15 tahun, anak Binaan SEKAR), Anan (13 tahun, anak binaan SEKAR). Dalam mengolah dan menganalisa data, peneliti melakukan beberapa tahapan, sebagaimana yang dianjurkan oleh W. Laurence Newman²⁹, di antaranya melakukan reduksi terhadap data yang diperoleh di lapangan, yang dilanjutkan dengan proses kategorisasi dan pengkodean terhadap data-data yang dianggap sama. Lalu penyajian data dalam bentuk narasi dan menganalisanya.

uji keabsahan data yang dilakukan adalah: *Pertama*, uji kredibilitas data dengan (a) turun langsung ke lapangan untuk memperoleh data dari *key informan* maupun informan (b) Menggunakan lebih dari dua narasumber untuk memperoleh data secara tepat dan tidak subjektif (3) penulis berupaya melakukan konfirmatori data pada narasumber; *Kedua* uji transferability dengan menyajikan data secara detil, sistematis dan komprehensif; *Ketiga* uji dependability dengan melakukan diskusi dengan teman sejawat yang diharapkan dapat mengaudit proses penelitian yang dilakukan dan member masukan. Selain itu untuk memperkuat keotentikan data, tentunya peneliti memperhatikan nilai-nilai kejujuran dan keterbukaan.

²⁷ W. Laurence Newman. 2003. *Social Research Methods; Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*.

²⁸ Basrowi dan Sukidin. 2002. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif: Perspektif Mikro*. Surabaya: Insan Cendikia

²⁹ *Ibid*

BAB IV

TEMUAN DI LAPANGAN DAN PEMBAHASAN

4.1 UPAYA PENGELOLAAN KOMUNIKASI DAN INTERAKSI YANG DILAKUKAN PENGELOLA RUMAH SINGGAH SEKAR PADA MASA SEBELUM PEMBINAAN

4.1.1 Tahapan interaksi awal dalam hubungan komunikasi antar pribadi

Kita memahami bahwa dalam membangun sebuah hubungan sosial di antara dua orang atau lebih seperti halnya dalam keseharian, kita memulainya dari hubungan yang tidak akrab sampai akrab. Sebagai pelaku komunikasi adakalanya kita melakukan kesalahan, kita mengira sudah mengembangkan hubungan komunikasi antarpribadi yang baik padahal ternyata kita mengalami berbagai kesulitan. Dalam proses melaksanakan perekrutan ini terutama bagi anak-anak jalanan supaya bersedia dengan suka hati bergabung di rumah singgah, maka pengelola mengembangkan berbagai strategi. Tahap pertama yang dilakukan oleh Wardoyo dan teman-teman di Rumah Singgah SEKAR adalah pengenalan atau tahap kontak. Pada tahapan ini yang pertama kali dilakukan adalah melaksanakan penjangkauan terhadap anak-anak jalanan di halte-halte atau di jalan-jalan di sekitar Jakarta Utara. Wardoyo mengatakan,

“Secara umum, pertama kita melakukan penjangkauan mencari anak jalanan ke halte-halte, kolong-kolong jembatan, bahkan ke lampu-lampu merah, dan pinggiran jalan.”

Dalam proses penjangkauan tersebut, Wardoyo tidak langsung serta merta menawari mereka untuk bergabung di rumah singgah, tetapi memperkenalkan diri terlebih dahulu. Pada tahap awal ini tidak jarang mereka (pengelola rumah singgah) dihadapkan pada berbagai kendala. Seperti diakui oleh Wardoyo bahwa di jalanan ternyata ada abang-abang (preman) yang “menguasai” mereka, sehingga resistensi terkadang muncul dari preman-preman tersebut. Oleh karena itu ada upaya pendekatan juga terhadap abang-abang tersebut.

“Diawali dengan perkenalan dan mengobrol. Kami memposisikan seolah-olah sebagai teman dan mengikuti alur pembicaraan mereka. Baru setelah merasa enak, kami mengutarakan dan menjelaskan maksud dan tujuan program”

Wardoyo tidak memungkiri bahwa abang-abang (preman-preman) tersebut memiliki pengaruh pada anak-anak jalanan. Sebagian besar anak jalanan yang ditemuinya pada akhirnya mau dikumpulkan untuk dilakukan *assessment* (penelaahan terhadap kondisi anak).

“Awalnya kami mengumpulkan dulu 10-20 anak-anak. Saat itu lokasinya di kolong jalan tol yang ke arah Tanjung Priok. Kita melakukan *Focus Group Discussion* (FGD), bahkan abang-abang mereka pun (preman yang mengkoordinir) turut dilibatkan. Kami menanyakan kepada mereka tentang siapa saja yang masih suka mengamen. ...”

Menurut Wardoyo, proses penyadaran tersebut membutuhkan waktu 2-3 bulan, sampai akhirnya anak-anak tersebut terbujuk untuk kembali sekolah,

bahkan ada yang ikut program pendidikan di Rumah Singgah SEKAR. Langkah berikutnya adalah melakukan *assessment*

Sementara itu informan lain yakni Arifin (Bapakke, 32 tahun) mengatakan bahwa sebelum dia bergabung sebagai pendamping dan turut membina anak-anak jalanan, sejak tahun 2002 dia sudah terlebih dahulu mengkoordinir dan memberikan pembinaan secara pribadi. Artinya bagi Arifin, tidak terlalu sulit ketika bergabung dengan Rumah Singgah SEKAR dan melakukan perekrutan terhadap anak-anak jalanan. Arifin (Bapakke) menuturkan juga bahwa pada saat masih tinggal di kolong, yang dia lakukan hanya sebatas memberikan nasehat, “Saya menasehati mereka supaya tidak mencari keributan, terus sopan sama orang, Kalau mereka ngamen saya memantau dari kejauhan”. Arifin bergabung dengan Rumah Singgah Sekar pada tahun 2009. Ketika melakukan perekrutan, Arifin tidak merasa kesulitan dalam merekrut anak-anak jalanan. Hal ini juga dituturkan oleh Anan (13 tahun),

“Awalnya ketika ada pendamping yg tinggal di kolong yakni Bapake (Arifin), saya diajak ngaji oleh dia, terus dimasukin ke program PKSA dan diajak ke sini.³⁰

Setelah berhasil maka pihak rumah singgah terus berupaya melakukan pendekatan sehingga terjalin keterlibatan, yang pada akhirnya terjadi keakraban di antara mereka.

4.3.2 Tahapan awal biasanya diliputi dengan ketidakpercayaan

Dalam suatu tahap kontak awal hubungan, biasanya mengalami berbagai kesulitan, salah satunya karena adanya unsur ketidakpercayaan terhadap para Pembina yang dirasakan oleh para anak jalanan. Anak jalanan seperti Desi Apriani (15 tahun) dan Rini (16 tahun), mengatakan bahwa mereka awalnya ditawari oleh orang yang pada saat itu mengaku dari SEKAR (belakangan diketahui bahwa yang mendata kedua anak tersebut adalah Wardoyo) untuk tinggal di SEKAR,

““pertamanya nggak percaya, tapi ternyata beneran juga ada rumah singgahnya, saya masuk *tuh* sampai sekarang”

Desi menuturkan pada saat bagaimana pertemuan pertama kali dengan Wardoyo, “ ya waktu itu saya *kan* habis ngamen *tuh* di perempatan dekat kolong bareng *si Rini* dan temen lainnya, terus *dideketin* gitu sama Kak Wardoyo. terus ngobrol *gitu deh* dikumpulin di kolong, kita *ditanya-tanya* apa enaknyanya ngamen, panas *nggak*, takut *nggak*.³¹

Anan, salah satu anak jalanan yang saat ini sudah 1 tahun tinggal di Rumah Singgah SEKAR, menuturkan awal mula bergabung dengan SEKAR sebagai berikut:

“Awalnya ketika ada pendamping yg tinggal di kolong, Bapake (Arifin), saya diajak ngaji, terus dimasukin ke program PKSA dan diajak ke sini.³²

³⁰ Wawancara dengan Anan, Sabtu, 20 Oktober 2012, pukul 15.30

³¹ Wawancara dengan Desi, Jumat, 16 Nopember, pukul 17.15

³² Wawancara dengan Anan, Sabtu, 20 Oktober 2012, pukul 15.30

Informan lainnya, yakni Fajar (anak jalanan, 15 tahun) juga menuturkan hal yang hampir sama, bahwa dia bergabung di SEKAR karena didata oleh Wardoyo. “waktu itu saya *dibilangin gini*, mau sekolah *nggak*, kalau mau nanti dibiayain, terus ditawarkan mau tinggal di SEKAR *apa enggak*. Tapi awalnya setelah masuk di SEKAR, saya sempet pulang lagi, takut diculik”

Dalam melakukan proses penjangkauan terhadap anak-anak jalanan, selain berkenalan dan melakukan pendekatan dengan anak-anak dan abang-abang (preman-preman yang “menguasai”), Pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR juga berupaya untuk mengenali keadaan orangtua dan lingkungan tempat tinggal anak. Sebab, menurut Wardoyo hal tersebut merupakan bagian dari *assessment*, “Setelah berkenalan dengan anak, lalu dilanjutkan dengan kunjungan ke rumah kalau ada rumahnya. Kalau yang tidak ada rumahnya, ketika anak mau ya langsung dibawa ke sini.”³³

Tetapi pendekatan ke orangtua pun tidak semulus yang dibayangkan. Ada sebagian orangtua yang kurang merespon baik, bahkan sinis dan marah. Hasan (25 tahun), Informan lainnya membenarkan bahwa tidak sedikit orangtua yang marah bahkan mengancam dengan senjata tajam tatkala pengelola rumah singgah SEKAR menemui mereka (para orangtua) untuk meminta ijin agar anaknya diperkenankan mengikuti kegiatan di rumah singgah.

“Pernah suatu saat ketika saya menjajagi anak-anak jalanan di Daerah Pademangan, saya dihadapi oleh orangtua yang membawa dan mengacung-acungkan tusukan sate sambil mengatakan “*siapa yang berani melarang anak saya jualan Koran?*”³⁴

Oleh karena itu harus ada upaya pendekatan kepada para orangtua *si* anak. Menurut Wardoyo, “Biasanya kami ikut ngobrol di kelompok-kelompok keluarga tersebut.” “Bahkan untuk menjaga hubungan dengan para orangtua, kami melakukan pembagian sembako setiap 2 bulan sekali”. Wardoyo juga menuturkan, di awal pendirian Rumah Singgah di Rawa Bebek, Penjaringan sekitar tahun 2004-an, dan mulai menampung anak-anak jalanan, Resistensi pun datang dari warga sekitar,.

4.3 PERAN YANG DIMUNCULKAN PENGELOLA RUMAH SINGGAH SEKAR DALAM PROSES PEMBINAAN ANAK JALANAN

Dalam menjalankan fungsi pengelola rumah singgah, menurut para pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR, dibutuhkan kesabaran, tidak mudah emosional, mengayomi tetapi juga sikap yang tegas. Wardoyo menuturkan, “kita di sini (di Rumah Singgah) memposisikan sebagai kakak-kakak pendamping yang sekaligus menjadi pengganti orangtua, sebab mereka menjadi tanggung jawab kami. Kami turut menyediakan dan mempersiapkan kebutuhan mereka untuk sekolah. Seperti mengantar mereka membeli buku, sepatu...”

Tidak hanya itu, bahkan salah satu informan, Ali, mengatakan bahwa sebagai pendamping, pemantauan juga dilakukan terhadap aktivitas sekolah mereka, “pendamping di Rumah Singgah SEKAR ini juga memiliki tugas mengantar anak-

³³ Wawancara pada hari Sabtu, 20 Oktober 2012, pukul 13.15

³⁴ Wawancara dengan Hasanudin, hari Sabtu, 20 Oktober 2012, pukul 15.00

anak ke sekolah, biar mereka juga senang *kan*, dan bisa *bilang* ke gurunya kalau mereka diantar kakaknya”. Hal ini diperkuat oleh pernyataan informan berikutnya, Hasan menuturkan:

“Saya kebetulan yang bertugas untuk mengantar mereka sekolah. Kebetulan sekolah mereka berdekatan, dan satu jalur. Jadi semua diantar pakai mobil yayasan. Sedangkan kalau pulang, kita kondisikan supaya mereka pulang sendiri (tidak dijemput)”.

Dalam urusan sekolah, pihak SEKAR ternyata tidak hanya sekedar mengantar mereka ke sekolah atau sekedar mengantar keperluan sekolah, Bahkan pemantauan ke sekolah pun dilakukan. “Sampai saat ini sudah ada 8 anak yang mendapat keringanan 40% pembayaran sekolah. Itu salah satu upaya kami dalam melakukan advokasi ke sekolah,” tutur Wardoyo.

Dalam menjalankan aktivitas pembinaan, para pengelola sekaligus para pembina ini menjalankan berbagai macam peran penting terutama yang mengacu pada bagaimana interaksi dijalankan selaras dengan hasil yang diinginkan dalam hubungan interpersonal. Sebab dengan hubungan antarpribadi, berbagai tujuan akan menjadi lebih efektif. Di samping itu peran yang tidak kalah penting adalah peran sebagai pemberi informasi terutama dalam upaya pembentukan pribadi anak jalanan agar menjadi lebih baik, dan nantinya mampu mandiri serta memperoleh berbagai kesempatan untuk mendapatkan keahlian dan ketrampilan.

Peran yang juga sangat penting adalah peran sebagai pengambil keputusan yang tepat dalam rangka pembentukan pribadi anak jalanan untuk mau berubah ke arah lebih baik. Dalam hal ini tentunya seluruh upaya dilakukan dengan komunikasi. Karena dengan komunikasi diharapkan para anak jalanan ini akan memiliki konsep diri yang positif sehingga akan optimis dalam memandang masa depannya. Tidak kalah pentingnya juga adalah para anak jalanan ini akan memiliki jati diri dan eksistensi yang lebih baik lagi di masyarakat. Stigma-stigma yang mungkin sering hinggap di mereka dengan julukan ‘anak jalanan’ atau ‘mantan anak jalanan’ akan dapat dihilangkan atau bahkan akan mampu membentuk persepsi di masyarakat lebih baik lagi.

Informan lain, Ali yang lebih fokus pada pengembangan kreativitas anak, menuturkan bahwa anak-anak binaan Sekar pernah menjuarai lomba musik se-anak jalanan DKI. Tentu hal tersebut membanggakan dan menjadi motivasi bagi anak-anak untuk terus meningkatkan keterampilannya sehingga memiliki kelebihan. Tentu saja mereka akan memiliki kepercayaan diri yang lebih baik lagi, apalagi ada pengakuan masyarakat bahwa mereka tidak kalah dengan yang bukan anak jalanan. Selain membentuk grup “gendang rombeng”, Ali pun berupaya untuk mengembangkan kreativitas berpikir anak. Sudah dua bulan terakhir (Oktober-Nopember 2012) Ali mulai menggalakan acara nonton bareng di akhir pekan.

Tidak dipungkiri bahwa kegiatan-kegiatan kreatif yang diprogramkan oleh SEKAR sedikit banyak telah berdampak dan menimbulkan semangat pada anak-anak binaannya dan juga diupayakan untuk memupuk kepercayaan dan konsep diri mereka. Yang paling awal dalam membentuk konsep diri ini adalah keluarga. Dari para informan yang dijadikan sebagai narasumber sebagian besar adalah memiliki latar belakang orangtua yang tidak menyenangkan seperti broken *home* (hasil perceraian), ataupun tidak memiliki orangtua lengkap. Walaupun ada juga yang memiliki orangtua lengkap dan dalam keseharian mereka pulang ke rumah orangtuanya, dan juga menyempatkan mengobrol dengan ibunya. Seperti yang dilakukan oleh seorang anak

jalanan yang bernama Desi Apriani,” kalau tidak ada kegiatan, saya di rumah saja, *paling* ngobrol sama mamah, terus *maen* sama teman”.

Bahkan di antara anak jalanan yang menjadi sumber penelitian ini, justru orangtua merekalah yang mendorong mereka turun ke jalan untuk membantu mencari nafkah. Seperti dikemukakan oleh Anan, “saya waktu itu ngamen 1 tahun, untuk membantu orangtua, uangnya *dikasih* ke orangtua untuk keperluan sehari-hari”. Jadi peranan yang dijalankan oleh pengelola SEKAR sedikit banyak membantu menciptakan kepercayaan dan konsep diri yang baru pada anak jalanan. Desi misalnya, selalu mengikuti kegiatan menari, serta bermusik ini kedepannya berharap memiliki grup band sendiri, “*desi mah* mau bikin band, mau jadi drummer”, begitu pula halnya dengan informan anak jalanan lainnya, Rini yang bercita-cita ingin menjadi gitaris.

4.4 UPAYA PENGELOLAAN KOMUNIKASI DAN INTERAKSI PENGELOLA RUMAH SINGGAH SEKAR DALAM MEMBANGUN KEAKRABAN DENGAN ANAK-ANAK JALANAN

Proses berikutnya setelah melakukan perekrutan pada anak-anak jalanan adalah mulai melakukan pembinaan. Ada dua cara pembinaan yang dilakukan pengelola rumah singgah SEKAR, yakni dengan memanfaatkan *Community Base* dan *Center Base*. *Community Base* artinya pembinaan dilakukan melalui kerjasama dengan lingkungan masyarakat dimana sejumlah anak-anak jalanan dari daerah tersebut menjadi binaan Rumah Singgah Sekar. Sampai saat sekarang *community base* yang sudah dibentuk dan berjalan ada di Pedongkelan. SEKAR bekerjasama dengan Rukun Warga setempat. Wardoyo mengatakan,

“...salah satu *community base* kami yang sudah berjalan ada di Pedongkelan. Kegiatan di sana berupa mengaji dan belajar, sesekali relawan kami mengunjungi daerah tersebut. Dan ini bentuk kerjasama dengan masyarakat, di mana masyarakatnya turut membantu dalam pembinaan anak-anak jalanan di sana. Ini pun menjadi bagian dari kontrol sosial masyarakat juga..”

Community base lainnya yang sudah dalam perencanaan ada di Rawa Bebek, di Muara Baru, Pademangan, dan di Taman BMW di Sunter Agung. Sedangkan *Community Base* yang saat ini dalam pembentukan ada di Taman BMW. Hasan menuturkan bahwa ada sekitar 37 anak Binaan Sekar di Taman BMW yang termasuk kategori *Hardcore* (kegiatan di jalannya lebih dari 9 jam) dan cenderung tidak tinggal dengan orangtua di daerah ini.

“konsen kami adalah anak jalannya. Oleh karena itu ada beberapa tahapan yang coba kami bicarakan dengan *stakeholder* (abang-abang/preman-preman yang menguasai mereka. Ada dua preman yang “menguasai” anak-anak tersebut yakni A & T. Jadi apa yang dikatakan oleh kedua preman ini cenderung dilakukan oleh anak-anak. Saya masuk dan ngobrol dengan kedua preman ini, dan keduanya mau membantu.”

Tetapi menurut Hasan, masalahnya saat ini adalah kedua preman tersebut ternyata saling bersaing, sehingga ada kubu A dan kubu T. Keduanya memiliki usaha warnet yang berkompetisi dalam memperebutkan ke-37 anak jalanan tersebut yang menjadi pelanggannya untuk bermain *game* atau mengakses internet. Selain *community base*, penanganan utama yang dilakukan Rumah Singgah SEKAR

sebenarnya adalah *Center Base*, dimana seluruh aktivitas pendidikan dan pembinaan saat ini dilakukan Rumah Singgah SEKAR di Rukan Mitra Bahari Blok E No. 23 Penjaringan Jakarta Utara. Pada awal beberapa anak mulai tinggal di Rumah Singgah Sekar, pengelola (Pembina atau pendamping) harus dengan sabar mengubah perilaku jelek mereka, menurut Ali,

“butuh waktu lama untuk membujuk mereka agar mau memakai sandal. Apalagi mandi.”

Ali juga tidak memungkirinya bahwa untuk mengubah kebiasaan dan etika berperilaku serta berbicara anak-anak binaan tersebut membutuhkan waktu yang tidak cepat. Hal ini dikemukakan juga oleh Hasan,

“Kami melakukan peneguran *by* proses saja. Sebisa mungkin kami tidak membuat terlalu jauh perbedaan antara di jalan dengan di sini. Jadi kita buat nyaman dulu mereka dengan membiarkan dulu saja kebiasaan mereka, tetapi sambil kita sedikit demi sedikit memberi nasihat.

Hasan pun memberi contohnya tatkala saat ini (sejak 14 nopember 2012) ada 2 orang anak jalanan perempuan yang baru masuk, Keduanya berbicara kasar dan suka merokok. “Selama dua hari ini kita *biarin* saja mereka merokok, Ketika dia meminta rokok, kita kasih. Tapi kalau terus-terusan, kita memberi nasehat perlahan-lahan dan porsi rokoknya mulai dikurangi. Lalu ketika mereka mengucapkan kata-kata kotor dan kasar, kita hanya mengatakan “eit..!” itu saja. tidak diperpanjang lagi.”

Penuturan kedua informan tersebut dibenarkan oleh salah satu informan anak jalanan, Desi. Menurutnya peraturan yang ada pada anak-anak diterapkan secara perlahan-lahan. “Pertamanya *kan* Desi merokok, pertamanya *dibiarin* dulu, lama-lama dikasih nasehat, dan lama-lama nurut *nggak ngerokok* lagi sampai sekarang”. Selain peneguran dalam bentuk lisan dan secara perlahan, pengelola SEKAR juga membuat peraturan secara tertulis tentang tindakan-tindakan yang dilarang dilakukan oleh sesama anak di Graha SEKAR. Jika dilanggar maka ada pemberian hukuman yang dibuat berdasarkan kesepakatan.

Menurut Wardoyo, melalui pemberian hukuman berdasarkan kesepakatan, diharapkan anak-anak memiliki tanggungjawab untuk konsekuen pada keputusannya. Jika mereka tidak menepati janjinya, mereka akan malu sendiri, sebab akan diperingatkan oleh pengelola dan biasanya mendapat *ledekan* dari teman-temannya. Hal itu merupakan kontrol sosial juga dari teman-temannya secara langsung. “Kami sengaja tidak menentukan hukuman, agar mereka memiliki pilihan, sebab mereka yang akan menjalankan, jadi merekalah yang paling mengetahui hukuman apa yang mampu dilakukannya.”

Supaya anak-anak tersebut betah berada di rumah singgah SEKAR, maka para pengelola SEKAR melakukan berbagai macam strategi. Antara lain *pertama*, masuk ke dalam diri pribadi anak jalanan; *Kedua*, menyesuaikan minat dan keinginan belajarnya tanpa memaksa kemudian mengirimkan tempat latihan yang sesuai; *Ketiga*, menumbuhkan kreativitas dengan mengasah otak kanan anak-anak jalanan; *Keempat*, membentuk group gendang rombeng untuk melatih anak jalanan ke hal positif; *Kelima*, membentuk aktivitas *nobar* (nonton bareng) dan diskusi bersama sehingga berkembang kemampuan diri masing-masing. Menurut Wardoyo,

“Kami sering ngobrol. Lalu ketika anak-anak mau masuk sekolah, pendamping turut menyediakan dan mempersiapkan kebutuhan mereka untuk sekolah. Seperti mengantar mereka membeli buku. Itu salah satu pendekatan bahwa kakak-kakak pendamping sebagai pengganti orangtua. Selebihnya kita ajak ngobrol secara pribadi dan diskusi secara berkelompok.”

Kegiatan-kegiatan pun menjadi sarana untuk saling mengakrabkan antara pengelola (pendamping) dengan anak, ataupun di antara sesama anak. Berbagai macam kegiatan tersebut meliputi olahraga futsal bersama, Sholat berjamaah, mengaji, belajar Bahasa Inggris, belajar menulis, membaca serta menghitung, serta kegiatan bermusik dan menonton film bersama di Aula. Kegiatan tersebut biasanya dilakukan setelah mereka pulang sekolah yakni di siang hari, sore, malam bahkan di akhir pekan. Wardoyo mengatakan,

“Ada kelompok musik rombeng. Mereka dibimbing oleh seorang pendamping untuk mengembangkan kreatifitasnya. Kebetulan juga dari beberapa universitas seperti Trisakti, Binus, Atmajaya suka mengisi bimbingan belajar. Anak-anak diajarin futsal, dan ketika anak-anak meminta seragam futsal, ya kita *bikin*. Hal itu juga sebagai sarana bagi anak-anak untuk dekat satu sama lainnya”

Kelompok musik rombeng ini dimotori oleh Ali. “saya *ngajarin* mereka main musik, peralatannya bisa kaleng, ember *dipentungin*. Akhirnya saya pikir untuk membuat grup musik dengan peralatan rombeng.”³⁵ Menurut Ali bukan tidak mudah membuat nada-nada yang enak dari kaleng, “kita harus memikirkan bagaimana caranya supaya enak didengar,”. Dengan demikian dapat disimpulkan bahwa Cara proses penertiban anak jalanan ketika baru masuk bergabung dengan rumah singgah, cenderung dengan pendekatan antar pribadi: dengan menanamkan “percaya” pada mereka. dengan menghilangkan “jarak” diantara mereka, masuk ke dalam diri pribadi dengan memberi dukungan dan nasehat sehingga ada perasaan tidak menggurui, diibaratkan aspal yang ditekan makin lama makin lengket, tidak dengan kekerasan.

4.5 Diskusi

Dari keseluruhan hasil penelitian, maka secara garis besar terdapat upaya pengelolaan komunikasi dan interaksi yang dilakukan oleh pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR pada sebelum pembinaan dengan menggunakan metode pendekatan antar pribadi. Pendekatan antar pribadi adalah pendekatan yang terbaik dilakukan. Karena dengan pendekatan antar pribadi maka akan terjadi komunikasi antar pribadi sehingga terjadi keterbukaan dan kejujuran dalam berkomunikasi yang mampu menjaga perasaan masing masing pribadi. Dengan pendekatan semacam ini maka anak jalanan terutama pada masa sebelum mereka bergabung dengan rumah singgah SEKAR mampu mengembangkan sikap untuk mengekspresikan diri tanpa diliputi ketakutan. Pada akhirnya apa yang akan dituju oleh pihak pengelola rumah singgah akan tercapai. Dalam tinjauan Teori Pengurangan Ketidakpastian, ada beberapa hal yang dilakukan oleh pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR dalam mereduksi ketidakpastian informasi tentang anak-anak jalanan tersebut, yakni: (1) menciptakan kehangatan komunikasi dengan meningkatkan komunikasi verbal baik kepada anak-anak jalanan sendiri maupun kepada orangtua anak-anak tersebut; (2) meningkatkan pencarian informasi tentang anak melalui pengenalan dan pendekatan kepada

³⁵ Wawancara dengan Ali, jam 14.40 hari sabtu, 20 Oktober 2011

orangtuanya; (3) menciptakan kondisi yang kondusif sehingga anak-anak mau mengungkapkan jati dirinya.

Dalam tinjauan teori interaksi simbolik, pengelola SEKAR dapat menciptakan relasi yang menghasilkan pembaruan konsep diri pada anak-anak jalanan binaannya. Stigma anak jalanan sebagai kaum marginal yang tidak beretika dan tidak berkecakupan, berubah menjadi lebih baik. Hal ini tidak dapat dipisahkan dari peran yang dimunculkan oleh para pengelola dalam membina mereka, sebagai bagian dari proses pengelolaan komunikasi secara simbolik. Sedangkan dalam upaya pengelolaan komunikasi dan interaksi yang dikembangkan oleh pengelola Rumah Singgah SEKAR dalam membangun keakraban dengan anak-anak binaannya, pengelola berupaya melakukan penetrasi sosial dengan dua cara, yakni (1) memperluas cakupan kegiatan. Hal ini terindikasi pada berbagai macam aktivitas yang diprogramkan oleh pengelola SEKAR. Mulai dari kegiatan berolahraga bersama, bermusik, belajar menari sampai pada aktivitas menonton bersama. Tentu saja beragam aktivitas ini selain meningkatkan keterampilan anak-anak, juga menjadi sarana bagi mereka untuk mempererat relasi baik dengan Pembina maupun dengan sesama anak; (2) memperdalam materi komunikasi. Hal ini terlihat pada bagaimana para pengelola tersebut melakukan pendekatan kepada anak-anak binaannya dengan cara mengobrol dan member nasehat setiap menjelang tidur, bahkan menjadi teman curhat mereka.

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*Aktif Menulis pada Media Warga Kompasiana

Communications for Development: An Analysis of the Role of Change Agents in Public Programs

Nicholas Goodwin*

Governments, non-profits, businesses and other social change leaders face significant and persistent challenges to their efforts to address public policy issues. Attempts to improve outcomes through use of social and behaviour change models and strategies have had mixed results. Social marketing and other communications programs developed to address social issues, such as alcohol-related harm among young people, often focus on narrow frames for individual behaviours. Such programs often fail to reach target populations, to meet their understanding of an issue and their means to address it. Public programs, for example those focused on health or education, often require “change agents” to effectively disseminate the messages that lead to social and behaviour change. This study will shed light on the moderating effect a community has on the effectiveness of change agents – peer educators, community health workers and counsellors – in disseminating information and influencing how it is received and used by members of any given group. How government-led and other communications programs identify, construct and interpret these communities, populations and publics, helps determine how the problem is represented and addressed. To borrow from Marshall McLuhan (1994), it is a community – the masses – which moderates individual and social change, by affecting both the medium and the message. The role of social dynamics, hierarchies of influence, information dissemination and consumption are often poorly understood or applied as vectors that influence behaviour change. Theories of diffusion of innovations and community psychology are useful to frame how information is moderated, shared and influenced within communities. This study will draw on these theories to develop a new approach to make social marketing campaigns more effective. This study will adapt a field experiment design to test this approach in two case studies from Australia and Indonesia, using qualitative techniques to verify the findings. This will combine the relative strengths of internal validity for experimental work and external replicability for qualitative analysis. The Australian case study will focus on alcohol-related harm reduction programs implemented by the non-profit, Hello Sunday Morning (HSM). The Indonesian case study will focus on ‘High-5’, an integrated hygiene improvement program managed by the Cipta Cara Padu (CCP) Foundation. If we can better understand how a sense of community influences change agents, we can design better interventions. This research will help governments, non profits and businesses to better understand how a community influences the dissemination of information within it and improve interventions aimed at achieving individual behaviour and social change.

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Competing Ideologies: Subaltern Television Audience and Religious Soap Operas

Inaya Rakhmani*

While scholars see the shift of paradigm in Post Authoritarian Indonesia as fundamentally a ‘reorganisation of political and economic power’, the notion that this change has rearticulated the discourse of nationhood is generally accepted. For decades during Suharto’s authoritarian regime (1965-1998), state television was used by the state as a tool for national integration, embedding in the minds of its viewers the concept of a nation that undermines religious and ethnic fragmentation in spite of the country’s slogan *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (many and diverse, but one). As a consequence of the shift from a single, state broadcasting system (1965-1989) into a thriving commercial system, competition has led television stations to incorporate Islamic content into their programmes to attract the larger Muslim audience. Consequently, *sinetron religi* (Islam-themed soap operas) emerged as a cultural and commercial phenomenon. Studies on the Indonesia’s television industry, though, have somewhat clustered into political economic approaches (Sen and Hill 2000, Sudibyo 2004, Armando 2011), social construction (Kitley 2000, Loven 2008) and audience interpretation (Ida 2006, Rakhmani 2007). All approaches, however, never failed to mention the country’s television infrastructure that is centred on the more developed islands of Java and Sumatra. Studies on subaltern audiences, at best, speak of Javanese rural communities (Ida 2006), inevitably, not unlike the industry it studies, ignoring non-Java and non-Sumatra audience. In this paper, I explore how ‘non-Nielsen’ cities respond to the industry’s imaginings of piety and the nation through *sinetron religi*. I selected Banda Aceh, Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam and Jayapura, Papua for several reasons. Firstly, both are the capital of provinces that have experienced separatist movements. Secondly, both cities have unique demography (i.e. Banda Aceh being a city implementing the Sharia law and Jayapura being a city of predominantly Christians). Both of these aspects have contributed to new findings in relation to how young ‘Indonesians’ in Banda Aceh and Jayapura refer to or criticise (Liebes and Katz, 1990) *sinetron religi* as part of their sense of identity. In doing so, I reveal contesting cultural practices and ideologies that challenge the dominant discourse of Islam and national identity in Indonesia today.

Introduction

Literature written on Indonesia’s television landscape after its commercialisation has taken note of how its infrastructure has been centred in Jakarta in particular and Java in general (Kitley, 2000; Sen & Hill, 2000; Sudibyo, 2004; Armando, 2011). The national discourse shaped by the only medium that still has nationwide scope is dominated by the industry’s reading of the cultural practices in 10 cities monitored by Nielsen (the country’s only rating body). Television programmes are produced according to what is interpreted by television stations as the tastes and needs of audiences in five cities in Java (Jakarta, Surabaya, Semarang, Bandung, Yogyakarta), two cities in Sumatra (Palembang, Medan), and one city each in Bali, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi (Denpasar, Banjarmasin, Makassar respectively). Hence, television content is produced based on the audience tastes of these cities.

This paper explores audience interpretations of *sinetron religi* by focusing on audiences not in Nielsen-surveyed cities. The paper tries to answer the question ‘would their local identities be in conflict with the dominant view constructed by “Jakarta” television?’ In doing this, I selected two cities, namely Banda Aceh (NAD—*Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam*) and Jayapura (Papua). The purpose of this paper is to investigate how “modern”, local, marginalised

identities of young “Indonesians” interact with dominant, commercially successful religious television programmes.

I follow loosely Liebes and Katz’s (1990) “critical/referential” model to identify the patterns in common responses between audiences. I contrast the findings from Banda Aceh with those from Jayapura based on the students’ responses to each clip, particularly regarding how the students’ responses compare with each other and why. Thus, this paper is divided into three large sections based on the students’ reactions to each *sinetron* clip, preceded by a brief explanation of the cultural context of the province, city, and school.

Cultural Context

Soon after the end of Suharto’s regime growing ethnic divisions emerged in the country. For decades, several regions had experienced inter-ethnic conflict stemming from deprivation of their rights to manage their own affairs (Sukma, 2003, p. 65). Later, in 1999, inter-religious conflicts, such as the Ambon riots in Maluku (between Muslims and Christians), occurred, which some observers attributed to Christians feeling alienated from the growing dominant role of Muslim figures in local government (Khoiri, 2011; Hermawan, 2006).

This growing tension was seen as a result of alienation and deprivation that “not only produced inter-ethnic or inter-religious conflict within a society (the horizontal conflict), but also brought about a more serious conflict between the state and the region in the form of separatist challenge to the existing state structure (vertical conflict)” (Sukma, 2003, p. 66). In regards to the two provinces in which are located the cities studied in this paper, Sukma explains three important dimensions to both separatist struggles:

First, there is a strong feeling in the two regions that the centre was trying to eliminate their distinct ethnic and religious identity. The problem was exacerbated by the fact that ethnic and religious identity often served as the basis for such separatist challenge. In Aceh, for example, the amalgam of religious and ethnic identity forms as a powerful basis by which the separatist movement distinguish themselves from the rest of Indonesia. Second, both the local elite and the society in Aceh and West Papua feel that they were alienated and deprived economically by the centre. Third, such feelings turned into hatred when the centre responded harshly, through military means and state terror, to repress any regional grievances. When the state structure that sustained such military means crumbled, the separatist drive grew stronger and even challenged the nation’s territorial integrity and survival of the state itself (2003, p. 66).

Studies dealing with Acehnese and Papuan cultural identity often mention the separatist movements.¹ In Aceh, the movement was motivated by a strong sense of local identity to which “Jakarta” did not respond well, which further exacerbated the initially small rebellion of the Free Aceh Movement (GAM—*Gerakan Aceh Merdeka*) into a collective demand for formal secession. Aceh’s long history of oppression during the New Order’s decades when Aceh was declared as Military Operational Area (DOM—*Daerah Operasi Militer*) was largely seen cultivating secessionist aspirations.

¹ I cite on the works of Aspinall, 2005; Aspinall, 2008; Kristanto, 2008 for Acehnese culture and Chauvel, 2005; Sugandi, 2008; and McGibbon, 2004 for Papuan culture.

In 2004, a Tsunami took the lives of 170,000 and became the catalyst for the Helsinki Peace Process. This ended nearly three decades of conflicts and failed ceasefire agreements with an historic peace agreement on 15 August 2005 between GAM and the Indonesian Government giving Aceh a high degree of genuine autonomy (Aspinall, 2005; Aspinall, 2008; Kristanto, 2008). As Peaceful State of Aceh (NAD—*Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam*), Aceh was designated a special administrative region with special autonomy (*otonomi khusus*) which in theory gave Acehnese a greater level of local autonomy than other Indonesian provinces (Kingsbury, 2006).

Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam is a multicultural province within a multicultural state. Hence, its political leaders not only face the need to integrate ethnic and cultural diversity into a regional framework, but also have to define Aceh's role within the Indonesian nation. During its violent past, which was characterized by exploitation and military oppression, there were good reasons to emphasize sameness over diversity and to build up the consciousness of a unified Acehnese identity. From both an emic and etic perspective, it is today widely accepted that there is such a thing as a homogeneous Acehnese culture which is rooted in a glorious, though troublesome, history of repression and rebellion and shaped by a strong Islamic piety (Schröter, 2010, p. 157).

In contrast to Aceh, scholars trace the separatist movement in Papua back to the colonial political structures of the Netherlands East Indies and Netherlands New Guinea (Sugandi, 2008; Chauvel, 2005; Chauvel, 2007). One of the central themes in a Dutch study of the Papuan political elite of the early 1960s was the antagonism felt by many Papuans against Indonesians (Chauvel, 2005, p. 49). Increasing numbers of Indonesians from all over the country coming to Papua played a dominant role in the local economy. This competition between such settlers and Papuans, that began in colonial times and continues until today, has defined their identity as well as the identities of the various sub-ethnicities totalling some 250 ethno-linguistic groups (Chauvel 2003; Chauvel, 2005).

There is a paradox about Papuan identity. Expressions of Papuan identity vis-à-vis other groups, particularly Indonesians, are made in very clear terms: 'we' Papuans and 'you' Indonesia. The differences with Indonesians are expressed in simple, physiological, cultural and ethnic terms. Externally, Papuan identity is an ethnic identity. In its political expression, it is an ethnic nationalism. The leading pro-independence organisation, the *Presidium*, is a Papuan ethnic organisation (Chauvel, 2003, p. 121).

Christianity is a significant element in Papuan identity (Widjojo et al., 2008; Chauvel, 2005; Kivimaki, 2006). Churches were in fact Papuans' first contact with the "modern" world, although soon after government and business followed (Giay, 2006). In 1965, the tension between the Indonesian government and the Papua Council had led to the founding of the Free Papua Organisation (OPM—*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*).² During the New Order, Amnesty International reported more than 100,000 killings of Papuans who were accused of links to the OPM (Langenheim, 2012; Gawler, 2005; Tebay, 2005). In 2000, in an attempt to subdue separatist aspirations initiated by the OPM, then President Abdurrahman

² According to Wing & King (2005, p. 1), to ensure the referendum resulted in incorporation into Indonesia, from 1963 onwards Indonesia worked to remove a sense of Papuan identity from the community. This included banning the singing of the Papuan national anthem, the raising of the Morning Star flag, and all political assembly.

Wahid assigned special autonomy to the Papua Province (Sugandi, 2008; Chauvel, 2005; Halmin, 2006).

Like Papua's special autonomy laws, Aceh's were also a response to rapidly growing separatist movements which had strengthened in both areas following the collapse of the authoritarian regime (Shaw, 2008; Schulze, 2004; McGibbon, 2004). GAM's separatist movement was seen to be deep and ideological, while OPM's is tribal and regional (McGibbon, 2004, p. 20). Despite this difference though, "by granting special political, economic, and cultural rights to Aceh and Papua, the laws represented a significant departure from the ways Jakarta had traditionally managed ethnic relations" (McGibbon, 2004, p. 1).

Teachers that I have interviewed from the two high-reputation state high schools selected also revealed ideological and pedagogical changes after the fall of Suharto. According to the Jayapura Vice Principal, before 1998, students were much more respectful towards teachers compared to the current egalitarian relationship (M. Wuyasa [pseudonym], personal communication, October 17, 2011).³ Wuyasa also commended teachers who use more democratic means to select the school's student representative body, which he communicated in a more positive light compared to the previous statement. In contrast to Wuyasa, the Banda Aceh school Principal regarded the changes after Suharto as uniformly positive. He states that his responsibility as state employee is to implement government regulation in the national education sector (Yanuardi [pseudonym], personal communication, August 8, 2011). He thinks that the regulation to support critical thinking among students is progressive and has encouraged creative thinking among his own students.

The Jayapura school that I visited was first established as a school for the children of migrant workers, coming predominantly from Java and Sumatra. As the school rose in ranking and reputation, the Jayapura government allocated funding to open affirmative classes as part of local government regulations under the special autonomy law to better support indigenous students – resulting in two annual admission intakes: one for general students (including indigenous students) and the other is the affirmative class (exclusively indigenous students).⁴

While indigenous students enrolled in the school's regular programmes are more inclined towards multicultural ideas, indigenous students admitted via the affirmative admission stream into special classes are, according to one such student interviewed, inclined to feel more privileged as they are being funded by the local government (M. Wuyasa [pseudonym], personal communication, October 17, 2011). According to Wuyasa and the students I interviewed, the subsidy has shaped a feeling of privilege among affirmative class students, which worsens the pre-existing tensions between migrant students and teachers on the one hand, and indigenous students on the other.

³ Based on my own observation at the school, Wuyasa's discontent at the decrease in student respect for teachers may be related to his own Balinese background. The growing dissent towards "settlers" continues to rise as pro-OPM sentiments become more widespread.

⁴ In this paper, I interview students from the affirmative class.



Figure 1. Jayapura School. Left: Jayapura school's assembly field, used for weekly flag ceremonies. Right: Mural promoting diversity, drawn by students.

The Banda Aceh state boarding school that I visited was founded in 1994 as an ambitious project by the NAD Provincial Education Department (*Kantor Wilayah Depdikbud*) to improve the education for students with extraordinary academic achievements to allow them to excel. In an interview with its principal, Yanuardi, he revealed that the school hopes to produce future leaders of Aceh who will achieve national and international recognition with “a German head and a Meccan heart”. Yanuardi also revealed that the school has just awarded three of their alumni, a pop singer, a doctor, and a pilot, with a school award. The award signifies that the school appreciates modern achievements and professions, while Yanuardi's own slogan for the school stresses both modernity and Islamic piety.



Figure 2. Banda Aceh School. Left: Banda Aceh school's assembly field, used for weekly flag ceremonies. Middle: Building wall facing assembly field. Right: Wall on building opposite to middle picture.

This view is solidified in two murals on the building walls surrounding the assembly field. The first mural is a drawing of technicians and an airplane to symbolise modernity through envisioning scientific and industrial progress. The writing on the wall says, in English, “The best preparation for tomorrow is to do today's work superbly”. The second mural is a picture a great mosque with an Arabic inscription of the Hadith that translates as “Work on behalf of the world as if you will live forever, and pray for the afterlife as if you will die tomorrow” (*Bekerjalah kamu untuk dunia seakan-akan kamu hidup selamanya dan beramallah untuk akhiratmu seakan kamu mati besok*; see Figure 2).

There are several differences between these two schools. The Banda Aceh teachers and students have global awareness and are keen their students can compete with “Jakarta and Java” standards (Yanuardi [pseudonym], personal communication, August 8, 2011). The students are very keen on participating in national competitions, such as English debates, and

students who go to Java for such competitions are seen as high achievers. During my fieldwork, the Jayapura teachers and students did not demonstrate such awareness or a desire to compete with Jakarta standards.

Table 1
Participants Background (Banda Aceh and Jayapura)

City	Name (Pseudonym)	Gender	Religion	Ethno-Cultural Background
Banda Aceh	Arif	Male	Islam	Gayoh
	Indra	Male	Islam	Aceh
	Dani	Male	Islam	Aceh
	Ira	Female	Islam	Aceh
	Fani	Female	Islam	Aceh
	Nur	Female	Islam	Aceh
Jayapura	Bari	Male	Protestant Christianity	n/a ⁵
	Domingo	Male	Protestant Christianity	Biak
	Enda	Male	Protestant Christianity	Serui
	Ciara	Female	Protestant Christianity	Sentani
	Della	Female	Protestant Christianity	Bonggo
	Prita	Female	Islam	Fakfak

Source: personal interview.

One of the affirmative students mentioned that, “Our choice is between being exploited by central elites or local elites. Either way, we are exploited” (Bari [pseudonym], personal communication, October 18, 2011). In the Banda Aceh school, there is a negotiation between global awareness and national competitiveness. In the Jayapura school, there is a contestation between resisting central elites or local elites. This theme emerged several times during the discussions, which manifests through the students’ responses towards the clips shown to them. All of the students that participated in the discussions were part of at least one student organisation or extra curricular club.⁶

Aside from the students’ background, having a general overview of the students’ television practice is important to understand how they use television and its role in their lives. The students were generally familiar with the types of *sinetron* showed to them. Most are light viewers (less than two hours a day) of these *sinetron* and a few are heavy viewers (more than four hours a day; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 2002; see Table 2).⁷

Table 2
Participants’ Television Practice

City	Television Practice	Perception towards Television	Perception towards Local Television
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⁵ Mentions he has lived in Surabaya, East Java.

⁶ I observed that the reason for choosing these students was in reference to my own letter of request for the participating students having to be active, outspoken, and able to express their opinions.

⁷ The students in Banda Aceh admit to being active internet users who spend more hours accessing the internet than watching television, while the students in Jayapura admit to watching television more often than using the internet. Banda Aceh students mainly access the internet through their smartphones and have Facebook, Twitter, Plurk, and Blog accounts while Jayapura students mainly access it through school computers.

Banda Aceh	4-5 hours/day	Students' television practice is dominated by "Jakarta" television programmes and 'Western' programmes through cable television and pirated DVDs. The students feel that there is a lack of local quality content in national television. They also feel that non-Muslims understand why there are so many religious (Islamic) shows on television (large market).	Most of the students do not watch local television because of the low quality in broadcasting compared to national television. They watch local television by 'coincidence', or when "it's there". They do, however, desire more local content to be shown on national television so that it can be of better "quality" (e.g. educative, informative) and attract a wider audience.
Jayapura	1-3 hours/day	Students watch television for entertainment and information. They watch national television to gain information from outside of Papua (including foreign content like South Korean pop culture) and to enjoy entertainment that is of better quality. The students feel that national television is dominated by, Javanese, and Islamic culture. The students feel that national television does not incorporate local culture into shows and tends only to broadcast news on conflicts or negative events in Papua. They hope that national television can play a role in reporting real conditions (culture) in Papua.	Most of the students watch local television for entertainment shows, particularly those that portray local customs and culture (such as Mop (Papuan comedy) and traditional songs). Although they think that the quality is mediocre and the shows not innovative, they have a sense of pride in watching them. Even so, the students' total amount of time spent watching local programmes is still far less than national television programmes.

Source: personal interview.

Some students even showed some parasocial relationship to the characters (McQuail, 2005, p. 565). Like respondents in Jakarta, Denpasar, Banjarmasin, and Makassar, they admit to going through channels randomly then pausing when they see a *sinetron religi* because these programmes are generally visually interesting, not because they follow the plots. The cultural context of the provinces, cities, and schools and the students' social demography and television practice establishes a context for this paper. In the next section, I explain the students' pattern of responses towards the respective clips shown to them.⁸

⁸ While common responses from students emerged in Jakarta, Denpasar, Makassar, and Banjarmasin, there were no common responses between Banda Aceh and Jayapura students. When I mention "common response" in the following, it is to refer to the common responses within the group of students in each city.

Responses towards *Hidayah*

Before exploring the content of the *Hidayah* clip, the students in Banda Aceh and Jayapura expressed awareness of the commercial logic of the television industry and reasons for Islamic representation within it. Firstly, the students see *sinetron* as a cultural product, in that these programmes are produced mainly to attract the largest possible viewership. The plot becomes formulaic and predictable, which makes it uninteresting for them to watch. Secondly, as part of “risk aversion” (Barkin, 2004), *sinetron* themes portray Islamic piety to attract a Muslim audience. This, to them, explains the proliferation of Islamic-themes during the *Ramadan*.

They mainly think that Islamic attributes in *sinetron* are not included to propagate the faith but to create an “atmosphere” (*suasana*) for easier marketing. Thirdly, they claim that, although religious celebrations are seen as marketing opportunities, the themes are mainly homogenous. In this case, the programmes are saturated with Islamic themes because the majority of the television market comprise of Muslims, making it commercially unlikely the television industry would represent other religions. The respondents positioned *sinetron religi* within the framework of Indonesian television as a culture industry, which allows limited diversity of content (Doyle, 2002; Bagdikian, 2004).

Banda Aceh students’ read the clip relating it to irrationality and the image of Islam, while the Jayapura students resisted such representations by claiming their own religious identity (Protestant Christianity). The former response is related to referential reading while the latter suggests critical reading (Liebes & Katz, 1990). In the case of Banda Aceh students, referential reading on mysticism in *Hidayah* did not emerge in the group discussion. However, during personal interviews, students shared more of their personal experiences on supernatural practices.

Acehnese’s Modern Islam

The students in both Banda Aceh and Jayapura referred to their own religious identity in their response to the *Hidayah* clip. There are three main features that manifested in the Banda Aceh discussion. Firstly, the Banda Aceh students own religious identity that is inexorably related to Aceh’s Sharia practices. This is shown in their criticising a media text that they perceive as “not Islamic”. Instead of seeking commonalities between their own Islamic practices with the practices represented in *Hidayah* (such as how the Denpasar students had responded), the Banda Aceh students positioned the *sinetron* as an object of analysis. As detached observers, they situated *Hidayah* as a commercial product that employs Islamic packaging to give it religious authority (“[The audience think] it must be educative because it’s religious”) and to exploit sensationalism (“These absurd titles attract people, but the message is lost in its entertainment value”).

Table 7.3

Audience Responses towards the *Hideayah* Clip

<i>Sinetron</i> <i>Religi</i> <i>Hideayah</i>	Theme of Discussion	Respondents	Excerpt	Keywords
	Islamic culture as commodity	Bandh Aceh students (referential reading)	<p>Ira: Perhaps because the <i>sinetron</i>'s theme is religious, the audience think that it must be good. That it must be educative because it's religious. And the rating goes up.</p> <p>Fani: I think the rating goes up because it's unrealistic. Like <i>Harry Potter</i>. But even though people are interested it doesn't mean that the message is absorbed.</p> <p>Anif: Also, shows with high ratings usually have absurd titles, like <i>Hideayah</i>. These absurd titles attract people, but the message is lost in its entertainment value.</p> <p>Int.: And what do you think of this?</p> <p>Fani: Depends on the audience. If they're able to recognise the substance, it's good. But if they think the show is mainly to trigger fear, it's not.</p> <p>Anif: Shapes a bad image [of Islam].</p> <p>Dani: I don't think it's educative. It mainly tries to instill fear. But <i>sinetron</i> [religi] of late, like <i>Islam KTP</i>, is more educative. Like making a habit out of praying is better than showing punishments.</p>	Religious, ratings, unrealistic, absurd, substance, fear, educative, scaring, punishment (<i>azab</i>).
	Islam and dominant culture	Jayapura students (critical reading)	<p>Della: Muslim audience would understand the show. But because we aren't Muslims, we understand it differently.</p> <p>Ciara: No, I don't understand the story [at all].</p> <p>Enda: Especially when verses are mentioned.</p> <p>(...)</p> <p>Prita: In a way, it perhaps teaches us a lesson. But because it's religious, we, as Christians, can't relate.</p> <p>Della: I don't like the <i>sinetron</i>.</p> <p>Prita: Yes.</p> <p>Int.: What do you mean?</p> <p>Della: The style of language is not common. It's jumbled (<i>campur aduk</i>). It's confusing, the way they speak.</p> <p>Int.: In this <i>sinetron</i> particularly?</p> <p>Della: In general.</p> <p>Int.: Confusing how?</p> <p>Bari: (<i>Mimis Jakarta slang</i>) <i>Lo gue geroh</i>.</p> <p>Int.: I am also from Jakarta, do I speak in the same way [as the people in the <i>sinetron</i>]?</p> <p>Prita: No, you speak Indonesian. If a foreigner (<i>orang luar</i>) speaks in such a way, people here would be offended. It is indeed their dialect, but it's somehow impolite.</p> <p>Della: Disrespectful.</p> <p>Int.: Towards what?</p> <p>Prita: [Our] local culture.</p>	Verses, lesson, Christians, dislike, Jakarta, dialect, offended, impolite, disrespectful, local culture.

- Ira: Between scepticism and belief (*percaya ngga percaya*).
- Int.: What do you mean by that?
- Ira: Well...
- Indra: Unrealistic. Weird. In ordinary life, such things don't happen.
- Ira: But it's based on a true story.
- Arif: I think the purpose of the *sinetron* is good, because it aims to give us a lesson. The moral of the story is visualised so that it's easier to digest by many people, so they can learn the lesson. I think it's actually good.
- Int.: Any other thoughts?
- Indra: I think that if *sinetron* try to teach us things that seldom occur in ordinary life, even if there's a moral of the story, it becomes ineffective because the audience can think that it's not reality. It's only fictional. Maybe it would be more effective to raise issues that happen on a daily basis.
- Ira: Well, people feel it's only a myth (*legenda*), only told to scare us.
- Fani: Yes and people tend to not believe it, so the message is not delivered to audience.

Secondly, the Banda Aceh students (like Muslim students from Jakarta, Makassar, and Banjarmasin), claim that the show is not educative, particularly as the students take the position of the detached observer and moralise ("Depends on the audience. If they're able to recognise the substance, it's good. But if they think the show is mainly to trigger fear, it's not"). The Acehese students regarded the *sinetron* as projecting a bad image of Islam because it was realistic ("I think the rating goes up because it's unrealistic" and "Shapes a bad image [of Islam]"). But, unlike Muslim students in the aforementioned cities, irrationality and mysticism was not a theme that dominated the Banda Aceh discussion. Instead, a student related it to a fantasy film (*Harry Potter*).

The students' arguments were centred on how both types, supernatural *sinetron religi* and *Harry Potter*, are "Unrealistic. Weird. In ordinary life, such things don't happen" and this is why they sell. The Banda Aceh students' used *Harry Potter* as an example, instead of citing their own personal experiences with mystic or supernatural occurrence. By comparing it with the non-Islamic text *Harry Potter*, the Banda Aceh students distanced the Islamic content from supernatural representation in the clip. This suggests that they normalise its irrationality while isolating its Islamic content ("Even if there's a moral of the story, it becomes ineffective because the audience can think that it's not reality").

The discussion was continued with a comment on how, when attempting to propagate religious values, packaging such values in rituals and cultural habits is more effective than representing fear and punishment ("Making a habit of praying is better than showing punishments" and "Maybe it would be more effective to raise issues that happen on a daily basis"), which suggests the students' emphasis on social reality in Islamic propagation through television.

Thirdly, while Muslim students in Jakarta, Denpasar, Makassar, and Banjarmasin also mentioned representing irrationality is not educative, they related this with "religious

modernisation” that marginalises old religion (Schiller, 1996). The Banda Aceh students, on the other hand, compared irrationality to a global cultural product. While the former performs religious modernity within a national consciousness, the latter is performance of religious modernity within a global consciousness. Their practice of Islamic teachings involves compatibility between their views on modernity (i.e. progress, higher education, belief in rationality, economic sustainability in NAD) that centres on Islamic piety. This piety excludes the dichotomy between “old and modern religion” that is apparent in other cities, including detaching and calling the show a myth or legend (“Well, people feel it’s only a myth [*legenda*], only told to scare us”).

The discussion in Banda Aceh was guided by critical reading. Referential reading towards *Hidayah* was done in only one personal interview.⁹ The most vocal student in the Banda Aceh discussion revealed in the personal interview that there are also urban legends similar to the plots in *Hidayah* in Acehnese culture. “It happened in Aceh. Someone, in anger, kicked his parents while they were praying and turned into a fish. I heard that story” (Dani [pseudonym], personal communication, August 9, 2011).

He disclosed that he learned this through his family and that although he had not experienced it firsthand he believed it to be true. When further asked why he did not mention this during the discussion, he said that there is no use believing such things. It does not help him progress in life, in which, among other things, sound planning for the future and hard work play a more significant social role. His dissonance on having some personal exposure to supernatural stories was normalised by modern Islamic life and its denominators (higher education, profession, being the “bread winner” [*pencari nafkah*]).

“We” Christians, “You” Muslims

The Jayapura students, on the other hand, responded to the *Hidayah* clip by reclaiming their Protestant identity and resisting the Islamic content altogether (“Because we aren’t Muslims, we understand it differently”, “I don’t understand the story”, “Especially when verses are mentioned”, and “Because it’s religious, we, as Christians, can’t relate”).¹⁰ The Jayapura students’ critical reading here interchanges with referential reading. They resist Islamic content by distinguishing between “we” Christians and “you” Muslims (I borrow Chauvel’s ‘we’ Papuans and ‘you’ Indonesians). Such divisions cannot be explained through grouping responses between critical and referential. The Jayapura students’ response towards the *Hidayah* clip cannot be separated from their social realities in distinguishing their own from Indonesian values by emphasising and linking together their Christianity and nationalism.¹¹

The discussion is then continued by highlighting the Jakarta dialect in the *sinetron* (“It’s confusing, the way [the characters in *sinetron*] speak” and, while mimicking Jakarta slang, “*Lo gue getoh*”, mockingly). However, although I did not speak to them with a Papuan accent

⁹ The respondent revealing this information was born and raised in Meulaboh, West Aceh known for a stricter practice of Islam. Another respondent revealed that the Islamic law is implemented more rigorously in the area; an example he gave was that female Muslims were not allowed to wear pants. Female Sharia Law Officers (*Polisi Syariah—Wilayatul Hisbah*) are known to ask them to exchange their pants with a long skirt that they make available for these occurrences (Dani [pseudonym], personal communication, August 9, 2011).

¹⁰ The two main denominations of Christianity acknowledged by the Indonesian state are Protestantism and Catholicism. Although the Jayapura students’ are Protestant, like the television and *sinetron* producers I interviewed, they subsumed this under Christianity.

¹¹ I borrow Chauvel’s (2005, p. 50) explanation on the interconnectedness between the notion of nationalism and Papuan ethnicity.

(nor with a distinctively Jakartan one), they did not find my formal Indonesian offensive. The Jayapura students' response to language use suggests that what they distinguish is not so much about "you" Indonesians, but "you" Jakartans.

In personal interviews, it was revealed that what the students criticise was not Indonesian nationality itself, but the dominance of Jakarta in national infrastructure and affairs, as well as the stereotype of Javanese culture as representative of Indonesia's culture. The excerpt below, which is an extension to the discussion on the *Hidayah* clip, illustrates this point:

- Bari: These new settlers... They use *lo-gue, lo-gue*¹², it's their habit but it shows arrogance.
- Domingo: They are the ones who are unwilling to adjust to local culture.
- Ciara: Sometimes they see [us] as villagers who are incapable while they, Jakarta being the centre, they think they are more able than us. Technologically, [their] competence, materially... We are still below standard, just below them. So sometimes they underestimate us, when we are not [less]. We have our own competences.

The excerpt above illustrates the dichotomy between Jakarta (centre) and Papua (periphery; Wallerstein, 2011). When the Jayapura students mentioned "they", they were referring specifically to Jakarta-Indonesians and by "we" they meant all Papuans ("Every area has its own culture. Like Serui, Sentani, every area is different. Biak. Every area has its own tribes, every tribe has its own culture"). The dominance recognised by Jayapura students is that of Jakarta-directed socio-economic infrastructure over their own, and the identity they use to resist this dominance is their own multi-ethnic culture. While they feel subordinated economically, they feel superior in terms of the richness of their own ethnic culture ("We have more [ethnic] culture. More unique than the Javanese", "There are more than 300 tribes and dialects in Papua").

The Jayapura students' rejection of Islamic content in the *Hidayah* clip cannot be isolated just to their Christian identity resisting Islamic content. Their resistance towards *Hidayah* is both related to their Christian identity as well as their feeling of Papua being subordinated by Jakarta. Although the responses went beyond the *Hidayah* clip (in fact the students did not speak at all about the representations within the clip), their interpretation stayed within the context of Indonesia as a nation state.

My own use of standard Indonesian did not offend them. It was the use of Jakarta slang in the *Hidayah* clip, as well as *sinetron* in general, that they took as offensive. In relation to the notion of reclaiming their Christian identity in response to the Islamic content in *Hidayah*, another part of the discussion reveals that Christianity can be a common denominator between ethnic differences within Indonesia. During the discussion, the students revealed that there should be more representation of different religions in Indonesia and also stated that, should Protestant Christianity be shown on television, it does not matter if the pastor is Javanese or Jakartan ("As long as the religion is the same, [ethnicity] does not matter").

In summary, then, firstly, the students were critical of the *Hidayah* clip and rejected Islamic representation in favour of their own Protestant identity. Secondly, this resistance cannot be

¹² Code switching in this context refers to switching from one dialect/language to another that is non-standard Indonesian, which often happens on television. Some come from *Betawi* dialect, such as the word *lu* (you) instead of the formal Indonesian *Anda* (Irawan, 2005, p. 1).

isolated only to religious identity, but showed how the students' Christian identity is not separate from their Papuan identity. This revealed the dominance of Jakarta over Papua in the students' social reality. But in their minds, their own ethnic culture, used here to resist Jakarta dominance, is superior in diversity and richness compared to Javanese (here, in the context of ethnic culture, the students interchange between Jakarta and Javanese culture). Lastly, for the Jayapura students, their views of Christianity renders ethnic differences unimportant with Jakarta not seen as a dominant power over Papua within the religion.

Responses towards *Munajah Cinta*

The responses towards the *Munajah Cinta* clip are dominated by the issue of Islamic culture as a cultural commodity, both in the Banda Aceh and Jayapura discussions. Compared to the students' reactions to the *Hidayah* clip, the discussions on *Munajah Cinta* are limited by the students' disengagement from the clip. This resulted them in taking the detached observer's position, which emerges in critical readings (Liebes & Katz, 1990).

The Banda Aceh discussion was focused on the commercial value of *Munajah Cinta* to explain such representation of Islam, which suggests that the students tried to understand the reason behind apparent reference to Islamic symbols that lack spiritual meaning. Only one student in Banda Aceh elaborated further on polygamy in a private interview separate from the group, mentioning it as in line with the Islamic thought that she practices. The discussion in Jayapura, on the other hand, is more focused on the issue of polygamy and contrasted this particular practice related to Islam with their own Protestant views (see Table 7.4).

A Generic Sinetron, but with Jilbab

The Banda Aceh students resisted the *Munajah Cinta* clip in a way that is similar to the discussions in Jakarta, Denpasar, Makassar and Banjarmasin. The difference is that they moved beyond their own reservations with *Munajah Cinta* and further expressed their views on why these types of *sinetron* are so profitable in Indonesian television or "television moralising". The Banda Aceh discussion of *Munajah Cinta* diverged into several issues.

The first is the issue of the *sinetron* having formulaic resemblance with generic *sinetron* that have dominated the *sinetron* industry since late 1990s. The students mentioned several characteristics such as being unrealistic ("The decisions taken [by the characters] are also unrealistic"), exploiting sensationalism ("Lots of violence and discrimination, like the one [in the scene] on the women's rights NGO").

Table 7.4

Audience Responses towards the *Munajah Cinta* Clip (Critical Readings)

<i>Sinetron Redigi Munajah Cinta</i>	Theme of Discussion Between Islamic Commerce and Culture	Respondents Banda Aceh students	Excerpt	Keywords
			<p>Arif: I don't really enjoy these types of <i>sinetron</i> because the plot is too convoluted (<i>berbelit-belit</i>). The decisions made [by the characters] are also unrealistic, lots of violence and discrimination, like the one [in the scene on] women's rights NGO (...).</p> <p>Ira: The difference is that they wear <i>jilbab</i>, but the storyline is the same [with generic <i>sinetron</i>]. Why do you think the <i>sinetron</i> is so popular, then?</p> <p>Int.: Because most Indonesians, I don't mean to discriminate, are less-educated. The industry workers make <i>sinetron</i> according to their taste, but it's the majority of the less-educated people who like these <i>sinetron</i>.</p> <p>Arif: Actually, my relatives who follow these <i>sinetron</i> share that opinion. But it's basically like addiction. Because they've already begun watching, they can't stop because they're too engaged in the plot. They actually do realise that the <i>sinetron</i> is too convoluted and unrealistic. Also because there are no other quality television shows.</p> <p>Fani: I watched it once, but it's boring. Not interesting.</p>	Unrealistic, violent, discriminate, <i>jilbab</i> (as packaging), less-educated audience, addiction.
		Jayapura students	<p>Della: Yes, not interesting.</p> <p>Bari: Why?</p> <p>Int.: I don't know. The storyline, perhaps.</p> <p>Della: But because there are many Muslims, many people watch it.</p> <p>Prita: Maybe the director is also a Muslim.</p> <p>Bari: The song is also popular, maybe it's that (...)</p> <p>Domingo: The storyline, hmm, goes against Christianity. We are prohibited from polygamy, while it is permitted in Islam. So maybe it's uninteresting because of that.</p> <p>Ciara: We're returning to the religious issue again...</p> <p>Bari: Well, everyone has a right to be loved fully. What my religion teaches me, I mean Christianity, we aren't allowed to be in a polygamous relationship because of that.</p> <p>Ciara: I don't really understand Islamic culture. Polygamy is not taught [in our religion], we're not taught about it. I won't watch this <i>sinetron</i> because I don't understand polygamy.</p>	Not interesting, Muslim audience, Muslim director, Islamic culture, polygamy.

A common response within the Banda Aceh students was their grouping of *Munajah Cinta* with generic *sinetron*, rather than *sinetron religi* that portray Islam (“The difference is that they wear *jilbab*, but the storyline is the same [as generic *sinetron*]”). In that, the students disregarded altogether the Islamic content in the *sinetron* and instead analysed why such *sinetron* have become so commercially successful. One of the more vocal students in Banda Aceh argued that the show is perhaps popular because it suited people of lower educational background (“The industry workers make *sinetron* according to their taste, but it’s the majority of the less-educated people who like these *sinetron*”). Like the discussions in Jakarta, by imagining the target audience of *Munajah Cinta* as “less educated people” who might be entertained by its content, the student distanced himself from the content and the *sinetron*.

Although such criticism had been expressed before, another female student contradicted the statement. She argued that most of her relatives who are addicted to such shows are well-educated, but they watch it anyway (“Because they’ve already begun watching, they can’t stop because they’re too engaged in the plot. They actually do realise that the *sinetron* is too convoluted and unrealistic”). The last statement “they actually do realise” negates the notion that the targeted audience is uncritical and unaware of the plot or are “less educated” and passive. This opinion is strengthened by the next response, which argues that it is not about its less-educated targeted audience, but rather it is an addiction shaped by induced demand and a lack of choice (“Also because there are no other quality television shows”).

Although the discussion in Banda Aceh is dominated by why *Munajah Cinta* is so successful, one student revealed in a personal interview how the symbols portrayed in the *sinetron* align with her own religious identity. She argued that its main plot, polygamy, was practiced by the Prophet (“[Unlike how other students recall it] it actually does have Islamic content, in the form of the Prophet’s *sunnah*. We can see that through its portrayal of polygamy”) and that *Munajah Cinta* has a setting of an Islamic boarding school (*pondok pesantren*). Therefore, she argues the show is indeed Islamic.

She contrasted herself with her classmates in a separate discussion because she herself is a loyal viewer of *Munajah Cinta* and other melodramatic *sinetron religi*. However, her own previous statement that, unlike the opinion of most of her classmates during the discussion, *Munajah Cinta* does represent Islam is followed by her statement below:

During *Lebaran*, there are special themes on *Lebaran*. There should also be special themes on Christmas. In *Buku Harian Nayla*, for instance, nothing in the *sinetron* made me want to convert to her religion [Christianity]. *Sinetron* is entertainment. It’s different from Christian spiritual reinvigoration (*penyegaran rohani*). That’s also how other religious followers see Islamic-themed *sinetron*, especially during the fasting month where most [television] is full of Islamic themes. Before, the characters did not wear *jilbab*, now during the fasting month they do. It doesn’t change someone’s faith, seeing these things. If it’s a show on the Pilgrimage of the Prophet (*Isra Mi’raj*), perhaps they would switch channels. But if it’s *Ayat-ayat Cinta*, perhaps they’re curious, what polygamy is like in Islam (Siti [pseudonym], personal communication, August 9, 2011).

The excerpt above actually strengthens the general view in the discussion (“The difference is that they wear *jilbab*”). The student argued that the representation of Islam in the

sinetron, such as the *jilbab*, does not make someone convert to another religion; particularly compared to shows on spiritual reinvigoration, where verses and religious texts are studied and related to the everyday context. The way Siti captured the difference between shows on spiritual restoration and *sinetron religi* is similar to the method of incorporating Islam in entertainment shows during the New Order. Siti argues that religion may be embedded in a *sinetron religi* without it becoming a tool for religious propagation. But at the same time she says that it is the cultural incorporation that makes it more acceptable to a non-Muslim audience (she even placed herself within a non-Christian audience as she watched a religious Christian *sinetron*).

Polygamy Goes Against Christianity

Critical readings were dominant during the discussion in Jayapura, particularly relating to polygamy. I would like firstly to compare the critical readings in Jayapura and Jakarta, Banjarmasin, and Makassar; then secondly contrast these with the readings in Banda Aceh. In the case of the latter, although the discussions there had also centred on polygamy, the students contrasted polygamy represented in *Munajah Cinta* against their own religious morality, television moralising, and the notion of gender equity. The students in Jakarta, Banjarmasin, and Makassar related the clip to larger social realities of religious leaders practising polygamy in Indonesia and public perception.

The students in Banda Aceh and Jayapura, however, did not make such links. While the Banda Aceh students rejected the idea that the *sinetron* was Islamic and regarded it as a cultural product that has, first and foremost, an economic value, the Jayapura students, as with the case of the *Hidayah* clip, responded to the *sinetron* by claiming their own Christian identity (“The storyline goes against Christianity” and “What my religion teachers me, I mean Christianity, we aren’t allowed to be in a polygamous relationship because of that”). The reason the Jayapura students did not relate to the *sinetron* is not because of its religious commodification (as was the case of the Banda Aceh students), but because polygamy is not part of their Christian identity.

However, although their instant response towards the *Munajah Cinta* clip is to distance themselves from any Islamic representation on the basis of their own Christian identity, in another part of the discussion, the students acknowledged their own habit of watching *sinetron religi*, illustrated in the excerpt below:

- Ciara: [Represent other religions] as we practice it. It’s important to respect each other.
- Domingo: Yes, I’d prefer that, to include other religions.
- Int.: Like how?
- Domingo: Like in *sinetron*. Once in a while, include Christianity. Not always people with *jilbab*.
- Int.: Can you recall titles of Islamic *sinetron*?
- Domingo: *Cinta Fitri*.
- Bari: *Khadijah dan Khalifah*.
- Della: *Safa dan Marwah*.
- Ciara: *Kupinang Kau dengan Bismillah* (I Will Propose to You with God’s Name).
- Int.: How do you know all of these titles?

- Della: What else can we watch? Those are the only things broadcasted, so we watch them.
- Int.: Why not turn off the television?
- Della: Ah. It's not a big deal. We watch it, it's entertaining.
- Enda: Just turn on the volume. Listen to the noise.

There are two important elements to note in the excerpt above. The first, a student expressed the desire for more equal representation of other religions in Indonesian television. In other parts of the discussion and private interviews, such desires were also expressed often (“It’s unfair, not showing other religions”, “Most of Papuans are Christians. When we watch commercial television and there are no Christians portrayed, it makes me feel ignored”, “Every morning, afternoon, evening, always the *adzan*. Sometimes it makes me angry”). At the same time, however, this desire does not prevent them from exposing themselves to *sinetron religi*, which relates to the second point. The students knew the titles of the *sinetron religi*, and even explained that they watch them for lack of better choices (“What else can we watch? Those are the only things broadcasted, so we watch them”).

This statement can be related to the Banda Aceh students’ reasoning on why such melodramatic *sinetron religi* are commercially successful – for lack of alternatives (“Also because there are no other quality television shows”). These statements suggest that the *sinetron* industry and its products do not reflect audience taste as was argued by the *sinetron* producers, because the ratings do not properly reflect preference, since much of the audience may simply have the programmes on as background noise (“Just turn on the volume. Listen to the noise”).

Responses towards *Para Pencari Tuhan*

The students in Banda Aceh perceived the clip of *Para Pencari Tuhan* (PPT) as the best representation of their own views of Islam, and both the students in Banda Aceh and Jayapura feel that they best relate to the PPT clip in comparison to the two other clips (“More educative and closer to our lives [*merakyat*]” and “[The clip] is easy to digest for viewers our age, especially the fact that it’s funny, so it’s easy to absorb the message”).

The respondents in Banda Aceh also mentioned that the main character in the scene cited the Hadith while commenting on the multiple congregational prayers to explain why they relate the clip to their own Islamic practices (“Here’s an example of faith without intellectualising (*beriman tanpa berilmu*)”). For the Banda Aceh students, the clip was seen in the context of their own Islamic rituals. They further argued that the scene was correct in terms of Islamic rituals (multiple congregational prayers are prohibited). While for the Jayapura students, the clip was seen in the context of moral messages through religious representation (“[Learning] through stories from other religions”). In Banda Aceh and Jayapura, the common response among students towards the clip is focused on how the portrayal of separate prayers relate to the fragmented political conditions in Indonesia now. The students showed an awareness of the country’s political discourse.

Table 7.5

Audience Responses towards the Para Pencari Tuhan Clip (Critical-Referential Readings)

Sin etron Redigi Para Pencari Tuhan	Theme of Discussion	Respondents	Excerpt	Keywords
	Unity and diversity	Banda Aceh students (critical-referential reading)	<p>Fani: When we watched the scene, we laughed. It is entertaining. And implicitly, Indonesia's condition is fragmented.</p> <p>Int.: And what do you think of this fragmentation?</p> <p>Indra: If we approach the matter from Indonesia's election system, the 2009 General Elections, it was one of the elections with the most political parties. No other country in the world has so many political parties. So it can be said that Indonesia's current condition is fragmented. Having an ideology as their only power, in the end these parties are very weak. Like the scene, the congregation is comprised of only three people each, but there are three imams. So do you think being united is better than being fragmented then?</p> <p>Int.: Depends. Not in every aspect. We believe in diversity, right, so pluralism is needed. Arif: Fragmentation can also be seen as plurality. I don't want to blame our government's multi party system, that there should only be one political party. I don't see it that way. We need diversity, but the people need to be unified. Indonesian people need to have the same mission to advance the country. So let us be diverse but with one goal. Not everything has to be equal. Diversity is needed but we need to walk to the same goal.</p> <p>Int.: What is this goal?</p> <p>Arif: In the context of the parliament's work, people's welfare.</p> <p>Indra: For a better Indonesia.</p>	Fragmentation, political parties, ideology, congregation, diversity, pluralism unified, mission, welfare.
		Jayapura students (critical-referential reading)	<p>Bari: The one we just saw... There are many political parties but no power, it's criticism towards politics actually.</p> <p>Int.: What do you mean?</p> <p>Bari: Well... That it is better to have a few political parties, but with power directly to local government. But this is divided, but can't be used for any good.</p> <p>Int.: Do you agree with the criticism?</p> <p>Bari: Yes.</p> <p>Prita: I think it's the comedy.</p> <p>Della: This one is appealing.</p> <p>Domingo: I think... This clip is about how all religions, if all religions united, we'd be strong. Every religion is the same.</p> <p>Ciara: I think as long as there's no... Contradiction to our religion, in the storyline. And it's more enjoyable because of comedy. We can relate. (...) It teaches us to have good character. Religious tolerance, that's what I absorbed. Through stories from other religions.</p> <p>Bari:</p>	Local government, unity, contradict [our] religion, religious tolerance.

The second common response is that students related the text to their own opinions, albeit different in the two locations. In Banda Aceh, the clip triggered a discussion on the difference between fragmentation, diversity and national unity. In Jayapura, the clip triggered a discussion about how the popular packaging of an otherwise Islamic show can promote religious tolerance. Both responses show that while having some emotional engagement to the PPT clip, the students also took the detached observer's position and assessed the clip in comparison to their perception of the country's politics.

Unified Diversity

The discussion in Banda Aceh centres on the analogy between the multiple congregational prayers with the country's political fragmentation in which several important views surfaced. The first view relates to the implicit message about Indonesia's fragmentation through the current multiparty system. There was blame on a lack of solid leadership, referring to the scene where there are multiple imams leading multiple prayers ("Like the scene, the congregation is comprised of only three people each, but there are three *imam*"). This view suggests a desire for unification between political differences, seeking unity. The second view, acknowledges plurality, without specifying the type, as another form of fragmentation.

A desire for unification is present, but without erasing the particularity of the members of the nation ("We need diversity, but the people need to be unified"). Diversity can be managed as long as the people share the same goal of striving for economic and social welfare ("We need diversity, but the people need to be unified" and "In the context the parliament's work, people's welfare"). The Banda Aceh students focused on a shared identity between "Indonesian people" through representatives (i.e. parliament), with a general interest of public welfare. Their choice of the terms were "welfare" instead of stability, security, or order (terms that were exploited during the New Order administration to validate state authority). This suggests that the Banda Aceh respondents place the authority for shaping a public interest with the Indonesian people rather than the state.

The PPT clip triggered a discussion on Indonesian Muslim comradeship and unification within a larger secular, political power. The students' own Muslim identity played a role in them understanding the meaning of the role of the *imam* within the clip, but related it to lack of leadership in the context of Indonesian secular politics. An important note is that the students did not generalise their own Muslim identity to apply to secular politics, despite them living in a Sharia society.

Their national consciousness includes notions of plurality. In the discussions about what plurality means to them, the students revealed their own perception of a multi-religious ("When I watched *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih* at the cinema, most of the people who came to see it were not Muslims. They can enjoy it for its entertainment value, which depends on the storyline") and multicultural society ("I often question why television shows portray Javanese culture. Why not cultures in Aceh and areas outside of Java"). The latter was followed with the awareness not only that Indonesia is a multi-ethnic society, but that there is also a centralisation of power between these ethnicities in the context of Indonesia's television system:

I often question why television shows portray Javanese culture. Why not cultures in Aceh and areas outside of Java. The answer is because the centre of it is in Java. But

why doesn't the government think about building television stations in local areas to introduce culture to the younger generation? Isn't that a better solution than adopting shows on a national level? Although better in quality, it's national culture, not Acehnese culture. So television should portray Acehnese culture to young people, so they are used to cultures that exist in Indonesia (Indra [pseudonym], personal communication, August 8, 2011).

The excerpt above revealed awareness of the cultural implications of the centralised infrastructure of Indonesia's television system. The students used the ideas of fragmentation portrayed in the PPT clip beyond the main Islamic content. Firstly, the students are aware of religious and ethnic differences within Indonesia and see these two as the main fragmentation in the country. Secondly, the students revealed an awareness of imbalanced economic infrastructure that further complicate this religious and ethnic fragmentation.

The themes that dominated the discussions in Banda Aceh suggest that the students in Banda Aceh think within the scope of the national discourse and are highly critical of the dominance of the Javanese (not Jakarta) over other ethno-cultural groups in Indonesia. At the same time, however, despite recognising that Muslims are the majority in Indonesia and how this implicates televised religion ("The majority of Indonesians are Muslims, so it is impossible to indulge Christmas"), they don't see these representations as threats to other religious groups or themselves ("Most of the people watching *Ketika Cinta Bertasbih* in the cinema were non-Muslims. I also watch Christmas shows, if it's only a film I watch it. If it's a spiritual show, I don't").

Power Imbalance

The discussion in Jayapura also revealed a similar awareness that PPT tries to criticise the country's political condition ("There are many political parties but no power; it's criticism towards politics actually"). The students ignored the Islamic packaging of PPT and related the social criticism to the condition Papua ("That it's better to have a few political parties, but with power directly to local government"). In another part of the discussion, this concern was elaborated in more detail. They expressed how imbalanced religious representation on television reflects a larger symptom of economic disparity between Papua and the central government ("This imbalanced representation is why we feel ignored").

- Prita: It is just a way so that more people watch their show.
Int.: What do you think of this?
Ciara: The television [stations] lacks awareness to include other areas. They don't realise what other areas need, what their strengths are, what they need to advance (*maju*). Each area can be advanced. They serve up the usual same, old stuff (*itu, itu, itu saja*).
Bari: Sulawesi is beginning to progress (*maju*), while Papua faces increasing constraints (*semakin kendala*). And when Papua threatens to separate, [they] give attention.
Ciara: Autonomy.
Bari: There are many changes since.¹³
Prita: Yes, as indigenous Papuans (*putra daerah*), we receive more attention. It didn't used to be this way, we were neglected.

¹³ Bari was referring to the Special Autonomy Law based on the context of the discussion and where it led after.

- Domingo: But Special Autonomy only trickles (*berkembang*) to central parts of Papua like Jayapura and Sorong. There is some progress here, but not in general.
- Int.: What do you mean by not in general?
- Bari: The money is not received by all. Stops at several hands.
- Int.: Several hands?
- Bari: Yes, rumour says it's not by Papuans, but people from outside. The [local] government wants to develop, but when they wanted to begin a project the money was lost.

The discussion above illustrates several important points. Firstly, the students are aware of the television industry's purpose to gain as much audience as possible and that this relates to the dominance of Islamic representation. Secondly, the discussion revealed that this imbalanced representation relates to slow development in Papua, because other areas fail to be aware of the strengths Papua has. Thirdly, the discussion continued with how this slow development has been affected by the special autonomy law, in that although some acknowledgement is given to indigenous Papuans, the law has not resulted in significant economic gains because of the corruption, according to rumours, of non-Papuans in government ("Rumour says it's not by Papuans, but people from outside").¹⁴

The second main response is in relation to religious differences. Although the PPT clip was of Islamic content, and the Jayapura students recognised the dominance of Islamic representation in Indonesian television and explicitly claimed they felt ignored as Christians ("Well, because there are so many on Islam compared to Christianity, or compared to other religions"), the students did not express negative views towards the Muslim audience or Indonesians in general the way they did towards "non-local government" or "several hands". In fact, the Jayapura students took a similar position to the Denpasar students in terms of finding a common denominator as believers ("If all religions united, we'd be strong. Every religion is the same", "It teaches us to have good character. Religious tolerance, that's what I absorbed", and "[Learning] through stories from other religions").

This second response on Islam as a religion in Indonesia revealed that the feeling of being ignored is more about vertical conflict (Sukma, 2003, p. 66) or a separatist challenge to the existing state structure; not inter-religious conflict (horizontal conflict). In fact, the discussion revealed that religion provides a normaliser for ethnic differences ("It is alright [for televised pastors to be of other ethnicities] as long as they're Christian"). While the students' responses towards *Hidayah* and *Munajah Cinta* revealed feelings of alienation from Jakarta and Javanese cultural dominance in television, the PPT clip opened up a discourse on tolerance and plurality. The discussion in both Jayapura and Banda Aceh extended beyond PPT into the notion of television as a space to represent multiculturalism and to question the economic infrastructure of the country's television system.

Conclusion

I mentioned initially that this paper investigates how the shift of paradigm from the New Order's national integration to the liberal economies of the Reform period shapes, and is

¹⁴ Since 2005, the media have regularly reported several cases of corruption in West Papua, among others Manokwari ("Kasus Korupsi DBH", 2012), Sorong, and Raja Ampat ("KPK Diminta Jelaskan", 2010).

shaped by, the television industry. Findings reveal that, while Nielsen audiences that I interviewed performed a “politics of piety” (Mahmood, 2007), students in Banda Aceh and Jayapura express awareness of religious and cultural marginalisation. Two aspects stand out in this paper in relation to how the Banda Aceh and Jayapura students respond to the *sinetron religi* clips.

Firstly, religious identity held a crucial role in their viewing of the clips. The Acehese students revealed their modern Islamic practices that focus on progress and modernity. The Jayapura students claimed their Christian identity in rejecting the *sinetron religi* clips. Both responses are rationalised by the students as related to economic factors. The television industry’s targeted Muslim audience had permitted such religious dominance, which resulted in misrepresentation of Islam for Acehese students and marginalisation of Christian representation for Jayapura students.

Secondly, the cultural context of both areas, particularly in relation to past (Aceh) and present (Papua) separatist movements, framed the way the students responded to the selected *sinetron religi*. The students in both areas showed a sense of awareness in core-periphery power relations (Wallerstein, 2011). This notion did not emerge in the discussions held in the Nielsen cities (although some students did show some awareness, particularly the Denpasar students). This awareness relates to the students’ criticism towards “Jakarta” and “Javanese” dominance in television infrastructure and content (Armando, 2011).

In Banda Aceh, this criticism manifested in the desire to compete with “Javanese” standards or to become equal. In Jayapura, it surfaced in the desire to be acknowledged for their unique cultural specificity or “politics of representation” (Barker, 2003). Findings from this paper reveal that the dominance of Islamic representation in television’s most profitable television format has triggered discussions on nationalism. This religious dominance made possible by commercial logic has challenged the notion of the students’ Indonesian national identity.

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Concentration and Ownership in Indonesian Broadcast Media Industry: Case Study of Mahaka Media Broadcast Unit

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Abstract

Concentration of ownership is one of the trend in media industry today. This condition tend to follow by the lack of diversity¹ of ownership that will also follow by the lack of diversity of content. In most cases, concentration of ownership will lead to hypercommercialism, where the commercial and non commercial content separation became unclear. In broadcast media, diversity of ownership and diversity of content is some concepts that cannot be bargain, since broadcast media use frequency that consider as public domain to transmit their message. As an institution that borrow public domain, broadcast institution must serve the public needs and wants. Unfortunately, because of the concentration of ownership practice, nowadays there is a tendency for broadcast media management to develop a similar or even integrate some aspects of media production and marketing. Mahaka Media is an examples of a media group that applies concentration of ownership. Mahaka Media has several broadcast unit: Jak FM, Gen Fm (Jakarta and Surabaya), Jak TV and Alif TV and several print media and also online media. Mahaka Media is a “go public” company that sells its stock in Jakarta Stock Exchange and also a part of bigger business conglomeration that has other business besides media business. The purpose of this paper is to explore the impact of concentration of ownership in broadcast media industry with Mahaka Media Broadcast Unit as a case study.

Keywords: Media Ownership, Concentration of Ownership, Media Management, Networking in Broadcast Industry

Introduction

Today, less than twenty large media groups control nearly all of Indonesia’s media channels. They are *MNC Group*, *Kompas Gramedia Group*, *Elang Mahkota Teknologi*, *Visi Media Asia*, *Jawa Pos Group*, *Mahaka Media*, *CT Group*, *Beritasatu Media Holdings*, *Media Group*, *MRA Media*, *Femina Group*, and *Tempo Inti Media* (Nugroho, *et.al.*, 2012, p. 5). Two of the mentioned companies (MNC Group and Mahaka Media) are public companies that sell their stock to the public.

Taking the companies public means that the companies sell stock to the public. Publicly traded media companies (companies that sell stock to the public) first practiced in 1963, but the explosion of this practice happened in 2008-2010, when about 25 US media companies filed for bankruptcy and most of them emerged from bankruptcy by relinquishing ownership to private investment firms, that will retain ownership at least until they can sell or take their companies public (Herrick, 2012, p. 7-16). Selling media company stock will bring a new way to manage the media company. What is meant as a new way can cause massive changes

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in the media management system and also the production of the content, which at the end also assume to develop some changes in the audience reception on media content.

In case of Indonesia broadcasting industry, the “go public” media corporation probably still not as to be worried as the practice of a more “traditional” practice of media management system: concentration of ownership. Concentration of ownership, happens when the ownership of media companies is increasingly concentrated in fewer and fewer hands (Baran, 2009, p. 41). As already mentioned above there are 12 leading media corporation in Indonesia. Most of them are based in Jakarta.

This paper explores the concentration of ownership, in Mahaka Media, especially in its Broadcast Unit. Concentration of ownership in broadcast media industry believe as a bigger threat compare to other media, because broadcast media use airwaves that is consider as public domain. As democratic country, Indonesian Government should guarantee that all Indonesian Citizen will get the same opportunity to use the airwaves. By law, Indonesian Government protect the citizens information and media rights by launching Indonesian Broadcasting Law no. 32/2002 that follow by the government regulations, and other policy. In those regulations, stated that all broadcast media cannot transmit their messages nationally. To cover larger audience, broadcast media have to build networks with stations outside their coverage.

Understanding Ownership and Control in Media Industry

Indonesian government consider concentration of ownership in media industry as an important issue. Undang-undang Penyiaran No 32/2002 (Pasal 18, ayat 1-2) stated clearly about the limitation of ownership and also cross ownership in private broadcasting company. In general, media concentration can be clasify in horizontal concentration and vertical integration (Mcquail, 2011, p. 256). Vertical integration is when a media corporation owns subsidiaries or is departmentalized within its organization to handle more than one primary function -it might own one or more of the production, distribution, marketing, or research functions of its business line (Herrick, 2012, p. 243). While horizontal concentration happens when media within the same level of media production merge in one corporation (Mcquail, 2011, p. 257).

Vertical and horizontal integration is common in the practice of any business. In Media industry, applying vertical and horizontal integration will bring synergy and economic of scale. This means that the company will be more efficient in conducting its organization. Herrick (2012) explains that synergy and economic of scale are major reasons for the success of conglomerates. By applying this business strategy, corporations will be able to lower the product or services price and even having a special rate from their supplier.

One of the practice of horizontal integration in broadcast industry is networking. What a network do is distributing programs simultaneously to its network member or commonly called: affiliates. Some affiliates are owned by the networks (owned and operated) while some are only share the programs and or advertising time without owned by the network. Linking station into networks will permit each station to share program cost and made it possible for large number of people to listen to major happenings simultaneously (Willis & Aldridge, 1992, p. 41).

Indonesian government believe networking will develop locality in broadcast media content and improve local economics. But if we observe further, some networking practice can be consider as one of the form of concentration of ownership. In Indonesia case, most network,

owned and operated their affiliates. Owning and operating the affiliates means that the network station not only will directing some of the affiliates program content and advertising time, but also own the affiliates assets. This means that the ownership of media companies is increasingly concentrated in fewer hands.

Based on how they share the programs and or advertising time there are several types of networking (Willis & Aldridge, 1992, p. 81-84): (1) Full Service Network, providing full schedule of entertainment, news, special events, and sports event to their affiliates. (2) Cable networks, cable programming services providing programs to other stations through satellites. (3) Regional networks, a more loose organization of network, sharing advertising time and or programs to their affiliates. (4) Special networks: one time only networks for the transmission of special events.

Not all studies show the negative impact of concentration of ownerships. Doyle in Kung (2008, p. 186) explains large media organisations are better placed than smaller ones to innovate and may well increase pluralism.

About Mahaka Media

PT. Mahaka Media Tbk., established in 28 November 1992 under the name of PT. Abdi Bangsa Tbk. *Harian Republika* is its first media company, that targeting in Indonesian Moslem community as its readers. Mahaka Media first initial public offering was conducted in 2002. At this time, the company has more than 1000 media practitioners as their workers and own 16 media business unit, including newspapers, magazines, book publishing, television (free to air and pay channel), radio, outdoor advertising media, animation and 4D theater, and also digital media. Mahaka Media claimed some of its media companies are the best in its market segmentation or specialization (*Harian Republika* as the biggest Moslem newspaper in Indonesia, *Golf Digest* as the number one golf magazine in Indonesia, and *Gen Fm* as the number one radio station in Jakarta). In 2008, Independent News Media Group (Independent News & Media PLC is an international media group which main interests are located in Ireland, Northern Ireland, and South Africa) with total investment of Rp. 42.500.000.000,- (forty two billion and five hundred million Rupiah) and Recapital Advisor with total investment of Rp. 25.000.000.000,- (twenty five billion Rupiah) as the stand by buyer. This total investment was used for the company's business expansion through the acquisition of PT. Praisindo Teknologi (Rileks.com) and PT. Radionet Cipta Karya (Prambors Radio, Delta FM and Female FM). The total value of those acquisitions was Rp. 32.500.000.000,- (thirty two billion and five hundred million Rupiah).

Mahaka Media owned seven broadcast media brand: *Jak FM*, *Gen FM* (Jakarta and Surabaya), *Prambors* (Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Medan, Solo, Makassar), *Female Radio* (Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Semarang), *Delta FM* (Jakarta, Bandung, Makassar, Medan), *Jak TV* (Jakarta local television station), and *Alif TV* (Pay channel TV station). In term of ownership, not all the stations are 100% owned by Mahaka Media. *Jak TV* for example, has several shareholders (Mahaka Media, Artha Graha Network, and Electronic City Group) and PT. Radionet Cipta Karya is the majority owner of *Prambors*, *Female Radio*, and *Delta FM*, while Mahaka Media owns 21% of the company.

The Practice of Concentration of Ownership in Mahaka Media

Mahaka Media was developed by non-media people. Erick Thohir, the founder and also Vice President Commissioner of Mahaka Media is a businessman with no media or journalism background. Thohir also a commissioner in TV One (a national television) and President director of Viva (media group owned by Bakrie Group). While the other four commissioners also not having any media or journalism background. In daily business operation Mahaka Media is run by media professionals. Mahaka Media has several investors as already mentioned above. One of them even a foreign media investment group that based in Europe, and the other big investor is a well-known Indonesian based private investment company.

With 16 media business units (including newspapers, magazines, book publishing, free to air and pay channel television, radio, outdoor advertising media, animation and 4D theater, and also digital media) Mahaka Media can be classified as a conglomerate. Most of the units in Mahaka Media were a product of a merger with other media companies. One of the mergers happened in 2008, when Mahaka Media expanded its business through the acquisition of PT. Praisindo Teknologi (Rileks.com) and PT. Radionet Cipta Karya (Prambors Radio, Delta FM and Female FM). PT Radionet Cipta Karya was one of the strongest players in the music format radio industry, with more than 20 years experience. This merger added Mahaka Media Broadcast Media Broadcast unit with 3 brands of music format/entertainment format radio stations. Each brand has its own network with total 12 affiliates in several big cities in Indonesia. Despite of the broadcast unit, *Harian Republika* was also a product of acquisition from the original owner back in the early 90's.

As other conglomerates practice, Mahaka Media performs both vertical and horizontal integration. In terms of vertical integration, Mahaka Media owns a radio consulting services and digital media developer. These companies give strategic operations (planning, organizing, controlling, evaluating), as well as creating system, concept, and creative strategy. While horizontal concentration happens by having several mass media brands as the channel to disseminate information and entertainment.

Even though in terms of ownership and management system Mahaka Media shows some concentration of ownership practice, but the concentration seems only happen in order to build bigger business network rather than practicing synergy and economic of scale. Herrick (2012, p. 242) explains that synergy can refer to several businesses, all under one owner, reinforcing each other by cooperating in a complementary marketing effort. In Mahaka Media Broadcast Unit, it is uncommon to find each brand synergizing with other brands within Mahaka Media. Based on the interview with the management of Mahaka Media, it shows that the synergy is not a common practice because each brand has different market segmentation. They believe the synergy will not bring good output if the core target of each media brand is not the same or similar. Even Gen Fm (Jakarta based all market segment music radio station), only share one insertion (called *Salah Sambung*) with its affiliate in Surabaya. This decision was made because the management considers the listeners in Jakarta and Surabaya have different needs and wants. So they give the opportunity for each unit to prepare their own research as a decision making tool for developing programs.

The management admit that they will practicing synergy in some media content that has similar core target. For examples: A music chart in Gen FM (all market segment music radio station) are also published in Tabloid Janna (Tabloid for teenage Moslem), Jak FM morning prime time program also on air in Jak TV in a television format. Synergy in the form of networking are practice in some of Mahaka Media radio business unit. Prambors, Female, and Delta FM relay their morning prime time programs from Jakarta. This might cause what Maryani (2011) called *Jakartanisasi*, especially because most of the affiliates are own and operate by the network that is based in Jakarta.

In marketing and promotion, each unit in Mahaka Media also has its own marketing and promotion strategy. They rarely bundling the selling of airtime and space all together as a group.

Conclusion

Concentration of ownership in Mahaka Media is not decreasing the diversity of content yet. But we still need to be concern about the possibility of that later on. As a media that own by a non media or journalism people, Mahaka Media runs its business just like any other business. They sell their stock in Indonesia Stock Exchange, expanding business by merger with other media groups, and inviting foreign investor are some of the practice. As other business, the key performance index of the management will only be on how much financial profit can be gain from the business units or how to expand their business network. Rather than fulfilling the public needs and empower them, the owner will prefer to fulfilling the public wants. Because what public wants will bring good rating and good advertising income, and bigger investor.

As a corporation that is build through merger, it seems like each unit in Mahaka Media still thinking not as a unit under one big media corporation. It shows from how each unit is not thinking of how to create programs or content that can be synergize between unit. In one side it is good for the public, since the public will not suffer with the decrease of diversity of ownership. But from media management practice, the merger is not developing efficiency and economic of scale, because sharing or synergizing programs or content is not a common practice in Mahaka Media.

Eventhough Erick Thohir as the vice president commissioner of Mahaka Media claimed that his position in TV One and Viva is independent, still we have to be aware that Viva is own by Bakrie Grup, which the owner is planning to run for presidential campaign in 2014. The possibility of synergizing between the media group is something we have to be worried.

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Convergence and Cartelisation in the Indonesian Media

*Ross Tapsell**

Like elsewhere in the world, there is uncertainty in Indonesia surrounding the future of news media, particularly print media. Indonesian media executives see their organisation's survival as dependant on its ability to converge traditional news platforms with new media content, and incorporate new platforms such as the ipad and iphone into their news delivery strategies. The arrival of these new platforms sees Indonesia move to an era of media convergence, where major media companies no longer specialise solely in print, radio or television. They now incorporate most or all of these mediums under the one media conglomerate. But these media companies also have other business interests outside of the media. Recently, the mainstream media in Indonesia has been described as 'cartelisation', as the Indonesian media is owned by a small group of prominent businessmen and politicians. Today, twelve media groups control the entire national commercial television shares. These groups also own five of the six newspapers with the highest circulation, and all of the four most popular online news media. Through convergence, views and events originally expressed through social media, if they gain enough popular momentum, are now possibly more likely to enter the realm of the mainstream media consumer. This paper will ask: What does this mean for media communication in Indonesia? In the convergence of both media companies and media platforms, who in Indonesian society is more likely to get their message out?

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Critical discourse analysis on the Ideal type of Modern Women (research proposal)¹

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Abstract

Topics in women and gender representation in textual publications have long been intriguing researchers from many different fields of study. Framing perspectives believes that media constructs social reality in such a way in order to encourage certain interpretations about particular phenomenon. Therefore, people became aware of particular reality in social world because media has brought it to them. And media reconstruction of that particular reality is interrelated with government policy and news media's own perspective for the event, and their own rules (Kweon, 2000: 166). Moreover, Media Corporation has the ability to broadcast their messages and communicate with various cultures around the globe. In doing so, there is no doubt that media's ideology will influence on how they create, produce, and broadcast their message to their audience. Critical scholar argues that this phenomenon will result on cultural imperialism. What critical scholar like Herbert Schiller concern in his publication *Mass Communication and American Empire* (1969) is that when Western Corporation broadcast their messages, it inevitably influences by western culture and values. This practice will eventually diminish cultural differences that lead to cultural imperialism. The focus of this study, therefore, will be on discursive construction of U.S magazines as the international brand vs. Indonesian magazines as the local brand. *Cosmopolitan* and *Cosmo Girl* will represent International brand where *Femina* and *Cita Cinta* will represent local brand. It will be interesting to compare both international and local brand because they both targeted on modern woman. By observing those brands, we will found how *Cosmopolitan* and *Cosmo Girl* represents their reality of modern woman and how *Femina* and *Cita Cinta* represents their reality of modern woman (as state in their media kit) who still value their traditional custom.

Keywords: *women, cognitive discourse analysis, global media corporation*

Background

¹ This research was funded by The Faculty of Sosial and Political Science, University of Brawijaya as part of its internal research grant.

² From 2006 until now the writer work as lecturer at Communication Department, University of Brawijaya, Indonesia. Several reports both on research and theoretical paper written by the writer have been presented on national and international seminar. The writer also publishes several articles both on national and international journal.

Topics in women and gender representation in textual publications have long been intriguing researchers from many different fields of study. Beginning with the critics of the traditional roles of females portrayed in non-fiction and magazines by the feminists, this topic has still attracted many researchers including in the field of consumer behaviour, marketing, semiotics, and sociolinguistics. This is especially true in the capitalistic economy where corporations have more resources to market ideal types of women through its commercial publications such as magazines (Machin & Thronborrow, 2003). Ironically, some contradictions are still found in the representation of females in public discourses.

Nowadays, the role of global marketing gives media opportunity to extend their market. Indeed, this media behaviour brings significant contribution to the globalization age. Illustrating this situation, Tunstall and Machin (cited in Machin and Leeuwen, 2003:495) stated,

“The flow of printed news and news-video footage around the planet is dominated by U.S. and British news agencies AP, CNN and Reuters, to the degree that probably over one billion people around the world will see a few minutes of their footage each day.”

Illustration above shows how Media Corporation has the ability to broadcast their messages and communicate with various cultures around the globe. In doing so, there is no doubt that media's ideology will influence how they create, produce, and broadcast their messages to their audience. Framing perspective believes that media constructs social reality in such a way in order to encourage certain interpretations about particular phenomena, as argued by Entman (1993: 52) “which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments”. Therefore, people became aware of particular reality in social world because media has brought it to them. Media reconstruction of that particular reality is interrelated with government policy and news media's own perspective for the event, and their own rules (Kweon, 2000: 166).

Critical scholar argues that this phenomenon will result on cultural imperialism. What critical scholar like Herbert Schiller concern in his publication *Mass Communication and American Empire* (1969) is that when Western Corporations broadcast their messages, it is inevitably influenced by western culture and values. This practice will eventually diminish cultural differences that lead to cultural imperialism.

However, one interesting piece of research is about the Hearst Corporation³ through *Cosmopolitan Magazine* conducted by Machin and Leeuwen (2003:495) shows that it is not always as simple as that. Their research found that *Cosmopolitan* local editorial teams carefully tailor their editions of the magazine to reflect local values, narratives and culture. But this does not entirely negate the Western imperialism thesis, since many of these differences are surface differences, beneath which, at a deeper level, similarities can be found.

³ Hearst Corporation is U.S based large diversified media and information companies. Its major interests include magazine, newspaper and business publishing, cable networks, television and radio broadcasting, internet businesses. In Indonesia, they known from their magazine; *Cosmopolitan* and *Cosmo Girl*

Moreover, Cosmopolitan has 58 international editions and printed in 34 languages including in Indonesia with bahasa Indonesia⁴(FMD⁵, 2012). Interestingly, Cosmopolitan readership in Indonesia is high and it became top best selling women magazine (McCleneghan, 2003). Recent discourse studies found that Cosmopolitan as an international women magazine disseminates its global brand of *fun, fearless, females* to many local cultures (Machin & van Leeuwen, 2003). It is argued that, the idea of women representation is emanated from the western culture in which Cosmopolitan comes from(Machin & Thronborrow, 2003; Machin & van Leeuwen, 2003). It is still unclear, however, the extent of the brand *fun, fearless, females* is localised to suit native cultures.

In Indonesia, Hearst Corporation not only published the Indonesian versions of Cosmopolitan but also the Indonesian versions of CosmoGirl, the teenage spin-off of Cosmopolitan magazine. Even though in United States, Hearst Corporation was folding Cosmo Girl since December 2008, Cosmo Girl Indonesia still alive until now and it is still written that it is produced by Hearst Corporation. There are no differences present from the name, logo, outlook, and packaging.

In addition to International branded magazine, there are also several powerful local brands that dominate Indonesia market. Femina group is Indonesian based diversified media and information companies. Not only publishing 14 magazines in Indonesia but their major interest also in radio, event management, production house, book printing and online publishing. They came into Indonesia market in 1972 with the launch of Femina, the first woman magazine in Indonesia (feminagroup, 2008). Using their tagline“nowadays lifestyle”, Femina also targeted on Indonesian modern woman just like Cosmopolitan Indonesia. But they emphasize more on Indonesian modern woman who still value their identity as Indonesian woman (feminagroup, 2008).

Furthermore, CitaCinta is an also Indonesian woman magazine that published by Femina Group. Just like Hearst Corporation who has diverse range of audiences by publish different segment of magazines, Femina Group also have the same marketing strategy. If Femina readership is Indonesian modern woman from the age 25-35 years old (Feminagroup, 2008) then CitaCinta was targeted on younger audience, modern yet single woman from the age 20-30 years old who still respect traditional custom (Feminagroup, 2008).

As globally recognised, Indonesia as eastern country has the largest Moslem population in the world (Barton, 2010). This fact will obviously influence Indonesian values. As research suggests, Moslems hold a more conservative values of women (see Kashani-sabet, 2005) than western cultures, although the degree of the conservatism may start to decline in some culture (Dialmy, 2010) including Indonesia. Refer to the fact that Indonesia also undergoing rapid modernisation with westernisation as natural consequences.

The focus of this study, therefore, will be on discursive construction of U.S magazines as the international brand vs. Indonesian magazines as the local brand. Cosmopolitan and Cosmo Girl will represent International brand where Femina and CitaCinta will represent local brand. It will be interesting to compare both international brand

⁴ Indonesian national language

⁵ The online database of information about female fashion models, modeling agencies, fashion labels, fashion magazines, fashion designers and fashion editorials since 1998.

(especially from U.S since U.S is a Mecca⁶ for modernization in Indonesia) and local brand because they both targeted on modern woman. By observing those brands, we will found how Cosmopolitan and Cosmo Girl represents their reality of modern woman and how Femina and CitaCinta represents their reality of modern woman (as state in their media kit) who still value their traditional custom.

Literature Review

Mass Media's (Magazines) Construction of Social Reality

Unfolding how media position in social life is best described by McLuhan (1964) term, "the extension of man". Media helps us to make sense our social world by providing information about external world. In doing so, media gives us a context on how we understand our social reality. Hence, it is believed that mass media have a significant influence on how people perceive social reality and how they react to it. With this power, media is just like a window that posses the ability to frame social reality.

The first era in studies of media effect supported the powerful effect of media. This believed was support by hypodermic needle theory. Hypodermic needle theory argued that mass media message is simply like a needle, once it is stab to our body then like it or not it will flow within our body or Berger (1955) call it as "The Magic Bullet" theory. Lazarsfeld's research (1955) on the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940 leads the studies of effect media to the new era. Lazarsfeld's research proved that public do not directly influence by media message. Instead, interpersonal communication proved to be more influential than the media. Here, media believed to have limited effect instead of powerful effect.

However, in nowadays media phenomenon, media is still believed as a strong tool with powerful effect to its audience, not in explicit way (you saw an advertising then you believe what it is said right away) but more in implicit or latent way (which make it more dangerous). Media have the ability to reconstruct social reality, which more or less is believed by its audiences. In many cosmetic products advertising, beautiful woman always characterizes with slim body and white skin or lighter skin (even though sometimes they use black woman still they will choose the one which have lighter skin than the original black woman), slowly but surely we start to believe that in order to look prettier we should have white skin and a slim figure. This social phenomenon is very common in Asian countries like Indonesia. There is a lot of whitening cosmetic advertising in Indonesia, which send a message "a beautiful woman is a woman with a white skin".

Research that was commissioned by Dove (cosmetic brand) on 2004 about beauty supported the previous argument. Dove research found that many women have low self-esteem because they cannot identify themselves as a beautiful woman. They feel uncomfortable to use the word "beauty" to describe themselves. This situation exists because they define what beauty is based on the media they are consumed, such as in cosmetic advertising. Advertising as one of media message, not only promote products and services but in the same time it also promotes particular worldviews and ideologies that define the parameters of how one might look at things and how they give meaning to it.

⁶ Mecca is a city in Saudi Arabia, which all Moslems around the world face during prayers. No matter where they are.

Adapting from Kweon (1993: 167), according to frame theory, in media frame occurs in four different locations: communicator, text, audience, and culture or society itself:

1. Communicators who create text, the way media package its text will consciously and unconsciously influence by media belief, value and ideology which interrelated with their stakeholder relationship, such as government, advertisers, and so forth.
2. Texts contain frames, frames in magazines can be manifested through the chosen word, the chosen picture, the length of the article, the type and size of the font, the source of information, the theme of the particular edition, the title and content of the article, the model being used, the cover and also the position of the agent. In this research, woman.
3. Receivers are guided in their interpretation of communicators' frames by their own frames (related to priming theory). This frame happens in the audience's side. The audience does selective mental information processing.
4. Societies culture at large "is the stock of commonly invoked frames" (Entman, 1993:53). The whole society, frames news a certain way. News stories could not be beyond the society's ideological boundary. This mechanism includes news text being manipulated within a permitted environment.

Two Perspectives on Global Media Corporation

In understanding the nature and role of global media corporation, there are two approaches - the liberal market place and the critical structuralist approach (Comor, 2002:312). These two perspectives will help us to have better perspective in analysing Media Corporation, nowadays.

1. The liberal marketplace

This approach argued that public have freedom to choose their media and have power to influence the media content, both information and entertainment. Liberal marketplace believes with the notion of "consumer sovereignty".

"Proponents of the liberal marketplace approach have always emphasized the authority of consumers who, by spending their time and money, ultimately dictate what is and is not made available by the media. For these analysts, the media marketplace is inherently democratic." (Comor, 2002:312).

Historically, from liberal marketplace approaches, media was seen as the agent of change for the people of the third world countries. Media has assumed to promote literacy and modernization. Daniel Lerner is one of the scholar that seen modernization as a way to make a better change for the people of the third world countries. For Lerner (1963, 341-342), "the isolated and illiterate peasants and tribesman (and women) who compose the bulk of the world population" should be exposed to "clues as to what the better things of life might be".

From that notion, it can be seen that western country was the superior country that have the right to show what modernisation (the better life) is. Therefore Media Corporation have to expand their wings to third world countries in order to expose peoples of third world countries with 'modernization'.

2. The critical structuralist

Unlike, liberal marketplace, critical structuralist approach believes that instead of having sovereignty to choose and dictate media content, consumer have no choice and power to influence media content. Marketplace itself is not a free environment but power-laden environment (Comor, 2002:315). What liberal marketplace call as modernization is indeed westernization. People from third world countries will be exposed to western life (which liberal marketplace assumed as a better life). Therefore, in choosing what they need people actually will choose what media choose for them. From marketing point of view, people will not make a demand on information, entertainment and products if they never had been exposed to them (Babe, 1995). We will never imagine having coke and burger as our lunch if we never had been exposed with those products. Woman would not so attached with Louis Vitton, if they have no idea about Louis Vitton reputation in branding modern woman. Comor (2003:314), critic to liberal marketplace is that “the liberal marketplace perspective is inherently uninterested in more complex historical issues, including questions concerning political-economic disparities, social stability and crisis, and the media’s role in shaping the general cultural environment.”

Women in Media

Study on woman become interesting topic alongside the raise of feminism movement. By the late twentieth century, women's studies courses were available at many universities and colleges around the world. Based on Artemis Guide to Women's Studies in the U.S (2012), 437 programs on women study were available on variety of university and institutions on United States. Feminism itself is the branch from critical tradition. On communication science, critical scholars interested in how discourse and text promote particular ideology establish and maintain power arrangements. Neumann (1997 cited in MacNamara, 2005:2) defined ‘text’ as anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication. In line with Neumann, Hoepfner (2006) argued that the term text not only designate for linguistic unit, but also all semiotic indications, such as images both moving and not, different colors, sounds, signs. In this research, the researcher argued that how women portrayed on media, would result on how women define what characteristics that an ideal women should have.

There are a significant number of researches that study on how women are portrayed on media (Banks, 2005; Nomm, 2007; Machin&Thornborrow, 2003; Hoepfner, 2006). McNamara (2005:1) stated that media content analysis has been a primary research method for studying women. By studying media content, we will be able to get the bigger picture of the cultures of society. Dove global study (2005) discovered that many women fell themselves under pressure because they don’t meet the criteria of ideal women as featured in mass media.

Methodology

Research Method

Discussing about power, the undeniable power of media has inspired many study on media content using variety of methodology, such as content analysis, framing analysis, narrative analysis, discourse analysis and so forth. This research itself used a complementary

combination of quantitative content analysis and critical discourse analysis. It is argued from Hansen et al. (1998), Shoemaker and Reese (1996), Macnamara (2005) that a combination of quantitative and qualitative content analysis should be used in order to achieve comprehensive understanding in media content. The quantitative content analysis was used to measure how women are portrayed on international branded magazines and local branded magazines quantitatively. This quantitative data will be used to support the critical discourse analysis (CDA). CDA will try to seek on how media discourse can create hegemony that resulted on class domination, racism, sexism, etc. Cosmopolitan and Cosmo Girl from Hearst Magazines was chosen to represent modern woman international brand magazines. Femina and Cita Cinta from Femina group were chosen to represent modern woman local brand magazines. The purpose of this research was focus on the content of those four magazines (both written and visual) and those magazines represented ways of the ideal type of modern woman. The aim of this research is to investigate how the “ideal type of woman” is constructed on international and local magazines, April 2012 edition.

Research Questions

In order to give focus on this research, the researcher proposed several research questions that will guide the research process:

1. How do international magazines by Hearst Corporation represent the ideal type of modern woman?
2. How do local magazines by Femina Group represent the ideal type of modern woman?
3. What differences and similarities can be observed?
4. How do these representation tell us about the image of ideal type of woman within Indonesia’s social context, nowadays?

Unit of analysis

1. Image that portray woman, every image that can be found on the magazine.
2. Texts that use to support the image, such as title, article, label, and any kind of text that came along with the image.
3. Image that portray man, only major image such as in advertising or in every woman image.

Code Schemes

1. Image

For the purpose of reliability, every image on the magazine were individually coded and analysed by two coders for each magazine. Intercoder reliability is essential and important for valid research. Two or more coders should be used to gain maximum reliability on media content analysis especially when human coding are employed (Neuendorf: 2002, Macnamara, 2005). Pilot coding was conducted during the coding to revise and check the coding scheme. Neuendorf (2002), Macnamara (2005) argued that conduct preliminary reading of text within the field on content analysis research can and should be done to identify the issues and messages appropriate for study.

Per cent agreement were used to measures intercoder reliability between coders. It is also conducted for each variable that is being studied. Lombard et al. (2004), Neuendorf

(2002), Macnamara (2005), agreed that per cent agreement is one of the most reliable and important assessment for intercoder reliability.

Coding categories from Berger in his book media analysis techniques were adapted to suit the purpose of this research.

Physical Codes	
1. Hair Colour	Brown
	Black
	Blond
	Other
	Not Visible
2. Hair structure	Straight
	Wavy
	Curls
	Not visible
3. Hair styles	Long
	Medium
	Short
	Not visible
4. Complexion	Pale
	Natural
	Tanned
	Darker skin
	Not visible
5. Body Proportion	Slim
	Curvy
	Athletic
	Fat
	Not visible
6. Nudity	Almost naked
	Lots of bare skin
	Bare arms/legs/cleavage/abs
	Covered
	Not visible
Fashion code	
1. Make up	Natural
	Middle
	Heavy
	Not visible
2. Accessories	Functional
	Non functional

2. Advertisement

Types of advertisement also coded in order to support the qualitative data.
Advertisement categorization:

- a. Cosmetics and Body care
- b. Fashion and accessories

- c. Media and technology
- d. Food and beverage
- e. Other

3. Text

For the purpose of critical discourse analysis, texts that use to support the image will be studied using qualitative analysis. Question like what is the meaning of the text, how the text is used to support the image or how the image is used to support the text, the word choices such as metaphors and similes used, whether verbs are active or passive voice, are the questions that helps researcher to analyse the text.

4. Man image

To support the qualitative analysis, how man are portrayed on every picture that depicted woman also analysed using these general questions:

- a. Relation between man and woman is it formal (professional environment), or casual (non working place environment).
- b. The outlook of man model such as clothes and accessories.

Data Analysis

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to investigate how the ideal type of woman is portrayed. Quantitative research provides data for the content analysis method. Description statistics used to show the frequencies of each variable. The reliability performed between coder were used per cent agreement:

$$\text{Reliability coefficient} = \frac{\text{coder 1 agreement} + \text{coder 2 agreement}}{\text{Maximum agreement between coder}}$$

There are different opinions on what constitute an acceptable level of intercoder reliability. However Neuendorf (2002:143) have concluded from many sources that reliability coefficient of 0.80 or greater is considered have high reliability, and Frey, Botan, and Kreps (cited in Neuendorf, 2002: 143) declared coefficient of 0.70 is reliable.

The qualitative methods will give an in-depth analysis of implicit meanings related to the research questions. A textual analysis aims to get beneath and examine more latent social meanings. This approach often regards culture as a narrative in which particular “texts” or “cultural artefacts” consciously or unconsciously link themselves to substantial issues throughout society.

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**DESIRE TO BE DEAD:
HOW INDONESIAN CONTEMPORARY WORK ADDRESSING SUICIDE¹**

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Inspired by a number of suicide deaths occurred at shopping malls in Jakarta in 2009, 16 authors of Sarekat Penulis Kuping Hitam (Black Ear Authors Association) worked together to create a novel—Lenka (2011)—which offers suicide in public place as its central theme. This research observes how fiction captures one small part of reality and exploits it through creative process. Given the fact that in Indonesia—whose majority of citizens are Moslems—perceive suicide deaths as a result of lack of faith in facing life difficulties, this research argues that fictional aspects of a literary work might be useful in scrutinizing the complexities enveloping social phenomena such as suicide. Furthermore, this research attempts to touch one big issue relating to endless efforts by societies or professionals—psychologists and sociologist, for instance—in rationalizing the cause of suicide. Through careful analysis of the novel, this research offers ideas worth to be considered: what if the cause of suicide is merely desire to die?

Keywords: *Lenka*, Sarekat Penulis Kuping Hitam, suicide.

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I. PENDAHULUAN

Bunuh diri mungkin merupakan fenomena sosial yang sifatnya paling kontroversial. Hingga saat ini, belum ada penelitian ilmiah—dari ranah psikologi maupun sosiologi, misalnya—yang sanggup menjawab pertanyaan paling mendasar dari fenomena bunuh diri secara memuaskan, yakni: Apa yang menyebabkan manusia berani mengakhiri hidupnya?

Bunuh diri sebenarnya bukan fenomena baru karena hal itu sudah dapat ditemukan dalam masyarakat purba.² Secara umum dapat dikatakan bahwa pandangan manusia purba terhadap bunuh diri berkaitan dengan cara mereka menerjemahkan hubungan antara dirinya, komunitasnya, dan dewa-dewanya. Fenomena bunuh diri dalam masyarakat purba juga cenderung berkaitan dengan doktrin sehingga konteksnya tidak sekompleks masyarakat modern.

Dalam dunia akademis, dua ranah ilmu yang dianggap menjadi landasan utama dalam penelitian-penelitian ilmiah perihal bunuh diri adalah psikologi dan sosiologi. Apabila psikologi menelusuri motif-motif bunuh diri dari faktor kejiwaan individu, sosiologi mencoba mencari jawaban perihal penyebab bunuh diri dengan memusatkan perhatian pada faktor-faktor sosial.

Dalam psikoanalisis—cabang psikologi yang memusatkan perhatian pada unsur-unsur ketaksadaran (*unconsciousness*)—argumen yang mungkin dianggap paling populer perihal penyebab bunuh diri adalah pernyataan Freud bahwa pelaku bunuh diri mengidap depresi semasa hidupnya. Selain itu, Freud juga menyebutkan bahwa setiap manusia memiliki insting kematian (*thanatos*). Dalam kondisi normal, dorongan untuk menyakiti diri sendiri sebagai salah satu manifestasi insting *thanatos* dapat ditekan, tetapi tidak demikian jika individu bersangkutan menderita depresi atau gangguan jiwa. Mirip dengan argumen Freud, Karl Menninger juga menyebutkan bahwa manusia sebenarnya memiliki insting untuk merusak diri. Salah satu wujud insting tersebut adalah agresi terhadap diri sendiri berupa perilaku masokistis (Arrohman Prajitno 1982: 53 dan 59–60). Secara umum, dapat dikatakan bahwa ilmu psikologi memandang bahwa penyebab utama dari dorongan individu untuk melakukan bunuh diri adalah gangguan kejiwaan.

Sementara itu, sosiologi menelusuri kemungkinan-kemungkinan penyebab bunuh diri dengan menitikberatkan pada dimensi sosial. Karya akademis monumental dalam ranah sosiologi yang dianggap berhasil membahas perihal bunuh diri secara komprehensif adalah *Suicide* oleh Emile Durkheim yang terbit pertama kali pada 1897. Hipotesis Durkheim adalah bahwa bunuh diri bukan semata-mata dorongan psikis yang bersifat sangat individual, melainkan dipengaruhi pula oleh dinamika lingkungan sosial individu yang bersangkutan. Ia kemudian mengkatogerikan fenomena bunuh diri ke dalam tiga jenis, yaitu: bunuh diri egoistis (*egoistic suicide*), bunuh diri altruistis (*altruistic suicide*), dan bunuh diri anomis (*anomic suicide*).

Bunuh diri egoistis merupakan jenis bunuh diri yang dapat terjadi apabila peranan individu kurang terintegrasi dengan lingkungan sosialnya. Kecilnya peranan individu dalam kehidupan kolektif lingkungannya berdampak pada bentuk alienasi diri yang kemudian mendorong individu tersebut untuk melakukan bunuh diri. Sementara itu, bunuh diri altruistis adalah kebalikan dari bunuh diri egoistis, yakni peranan individu dalam kehidupan kolektif lingkungannya terlalu besar. Bunuh diri altruistis ditandai oleh adanya motivasi untuk memenuhi kepentingan yang lebih besar. Contoh bunuh diri seperti ini adalah jihad. Terakhir, bunuh diri anomis merupakan bunuh diri yang terjadi karena lingkungan sosial tidak mengambil peran untuk meregulasi hasrat-hasrat individu. Dalam hal ini, hasrat yang

² Dalam disertasinya yang tidak diterbitkan berjudul “Percobaan Bunuh Diri di Jakarta dalam Hubungannya dengan Diagnosis Psikiatri dan dan Faktor Sosiokultural” (1982), Arrohman Prajitno mencontohkan sejumlah peristiwa bunuh diri yang dilakukan masyarakat purba seperti Cleopatra, Herodus Agung, ataupun tradisi *suttee* di India yang secara *de jure* dihapuskan pemerintah kolonial Inggris pada 1928.

dimaksud berkaitan dengan kesejahteraan (*economic desires*). Watak dari hasrat adalah tidak akan pernah bisa dibendung, dan berkaitan dengan hasrat akan kesejahteraan, seseorang tidak akan pernah berhenti merasa kekurangan. Apabila tidak ada kekangan terhadap hasrat tersebut, manusia akan berusaha untuk terus-menerus memenuhi hasratnya sekalipun sia-sia. Pemenuhan atas hasrat dapat berakibat pada frustrasi individu yang kemudian dapat berujung pada tindakan bunuh diri. Khususnya penjabaran Durkheim atas jenis bunuh diri anomis sesungguhnya merupakan kritiknya terhadap masyarakat modern Prancis pada abad ke-19, di mana nilai-nilai individualisme, perkembangan kehidupan urban, serta industrialisasi menyebabkan individu seolah-olah terfragmentasi dari lingkungan sosialnya.

Sebagaimana sudah disebutkan sebelumnya, meskipun memberikan sumbangan yang besar dan signifikan dalam upaya mencari kemungkinan-kemungkinan penyebab bunuh diri, dunia pengetahuan belum bisa memberikan jawaban memuaskan perihal fenomena tersebut. Penitikberatan pada faktor-faktor psikis sebagaimana dilakukan ilmu psikologi dikritik karena dianggap terlalu memandang individu sebagai sosok otonom yang seolah-olah terpisah dari lingkungannya. Khususnya psikoanalisis dikritik karena pandangannya akan insting *thanatos* atau destruksi diri dianggap memperlihatkan bahwa semua manusia memiliki kecenderungan untuk mengalami gangguan jiwa sekalipun dibesarkan dalam lingkungan yang normal. Sementara itu, sosiologi dikritik justru karena dianggap terlalu berpusat pada faktor-faktor sosial. Kebalikan dari psikologi, dalam sosiologi, manusia dianggap sebagai entitas yang sangat bergantung kepada lingkungannya.

Sementara itu, kajian-kajian yang lebih modern mencoba mengembangkan cakupan observasi perihal kemungkinan penyebab bunuh diri. Tidak hanya ilmu psikologi dan sosiologi—ataupun psikiatri yang lebih berfokus pada upaya-upaya penyembuhan gangguan kejiwaan—, kajian media massa rupanya juga mengusung hipotesis perihal adanya kemungkinan hubungan antara model pemberitaan media atas peristiwa bunuh diri dan bentuk-bentuk peniruan. Contohnya adalah tulisan Madelyn Gould, Patrick Jamieson, dan Daniel Romer (2003) yang berjudul “Media Contagion and Suicide Among the Young”. Gould, Jamieson & Daniel mengusung hipotesis bahwa media massa—dalam hal ini surat kabar ataupun televisi—berkontribusi besar dalam menyebarkan gagasan bunuh diri kepada remaja. Cara menyampaikan berita perihal bunuh diri yang terlalu mendetail dan mendramatisasi dianggap dapat memicu bentuk-bentuk peniruan di kalangan remaja yang memang tergolong usia labil. Sementara Bondora & Goodwin (2005), melalui tulisannya yang berjudul “The Impact of Suicidal Content in Popular Media on the Attitudes and Behaviors of Adolescents”, mengusung hipotesis perihal imitasi atas kasus-kasus bunuh diri yang ditampilkan media populer seperti film, musik, ataupun novel.

Hanya saja, bagaimana pun, kajian-kajian yang sudah ada perihal bunuh diri—baik dari sosiologi, psikologi, psikiatri, ataupun kajian media—pada umumnya memperlihatkan satu tujuan yang sama: bagaimana bunuh diri bisa dicegah. Untuk mencapai tujuan tersebut, dengan menggunakan berbagai metode, ilmu pengetahuan berusaha merasionalkan fenomena bunuh diri dan berambisi untuk setidaknya bisa menemukan jawaban pasti atas pertanyaan: mengapa manusia mengakhiri hidupnya? Meskipun belum dapat dikatakan sia-sia, hal itu bukanlah pekerjaan mudah.³

Berbeda dengan ilmu sosial dan sains, dunia sastra memiliki caranya sendiri dalam memandang dan merespons fenomena sosial, tak terkecuali fenomena bunuh diri. Bahkan

³ Dalam kata pengantarnya untuk *Suicide* oleh Durkheim terbitan Routledge 2002, George Simpson, menyebutkan betapa ilmu pengetahuan modern memiliki tantangan yang sangat besar dalam upaya mengurai penyebab bunuh diri. Simpson kemudian mengajukan sejumlah hipotesis yang kiranya perlu dibuktikan para ilmuwan modern perihal bunuh diri, seperti kaitan antara bunuh diri dan jenis kelamin, perang, kondisi finansial, status pernikahan, kehidupan di perkotaan, institusi agama, usia, bahkan dengan bangsa. Lebih lengkapnya lihat George Simpson, (2002), “Editor’s Introduction” dalam *Suicide*, London & New York: Routledge.

tema bunuh diri sebenarnya bukan tema langka dalam karya sastra. Sejumlah kajian literatur sudah pula dilakukan atas karya sastra yang mengusung tema bunuh diri dan memperlakukannya sebagai bentuk kritik sosial melalui media kreatif. George M. Spangler (1979), misalnya, membahas bahwa kondisi masyarakat modern—dalam hal ini masyarakat Amerika abad ke-19—bertanggung jawab atas tindakan bunuh diri yang dilakukan individu, yang dalam hal ini direpresentasikan melalui tokoh-tokoh utama dalam *Sister Carrie* (1900) oleh Theodore Dreiser, *The House of Mirth* (1905) oleh Edith Wharton, dan *Martin Eden* (1909) oleh Jack London. Spangler juga menyandingkan ketiga karya tersebut dengan buku *Suicide* oleh Durkheim yang juga mengusung kesimpulan yang sama, bahwa masyarakat modern yang kapitalis sebenarnya berperan dalam menyudutkan individu sampai ia mengambil tindakan ekstrem, yaitu bunuh diri.

Contoh lain adalah disertasi Deborah S. Gentry (1992) yang mengaplikasikan kritik feminis terhadap aksi bunuh diri yang dilakukan tokoh protagonis dalam *The Awakening* (1899) oleh Kate Chopin dan *The Bell Jar*⁴ oleh Sylvia Plath maupun mode *suicidal narrative* dalam kumpulan puisi *Ariel* (1965) yang juga ditulis oleh Sylvia Plath. Hal yang menarik adalah, baik Kate Chopin maupun Sylvia Plath juga mengakhiri hidupnya dengan cara bunuh diri. Gentry melandaskan penelitiannya pada teori Margaret Higonnet mengenai klasifikasi ‘bunuh diri maskulin’ (*masculine suicide*) dan ‘bunuh diri feminin’ (*feminine suicide*) dalam karya sastra serta teori Sandra Gilbert dan Susan Gubar—diambil dari karya monumental mereka, *The Madwoman in the Attic*—bahwa tokoh-tokoh perempuan dalam karya sastra didikotomikan ke dalam dua kutub ekstrem; malaikat (*angel*) dan monster (*monster*).

Gentry berargumen bahwa bunuh diri yang dilakukan oleh tokoh protagonis dalam objek penelitian, serta motif bunuh diri yang tergambar dalam kumpulan puisi *Ariel* tidak bisa dikategorikan sebagai ‘bunuh diri feminin’,⁵ di mana pelaku adalah perempuan yang dicap mengalami sakit jiwa. Gentry menyodorkan argumen bahwa bunuh diri yang dilakukan tokoh protagonis didorong oleh motivasi untuk bertransformasi atau mengalami kelahiran kembali (*reborn*). Analisis Gentry dikaitkan dengan konteks sosial yang melatari penciptaan ketiga karya yang menjadi objek penelitiannya, yakni Amerika pada 1900-an untuk novel *The Awakening* dan Amerika pada 1950-an untuk novel *The Bell Jar* dan kumpulan puisi *Ariel*. Dalam pandangan Gentry, kondisi Amerika saat itu menempatkan perempuan sebagai subordinat. ‘Perempuan baik-baik’ ditempatkan pada kutub ‘malaikat’ (*angel*), sementara jika tidak dapat dikategorikan ‘baik-baik’, perempuan yang bersangkutan harus ditempatkan pada kutub yang lain, yaitu perempuan monster atau perempuan murahan. Gentry melihat bahwa bunuh diri yang dilakukan tokoh protagonis bukanlah bentuk kekalahan melainkan bagian dari upaya untuk mendefinisikan keperempuanan di tengah masyarakat patriarki. Guna menghindarkan diri dari dua kutub tersebut, cara yang diambil adalah bunuh diri.⁶

⁴ Novel *The Bell Jar* pertama kali diterbitkan pada 1963 di Inggris. Saat mempublikasikan novel tersebut, Sylvia Plath menggunakan nama samaran, yakni Victoria Lucas. Pada 1967, *The Bell Jar* dipublikasikan atas nama Sylvia Plath untuk pertama kalinya. Novel tersebut tidak diterbitkan di Amerika—negeri kelahiran Plath—hingga 1971 atas permintaan ibu Plath maupun suaminya, Ted Hughes. Diambil dari: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Bell_Jar

⁵ Margaret Higonnet mengklasifikasikan motif bunuh diri dalam karya sastra menjadi dua kategori, yakni bunuh diri maskulin (*masculine suicide*) dan bunuh diri feminin (*feminine suicide*). Tokoh dalam karya sastra dikategorikan melakukan bunuh diri maskulin apabila ia bunuh diri atas alasan heroik; misalnya untuk membela kebenaran atau mengusung kesetiaan. Sebaliknya, tokoh dikategorikan melakukan bunuh diri feminin apabila ia bunuh diri karena mengalami gangguan jiwa. Lebih lengkapnya lihat Deborah Suiter Gentry, (1992), “The Art of Dying: Suicide in the Works of Kate Chopin and Sylvia Plath”. Disertasi tidak diterbitkan dari Middle Tennessee State University, hlm 1–31.

⁶ Hampir mirip dengan argument Gentry, tesis Fitria Mayasari (2009) berjudul “Subjektivitas Tubuh Perempuan dalam Meresistensi Ideologi Patriarki (Sebuah Kajian Berperspektif Feminis terhadap Novel *The Bell Jar* karya Sylvia Plath) juga mengambil kesimpulan yang sama perihal bunuh diri yang dilakukan oleh tokoh Esther Greenwood dalam *The Bell Jar*. Apabila Gentry melandaskan argumennya pada teori klasifikasi bunuh diri dari

Tema bunuh diri juga dapat ditemukan dalam kesusasteraan Indonesia modern. Contohnya adalah *9 dari Nadira* (2009) karya Leila S. Chudori ataupun cerpen “Andien” oleh Cicilia Angraini Oday yang dimuat di majalah *Horizon* (Oktober 2011). Dalam *9 dari Nadira*, dikisahkan bahwa ibu dari tokoh protagonis, Nadira Suwandi, ditemukan tewas bunuh diri di rumah. Uniknya, tokoh tersebut sejak permulaan cerita langsung dikisahkan tewas dan tidak dimunculkan sepanjang cerita. Plot bergulir dengan fokus cerita pada pengaruh besar yang diakibatkan dari peristiwa bunuh diri sang ibu terhadap sisi psikologis Nadira. Sementara itu, cerpen “Andien” memiliki pola yang mirip dengan *9 dari Nadira*, yakni tokoh Andien langsung dikisahkan tewas bunuh diri dengan cara gantung diri sejak awal cerita. Fokus cerita justru terletak pada reaksi ibu Andien atas kematian putrinya. Dapat disimpulkan bahwa kedua karya tersebut mengangkat bagaimana peristiwa bunuh diri bukanlah peristiwa yang semata-mata melibatkan individu pelaku, melainkan bagaimana peristiwa itu mempengaruhi kondisi psikologis orang-orang terdekat individu yang bersangkutan.

Berbeda dengan karya-karya sastra yang dicontohkan, novel *Lenka* (2011) yang juga mengambil tema bunuh diri sengaja dibuat sebagai bentuk tanggapan kreatif atas serangkaian peristiwa bunuh diri yang sempat terjadi di Jakarta pada 2009. Pada waktu itu, tercatat ada lima kasus bunuh diri dengan modus serupa, yakni pelaku melompat dari lantai tinggi pusat perbelanjaan guna mengakhiri hidup. Ide untuk membuat sebuah novel dengan tokoh protagonis mengakhiri hidup di depan umum dengan cara melompat dari gedung tinggi diajukan oleh Yusi A. Pareanom, salah satu editor *Lenka*, melalui milis Bengkel Penulisan Novel Dewan Kesenian Jakarta pada 27 Desember 2009. Caranya adalah dengan memberikan rangkaian kalimat pembuka sebuah cerita yang sebenarnya berfungsi sebagai pancingan, berbunyi: *Pada sebuah acara penggalangan dana yang meriah, seorang perempuan muda bergaun biru wisnu jatuh dari lantai lima. Namanya Magdalena, biasa dipanggil Lenka mengikuti kebiasaan orang Eropa Timur (neneknya orang Magyar, Hungaria), 22 tahun, mahasiswa dan model. Bunuh diri, kecelakaan, atau sengaja didorong oleh seseorang?* (Andina Dwifatma dkk 2011: 253).

Novel *Lenka* ditulis oleh 16 penulis yang tergabung dalam kelompok Sarekat Penulis Kuping Hitam. Mereka sebenarnya adalah murid-murid asuhan Yusi A. Pareanom dan A.S. Laksana dalam Bengkel Penulisan Novel Dewan Kesenian Jakarta. Mereka diminta untuk memberikan reaksi atas kalimat pancingan tersebut dan mewujudkannya ke dalam bentuk novel. Dalam wawancara, ketika ditanya mengapa tertarik untuk membuat novel bertema bunuh diri di gedung bertingkat, Yusi A. Pareanom menjawab bahwa reaksi pertama yang muncul saat mendengar berita-berita bunuh diri tersebut adalah simpati. Ia juga menambahkan bahwa sudut pandang yang ia gunakan ketika menyimak berita-berita tersebut adalah sudut pandang seorang ayah. Yusi A. Pareanom mengakui bahwa ketika ‘memprovokasi’ murid-muridnya melalui kalimat pancingan, sebenarnya ia menginginkan tanggapan kreatif yang bersifat simpatik atas kematian seorang perempuan muda yang memiliki peranan sosial sebagai anak, kakak atau adik dalam keluarga. Hanya saja, ia tidak dapat membendung kreativitas murid-muridnya yang ternyata menanggapi dengan berbeda.⁷

Cara novel sebagai salah satu bentuk media terbitan (*publishing media*) dalam menyampaikan tema bunuh diri tentu berbeda dengan cara media massa. Pada kenyataannya, media massa di Indonesia tidak hanya memberitakan peristiwa bunuh diri itu sebagai fakta, tetapi juga menyodorkan kemungkinan penyebab bunuh diri secara simplistik sekaligus menggunakan sudut pandang moralis dalam mengamati fenomena tersebut. Contohnya artikel digital *Kompas* berjudul “Fenomena Bunuh Diri di Mal Bisa Dipicu Gangguan Jiwa” (4

Margaret Higonnet serta dikotomi ‘perempuan baik-baik’ (*angel*) dan ‘perempuan tidak baik-baik’ (*monster*), Fitria melandaskan argumennya pada teori subjektivitas perempuan.

⁷ Dirangkum dari hasil wawancara penulis dengan Yusi A. Pareanom pada 29 Juni 2012 di Old House Coffee, Margo City, Depok.

Desember 2009). Artikel tersebut menguraikan secara singkat perihal persoalan hidup yang rumit, gangguan jiwa, ataupun depresi sebagai kemungkinan penyebab bunuh diri. Hipotesis tersebut diperkuat dengan kutipan pernyataan seorang ahli psikologi klinis yang menyebutkan bahwa: *“bunuh diri sangat mungkin terjadi karena korban tidak menemukan jalan keluar dalam mengatasi rumitnya problem yang dihadapi”* atau *“Mereka yang depresi berat biasanya dari kepribadian orang-orang yang tidak kuat dan tidak matang. Kalau matang, dia tentu coba akan mencoba mengatasinya alternatif lain...”* (penekanan oleh penulis).⁸

Sudut pandang senada juga diambil oleh artikel digital *Republika* yang berjudul “Depresi Tinggi, Banyak Latari Bunuh Diri” (Kamis 17 Desember 2009). Dalam artikel tersebut, hipotesis yang diajukan adalah kemungkinan penyebab bunuh diri adalah depresi akut. Hipotesis itu juga diperkuat melalui kutipan pernyataan seorang psikolog yang menyebutkan: *“Mereka yang nekat melakukan bunuh diri...biasanya memiliki kepribadian yang tertutup. Rata-rata mereka itu sikapnya introvert. Mereka juga tidak memiliki tempat atau kesulitan akses untuk menumpahkan unek-unek alias curhat.”*(penekanan oleh penulis).⁹

Contoh lain yang memperlihatkan sudut pandang moralis media massa perihal pemberitaan fenomena bunuh diri 2009 adalah artikel digital *Kompas* berjudul “Saatnya Kembali ke Keluarga dan Agama” (19 Desember 2009). Sudut pandang moralis itu sudah dapat dideteksi cukup melalui paragraf pembuka artikel yang berbunyi: *“Kasus bunuh diri terjun dari gedung tinggi kini bak tren di Ibu Kota. Dalam 16 hari, ada lima kasus dugaan bunuh diri. Tekanan hidup membuat korban memilih jalan pintas. Ikatan keluarga dan kedekatan kepada Sang Pencipta menjadi solusi masalah ini.”*¹⁰

Model pemberitaan dari tiga contoh artikel digital tersebut memperlihatkan posisi dan sudut pandang media massa dalam memberitakan dan menginterpretasikan fenomena bunuh diri. Artikel-artikel tersebut mempertanyakan alasan pelaku harus mengakhiri hidup dan mengusung hipotesis yang sifatnya simplistik, yakni dugaan bahwa pelaku bunuh diri, secara umum, menderita depresi atau gangguan jiwa. Pelaku bunuh diri digeneralisasikan sebagai orang-orang dengan kepribadian tertutup, atau lemah iman sehingga mudah mengambil jalan pintas ketika menghadapi persoalan hidup yang berat. Padahal bunuh diri adalah sebuah fenomena kompleks yang hingga saat ini belum bisa ditemukan secara pasti kemungkinan penyebabnya. Terlebih berkaitan dengan dugaan bahwa pelaku mengalami depresi, tentu hal itu tidak muncul secara tiba-tiba melainkan perlu observasi secara mendalam terhadap riwayat hidupnya.

Melalui analisis terhadap novel *Lenka*, penulis mencoba menelusuri kemungkinan akan adanya penyebab bunuh diri yang lain selain yang secara umum diberitakan media massa. Sebagai media kreatif, novel menawarkan kenyataannya sendiri yang tentu tidak bisa disamakan dengan dunia nyata karena novel diciptakan dengan meramu kenyataan di dunia nyata dan imajinasi.

Akan tetapi, ketika memilih novel *Lenka* sebagai objek penelitian, penulis menyadari adanya sejumlah tantangan yang dihadapi. *Pertama*, karena disusun secara ‘keroyokan’ oleh 16 penulis, dapat dikatakan bahwa novel *Lenka* mengandung 16 gagasan dalam upaya meramu tema bunuh diri di depan umum. Akibat yang fatal dari metode ‘keroyokan’ tersebut adalah

⁸ Andi Primaretha, (4 Desember 2009), “Fenomena Bunuh Diri di Mal Bisa Dipicu Gangguan Jiwa” diunduh dari:

<http://kesehatan.kompas.com/read/2009/12/04/13543292/fenomena.bunuh.diri.di.mal.bisa.dipicu.gangguan.jiwa> pada 8 Agustus 2012 pukul 10.26

⁹ “Depresi Tinggi, Banyak Latari Bunuh Diri”, (17 Desember 2009), diunduh dari: <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/konsultasi/psikologi/09/12/17/96385-depresi-tinggi-banyak-latari-bunuh-diri> Diunduh pada 10 November 2012 pukul 15.29

¹⁰ Soelastris Soekirno, (19 Desember 2009), “Saatnya Kembali ke Keluarga dan Agama”, Diunduh dari: <http://kesehatan.kompas.com/read/2009/12/19/09032784/saatnya.kembali.ke.keluarga.dan.agama> pada 8 Agustus 2012 pukul 09.15

tidak tergalinya karakter para tokoh secara mendalam, termasuk karakter Lenka sendiri sebagai tokoh protagonis. Sekalipun melalui proses penyuntingan oleh dua orang, irama penulisan tetap terasa ketidakutuhannya. Gambaran akan karakter Lenka dalam beberapa bagian terasa tidak selaras dengan beberapa bagian yang lain.¹¹

Kedua, nampaknya keenam belas penulis terlalu berambisi untuk menciptakan karakter Lenka yang kompleks, sampai-sampai memasukkan berbagai unsur stereotipikal dalam kaitannya dengan motivasi seseorang bunuh diri, misalnya riwayat keluarga yang pernah menderita sakit jiwa dan bunuh diri, kondisi keluarga yang tidak harmonis, ataupun profesi sebagai model yang dianggap sebagai profesi penuh tekanan dan rawan depresi. Penulis menyadari bahwa apabila menganalisis motivasi bunuh diri Lenka dari segi penokohan—memperhatikan aspek-aspek psikologis tokoh—, hasil yang muncul adalah simplifikasi; sekadar penegasan bahwa seseorang bisa terdorong untuk melakukan bunuh diri karena riwayat keluarga, kondisi keluarga yang tidak harmonis, ataupun tekanan dari lingkungan. Meskipun demikian, sekalipun ketidakutuhan karakter dan terlalu banyaknya unsur stereotipikal dapat dianggap sebagai kekurangan, bukan berarti motivasi bunuh diri dalam novel *Lenka* menjadi mustahil dianalisis. Sebab pertanyaan yang hendaknya dijawab bukanlah “Apa maksud pengarang?” melainkan “Apa yang hendak diungkapkan oleh teks?” Dengan demikian, analisis atas motivasi bunuh diri dalam novel *Lenka* tetap bisa dilakukan dengan lebih memfokuskan analisis pada unsur-unsur penceritaan.

¹¹ Dalam wawancara, Yusi A. Pareanom juga mengakui bahwa ia masih bisa merasakan ketidakselarasan karakter Lenka dalam beberapa bagian.

II. LANDASAN TEORI DAN ANALISIS

Penelitian ini memanfaatkan teori naratologi Gerard Genette dalam menganalisis unsur-unsur penceritaan dalam novel *Lenka*. Dalam teorinya, Genette mengajukan lima unsur yang menjadi bagian dari penceritaan, yakni *order* (tata), *duration* (durasi), *frequency* (frekuensi), *mood* (modus), dan *voice* (suara atau tutur).¹² Akan tetapi, untuk kebutuhan analisis, penelitian ini hanya menggunakan satu unsur saja, yaitu *order*.

Secara singkat, *order* dapat didefinisikan sebagai urutan peristiwa, baik dalam benak pengarang (cerita) maupun yang disampaikan dalam teks (penceritaan). Dalam benak pengarang, peristiwa-peristiwa yang akan ia ungkapkan dalam teks tentu bersifat kronologis, tetapi ketika disampaikan dalam teks, pengarang tidak perlu menyampaikan peristiwa-peristiwa itu secara kronologis. Pengarang bisa menggunakan alur sorotbalik (*flashback*) ataupun maju-mundur, misalnya, dalam menyusun urutan peristiwa dalam novel yang ia tulis. Penelitian ini melihat *order* sebagai unsur yang nampaknya paling penting dalam novel *Lenka*. Dari segi struktur, *Lenka* terdiri dari 34 bab, 2 *interlude*, dan 1 appendix. Inti cerita sebenarnya terletak pada 34 bab yang disusun secara tidak kronologis. Klimaks peristiwa adalah ketika Lenka bunuh diri dengan cara terjun dari gedung tempat acara penggalangan Pustaka Bunyi Indonesia diadakan. Peristiwa tersebut disampaikan berulang pada bab yang berjudul “Malam Pesta” (bab 1 dan 34). Latar waktu pada inti cerita sebenarnya merentang dari 30 tahun sebelum “malam pesta” hingga satu minggu setelah “malam pesta”. Apabila latar waktu tersebut diurutkan secara kronologis, diperoleh struktur novel sebagai berikut:

- * Tiga puluh tahun sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 5)
- * Dua puluh lima tahun sebelum malam pesta (2 bab, yaitu bab 6 dan 12)
- * Dua puluh tahun sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 17)
- * Sepuluh tahun sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 18)
- * Lima tahun sebelum malam pesta (3 bab, yaitu bab 23, 24, dan 29)
- * Dua tahun sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 8)
- * Setahun sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 9)
- * Enam bulan sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 16)
- * Lima bulan sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 19)
- * Tiga bulan sebelum malam pesta (4 bab, yaitu bab 10, 20, 21, dan 22)
- * Dua bulan sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 27)
- * Satu setengah bulan sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 28)
- * Satu bulan sebelum malam pesta (1 bab, yaitu bab 30)
- * Malam pesta (bab 1 dan 34)
- * Sehari setelah malam pesta (4 bab, yaitu 2, 3, 4, dan 7)
- * Dua hari setelah malam pesta (2 bab, yaitu bab 11 dan 13)
- * Tiga hari setelah malam pesta (3 bab, yaitu bab 14, 15, dan 25)
- * Empat hari setelah malam pesta (2 bab, yaitu bab 26 dan 33)
- * Sepekan setelah malam pesta (2 bab, yaitu 31 dan 32).

Latar waktu 30 tahun dan 25 tahun sebelum malam pesta mengisahkan perihal orang tua Lenka, Tiung Sukmajati dan Luisa Báthory-Sukmajati. Luisa sebenarnya berasal dari Hungaria. Ia menjadi warganegara Indonesia setelah menikah dengan Tiung. Dalam riwayat keluarganya, diketahui bahwa nenek Luisa—kebetulan nama mereka sama—menderita penyakit gila. Bab 5 yang berjudul “Tiga puluh tahun sebelum malam pesta” menyiratkan

¹² Lebih lengkapnya, lihat Bramantio, (2008), “Strategi Pembacaan Novel Metafiksi *Cala Ibi*”, tesis tidak diterbitkan dari Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya Universitas Indonesia, hlm 17–22.

perihal riwayat gila tersebut ketika ayah Luisa mengejek putrinya sendiri dengan berkata: *Kau semakin mirip nenekmu, Luisa...sama-sama suka yang aneh-aneh.*” (Andina Dwifatma dkk, 2011: 26). Sementara itu, Tiung berasal dari keluarga yang kurang harmonis. Ayahnya, Ranu Willis, terlalu asyik bekerja sehingga mengabaikan keluarga. Tiung dibesarkan oleh kakek-neneknya. Tiung bertemu dengan Luisa ketika sedang bersekolah di Wina. Keduanya kemudian menikah. Anak pertama mereka, Pandan Salas—kakak Lenka—lahir ketika mereka masih tinggal di Wina.

Akan tetapi, kondisi keluarga Tiung dan Luisa tidak harmonis. Luisa sempat tertekan karena pindah ke Indonesia, negeri jauh yang tak pernah ia kenal dan kunjungi sebelumnya. Pada awal-awal pernikahan, Luisa mengalami *culture shock* dengan segala adat dan kebiasaan yang ditemukan di Indonesia. Sementara Tiung tidak bersifat koordinatif karena lebih fokus pada pekerjaan dan ambisi pribadinya sebagai musisi. Tiung seolah-olah mengulangi perbuatan ayah kandungnya yang asyik dengan dunianya sendiri. Ia bahkan menjadi ayah yang otoriter, memaksa kedua anaknya, Pandan dan Lenka, untuk mengikuti jejaknya sebagai musisi.

Apabila mengikuti satuan cerita secara kronologis, kisah Lenka baru muncul pada bab 18 yang berjudul “Sepuluh tahun sebelum malam pesta”. Pada bab tersebut, terlihat ketidakkonsistenan penggunaan suara narator. Pada bab-bab sebelumnya, narator bersifat tidak tampak dan bukan bagian dari cerita. Meminjam istilah yang dikemukakan Genette, model penceritaan seperti ini adalah penceritaan tanpa fokalikasi dengan narator *heterodiegetic*. Akan tetapi pada bab 18, narator berpindah dari narator *heterodiegetic* menjadi *homodiegetic*. Dalam hal ini, narator adalah Lenka sendiri, yakni tokoh dalam cerita. Fokalikasi yang muncul pun bersifat internal, karena narator membawakan sendiri kisahnya.

Pada bab 18 dapat diketahui kondisi rumah tangga Tiung melalui tuturan Lenka. Melalui narasi Lenka, diketahui untuk pertama kali bahwa Luisa menderita depresi sampai-sampai harus dibawa ke rumah sakit jiwa. Selain itu, diketahui pula bahwa Pandan, kakak Lenka, memiliki kepribadian sadis. Lenka menggambarkan bagaimana Pandan adakalanya menyakitinya ketika sedang bermain bersama. Pandan pernah membuat kepala Lenka pitak karena ingin tahu seberapa kuat Lenka menahan sakit apabila rambutnya dicabuti satu persatu (Andina Dwifatma dkk, 2011: 118), ataupun mengajak Lenka berlomba menahan rasa sakit dengan cara menancapkan duri perdu *bugenvil* ke telapak tangan (*Ibid*).

Masih pada bab yang sama, Lenka menyebutkan bahwa ia terpaksa mengikuti permainan sadis Pandan karena takut ditinggalkan. Dapat ditafsirkan bahwa ketika kecil, Lenka tidak memiliki banyak teman sehingga memilih untuk bermain dengan kakaknya. Pada bab ini pula mulai bisa dideteksi kecenderungan masokistis Lenka yang awalnya hanya membiasakan diri mengikuti permainan sadis kakaknya.

Pada bab 23, 24, dan 29 yang berjudul “Lima tahun sebelum malam pesta”, terkuaklah bahwa hubungan Lenka dan Pandan lebih dari sekadar kakak-adik. Mereka juga memiliki hubungan *incest* sebagaimana digambarkan pada bab 29. Hubungan tersebut bahkan sempat menghasilkan benih yang digugurkan oleh Lenka sebagaimana digambarkan pada bab 23. Melalui bab-bab tersebut, dapat dideteksi bahwa hubungan Pandan dan Lenka tidak didasari oleh cinta, melainkan kebutuhan sadomasokistis yang sifatnya mutual: melukai (Pandan) dan dilukai (Lenka). Sekalipun lebih sering memosisikan diri pada pihak yang sadis, Pandan juga sebenarnya sempat beberapa kali melukai diri. Menurut Pandan, membuat luka merupakan wujud dari kuasa akan tubuh (Andina Dwifatma dkk, 2011: 216). Pola hubungan Pandan-Lenka juga dilakukan atas kesadaran penuh, tidak ada paksaan. Dengan demikian, dapat pula dikatakan bahwa perilaku masokistis yang diperlihatkan Lenka tidak dapat secara serta-merta dikategorikan sebagai bentuk gangguan jiwa, mengingat dalam konsep gangguan jiwa sebenarnya terkandung gagasan apa yang dianggap ‘normal’ dan ‘tidak normal’ dalam suatu masyarakat. Penelitian ini menafsirkan bahwa perilaku masokistis Lenka sebenarnya

didorong oleh motivasi yang sama seperti Pandan, yakni otonomi atau kuasa atas tubuh sendiri.¹³

Pada bab 8 yang berjudul “Dua tahun sebelum malam pesta”, diketahui bahwa Lenka telah menjalani profesinya sebagai seorang model¹⁴. Lenka yang saat itu sudah berusia 17 tahun sudah menjalani profesinya sebagai model selama 3 tahun. Alasan utama Lenka menjadi model adalah karena ia ingin membebaskan diri dari cengkraman ayahnya yang menginginkan ia menjadi musisi (Andina Dwifatma dkk, 2011: 2109).

Melalui narasi oleh narator *heterodiegetic*, diketahui bahwa Lenka mulai merasakan tekanan dalam profesinya. Mulanya Lenka menikmati profesinya sebagai model karena seringkali harus menahan rasa lapar demi mempertahankan tubuh kurus. Meskipun demikian, Lenka tidak mengambil tindakan ekstrem seperti beberapa kawannya yang menenggak pil penahan nafsu makan atau pil epilepsi. Bagi Lenka, melakukan tindakan ekstrem tersebut hanya untuk mempertahankan pekerjaan sebagai model adalah “*tindakan sinting*” (Andina Dwifatma, dkk 2011: 50). Lenka juga menegaskan pendapat kawan-kawannya bahwa dengan menahan rasa lapar, maka pekerjaan bisa dipertahankan, dan pada akhirnya bisa memperoleh akses ke dunia glamor. Bagi Lenka, putri dari seorang musisi ternama, ia sudah memiliki modal untuk memperoleh akses ke dunia glamor tersebut. Lenka tidak bergaul dengan kawan-kawannya sesama model. Ia juga menolak tawaran heroin dari salah seorang seniornya. Sekalipun tahu bahwa rekan-rekan seprofesinya tidak menyukainya karena memiliki pola pikir yang berbeda, Lenka dengan keteguhan hati bertekad untuk tidak membiarkan rekan-rekannya menghancurkannya (Andina Dwifatma, dkk 2011: 51).

Melalui observasi pada bab 8, dapat disimpulkan bahwa tekanan pekerjaan maupun lingkungan tidak serta-merta mengakibatkan seseorang menjadi depresi. Pada bab 8, sekalipun merasa tertekan, Lenka sama sekali tidak memperlihatkan gejala depresi.¹⁵ Keteguhan hati Lenka untuk tidak membiarkan diri terjerumus dalam pergaulan glamor maupun menenggak obat-obatan tertentu adalah salah satu bentuk rasionalitas Lenka. Jelaslah bahwa tekanan pekerjaan dan lingkungan bukan menjadi motivasi Lenka membunuh dirinya sendiri.

Pada bab 16 yang berjudul “Enam bulan sebelum malam pesta”, diceritakan pertemuan pertama Lenka dengan Helong. Helong adalah seorang fotografer. Kekhasan foto-fotonya adalah memperlihatkan sisi gelap manusia, seperti sosok cacat di tengah keindahan kota besar (Andina Dwifatma, dkk 2011: 95). Helong sebenarnya bekerja untuk komunitas *bild-junkies*, yakni komunitas yang menggemari foto-foto sadis (Andina Dwifatma, dkk 2011: 126). Foto-foto Helong yang diberikan kepada komunitas tersebut kerap kali memperlihatkan guratan luka pada tubuh. Pernah pula ia menyerahkan foto seseorang dibakar massa karena diteriaki maling. Foto-foto sadistik tersebut justru menarik perhatian Lenka. Bagi Lenka, Helong

¹³ Dalam makalahnya yang berjudul “Autonomy, Rationality, and the Wish to Die” (Desember 1999), Davis M. Clarke mencermati gagasan bahwa adakalanya manusia memperlihatkan keinginan untuk mati sekalipun tidak mengalami depresi atau gangguan apa pun yang berkaitan dengan fungsi mental (1999: 458). Ia juga menelusuri gagasan Kant perihal keharusan masyarakat menghormati pandangan individu dalam membuat keputusan ataupun mengambil tindakan berdasarkan nilai-nilai atau kepercayaan yang ia anut. Clarke kemudian menerjemahkan gagasan tersebut dalam bentuk yang lebih ekstrem dari otonomi atau kuasa atas diri, yakni hak untuk mati. Sekalipun isi makalah Clarke adalah mempertanyakan ulang otonomi atas diri—diekspresikan melalui keinginan untuk mati—, khususnya pada pasien yang sudah tua atau mengalami sakit keras, pada dasarnya Clarke juga mengakui adanya pandangan bahwa manusia hendaknya memiliki hak atas tubuh dan nyawanya sendiri. Lebih lengkapnya, lihat Clarke, David M. (Desember 1999). “Autonomy, Rationality, and the Wish to Die” dalam *Journal of Medical Ethics Vol. 25 No. 6*. hlm. 457–462. Diunduh dari <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27718395> pada 17 April 2012 pukul 21:47

¹⁴ Pilihan Lenka untuk menjadi seorang model juga muncul pada bab 24 yang berjudul “Lima tahun sebelum malam pesta”.

¹⁵ Umumnya, gejala depresi diperlihatkan melalui perubahan sikap yang tiba-tiba seperti sedih, cemas berlebihan, putus asa, tidak berguna, merasa bersalah, atau terlalu sensitif sehingga lekas marah.

bagaimana sosok lain selain Pandan. Sama seperti Pandan, Helong juga memiliki perilaku sadistis. Sesekali ia juga senang melukai diri sendiri. Kesediaan Lenka untuk menjadi objek sadistik Helong lebih didorong motivasi kebosanannya untuk menjadi objek penyegar mata ketika menjalani profesi sebagai model (Andina Dwifatma, dkk 2011: 94).

Pada bab 20–22 yang berjudul “Tiga bulan sebelum malam pesta”, digambarkan bagaimana perilaku masokistis Lenka bersambut dengan perilaku sadistis Helong. Lebih-lebih karena keduanya memiliki tujuan yang sama, yakni menciptakan “mahakarya”. Lenka bersedia tubuhnya dirajah oleh Helong dan menjadi objek foto sadistik Helong. Sementara pada bab 30 yang berjudul “Satu bulan sebelum malam pesta”, diceritakan bagaimana Lenka dan Helong merencanakan “mahakarya” tersebut. Rencana itu kemudian diketahui sebagai bunuh diri Lenka di depan umum pada “malam pesta” (bab 1 dan 34). Dorongan untuk bunuh diri semata-mata bukan hanya karena ingin menciptakan “mahakarya”, melainkan untuk membebaskan diri dari tuntutan menjadi objek. Lenka menyadari kemunafikan dirinya yang bersedia bekerja untuk industri kecantikan. Semula ia ingin melepaskan diri dari cengkraman ayahnya yang otoriter dengan memilih profesi model. Lenka pun tahu bahwa ayahnya tidak menghargai profesinya karena menganggap model hanyalah objek semata. Pilihan profesi sebagai model juga dapat dibaca sebagai bentuk pemberontakan Lenka.

Setelah menjalani profesinya, Lenka menyadari bahwa profesi tersebut tidak memberikannya kebebasan. Ia pun dicengkram oleh tuntutan industri kecantikan yang menghendaki ‘kesempurnaan tubuh’. Berkaitan dengan profesinya sebagai model, membiarkan tubuhnya dilukai Helong dapat ditafsirkan sebagai bentuk negasi atau pemberontakan Lenka atas tuntutan dunia model yang menghendaki ‘kesempurnaan’. Tetapi ternyata ketika melakukan peragaan busana di *Hong Kong Fashion Week*, bekas-bekas luka Lenka justru dianggap *edgy* dan dapat dimanfaatkan untuk publikasi. Pada akhirnya, dapat ditafsirkan bunuh diri Lenka lebih dimotivasi oleh keinginannya untuk melepaskan diri dari tuntutan atas diri dan tubuhnya. Lenka berusaha mewujudkan otonomi atas dirinya dalam tindakan yang paling ekstrem, yakni mengakhiri hidup.

III. KESIMPULAN

Melalui analisis struktur narasi dengan pemusatan analisis pada susunan satuan peristiwa, dapat diperoleh gambaran secara kronologis perihal tumbuhnya motivasi dalam diri Lenka untuk mengakhiri hidupnya. Melalui analisis pula dapat disimpulkan bahwa motivasi Lenka untuk bunuh diri tidaklah didasarkan oleh pendapat umum yang selama ini berterima, yakni riwayat keluarga, depresi, ataupun gangguan kejiwaan. Alasannya adalah, *pertama*, meskipun memiliki riwayat kegilaan dan bunuh diri dalam keluarganya, analisis membuktikan bahwa Lenka tidak menunjukkan gejala-gejala kegilaan. Bunuh diri yang ia lakukan tidak dapat secara serta-merta dikaitkan dengan riwayat bunuh diri.

Kedua, Lenka tidak menunjukkan gejala-gejala depresi sekalipun berada dalam lingkungan kerja yang penuh tekanan. Ia mampu membuat keputusan-keputusan rasional seperti menghindari pergaulan glamor ataupun mengonsumsi obat-obatan tertentu demi mempertahankan tubuh kurus. *Ketiga*, perilaku masokistis Lenka tidak dapat secara simplistik dikategorikan sebagai gangguan kejiwaan. Karena dalam cerita, gerak-gerik dan perilaku Lenka di hadapan khalayak sangat normal. Perilaku masokistis Lenka memang mulanya tumbuh seiring dengan intensitasnya bersama Pandan yang memiliki perilaku sadistis. Tetapi perilaku masokistis Lenka ketika bersama Helong dapat ditafsirkan sebagai upaya Lenka untuk meraih otonomitas diri. Bunuh diri Lenka bukan disebabkan oleh depresi ataupun gangguan kejiwaan, melainkan karena ia menghendaki kematian.

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Transkrip wawancara penulis dengan Yusi A. Pareanom pada 29 Juni 2012 di Old House Coffee, Margo City, Depok.

Developing Online Media Literacy in Indonesia

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Abstract

The fall of Suharto's regime sparked a significant growth in the online media industries and users, occurring alongside the development of democracy and press freedom in Indonesia. Recently, the amount of information on the internet is increasing and prone to become information overload. Society lives in the information age and needs to be concerned with the quality and high-value of information from online media that has relevance in their lives. The impact of democracy is full participation in culture which requires not just consuming, but also sharing and creating information through online, so therefore online media literacy as a life skill is necessary. At the same time, online news credibility is still an issue in Indonesia. The preliminary research through surveys and separate group discussions, found there are opinion gaps among these groups. Results showed those who were exposed to some basic understanding of media and/or communication studies have a more literate view towards online news credibility, whereas those who were never exposed. The research conducted measurement of online media literacy by interviews of young people (aged of 17-25) studying in Faculty of Computer Science, which is expected to find out the users' capacity to assess online news in Indonesia. The question is how users use responsible access, analyze, and evaluate online information. Also, included the ability to create, reflect, and act on the information online. The result is expected to expand the concept of online media literacy and provide implication to society. In order to develop the right online free of expression, in order that online media literacy can be tools to empower users of democratic society in Indonesia.

Key words: online media, online media literacy, new media, democracy

Research Background

In the mid-1990s, the internet explosion triggered the birth of online media in Indonesia. The first newspaper to have an online version was *Republika* in 1995, but at the time *Republika Online* did not progress very far, since it was only an extension of the print version. When *Tempo* magazine was banned in 1994, the publishers created an online version, *tempointeraktif.com* in 1995. The growth in online information providers began to increase dramatically after the fall of President Suharto, in 1998; in that year *detik.com* became the largest online publication in Indonesia. In the subsequent years, almost all media groups have established their own online media presence, and the number of online media publications is increasing. (Nugroho, Putri, & Laksmi, 2012).

The fall of Suharto's regime sparked a significant growth in the online media industries and users, occurring alongside the development of democracy and press freedom in Indonesia. Triyono (2012) stated that internet as a channel of information, that easily to access, such as government, non-government organization activist, journalist, students. The freedom of opinion and discussion had provide information without anxiety of the government that create dissemination of news spread with broader and fast. The role of freedom of speech in the media is an important element in the development of democracy. The internet as a new form of media has the possibility to promote greater public participation, their characteristics of digital media promote more free and open communication rather than the traditional mass communication media, therefore the internet opens up more opportunities for freedom of speech than traditional media (such as newspapers, magazines, radio, and television).

At the same time, the amount of information on the internet in Indonesia is increasing, creating the challenge of information overload. Edelman Trust Barometer Research (2010), found that people's trust in free content online sources was rising (43%) and also shows an increase in the use of internet search engines such as Google (47%) compared to television news coverage (42%) and radio news coverage (35%). From previous research in 2007 done by the same institution, it was found that web-based media has already overtaken television as a trustworthy information source.

A recent survey undertaken by the Indonesian national newspapers on media and the level of trust towards various listed media identified respondents' use as sources in searching news/information (Kompas, 2011). Across three groups of respondents, their ages were classified as 17-35, 36-50, and above 50 years old. All of respondents had mentioned that television/radio is the most trusted as sources in accessing news or information, that is 35.5%, 46.3%, 61.5% respectively. The second most trusted source is different for respondents aged between 17-35 years old, who have developed more trust in the Internet (32.3%) compared to newspapers/magazine (30.5%). In contrast, respondent aged between 36-50 years of age and above 50 years old trusted in newspapers/magazine more (34.6%, 29.2% respectively) and, developed the least trust for the Internet (16.0%, 5.7% respectively). The occurrence of shifting information source for media users in Indonesia was in the age group 17-35, whose preferred source was online media. This research showed that the strongest user growth in media online in Indonesia has been among young people.

Furthermore, online news credibility is still an issue in Indonesia. My own research undertaken during 2011-2012, included surveys and focus group discussions among both online media users and journalists, found that there are opinion gaps among these groups. Results showed that those who were exposed to some basic understanding in media and/or communication studies have a more literate view towards online news credibility, whereas those who had not had such exposure tended to have less well developed opinions. An online

media literacy program is required to encourage all sections of society to engage more with information, in order to promote better decision making and greater public participation, to sustain a more robust and healthy Indonesian democracy. This study focusses on the questions of, what are the capacities of Indonesia's young people to assess online information? To what extent, and to what degree do Indonesia's young people access, analyze, evaluate, and use the content of online media effectively?

Literature Review

The academic research undertaken is related to online media literacy and the relationship between the internet and democracy in Indonesia. For example, Hill and Sen (2005) detailed the emergence of the Internet in Indonesia and its growth through the subsequent transition to democracy. Also, Hill and Sen concluded the worst obstacle to internet users in Indonesia was equal participation in an emerging democracy. The use of new media in Indonesia and its associated growth of civil society activism using the Internet and social media has been studied by Nugroho (2010), who concluded the capacity of civil society to shape Indonesian politics was still limited. Hendriyani and Guntarto (2011) assessed the range of media literacy definitions used by media literacy activists, media literacy actors, beneficiaries, strategies, and activities in Indonesia. Furthermore, they found that television is still the dominant media in rural areas, particularly among children and adults, but that among young people, teenagers and young adults, media literacy should focus more on social media usage because it is where access and participation is growing.

Theoretical Reference

New Media and Democracy

This research used Blumler and Katz's Uses and Gratifications Theory of how people used the information provided by media. Papacharissi and Rubin (2000) who used the Uses and Gratifications perspective on Internet use, found that people had five primary motives for Internet use, interpersonal utility; use of free time; information seeking; convenience; and entertainment. Their research showed that the most salient use of the internet was information seeking. In this case, the framework of uses and gratifications will be used to understand how to use media for both civic and entertainment gratifications. People can learn to enjoy media and become more active and empowered, and can also find the most relevant information for their personal and public concern.

User freedom and community self governance are characteristics of Internet culture, which are also the advantage of a real democracy, and also ideal principles of that. It is therefore no surprise, that internet technology is often called the best tool for increased democratic involvement and public participation. Papacharissi (2009) has examined the democratizing potential of online media, observing that while online digital technologies create a public space, they do not inevitably enable a public sphere. She argues that a new public space is not synonymous with a new public sphere, in that a virtual space simply enhances discussion and a virtual sphere should enhance democracy. The three primary dimensions that prohibit the transition from public space to public sphere are: (1) access to information; (2) reciprocity of communication; and (3) commercialization of access, use, and content.

Furthermore, Papacharissi also mentioned the internet as a medium which is constructed within a capitalist economic context, where the profit-making impulses of the market do not necessarily prioritize civic participation or democratization. In reviewing literature on the trend of Public Sphere and Internet, Papacharissi (2009) characteristically concluded:

These tendencies form as an extension of previous dimensions of the virtual sphere, identified as access, reciprocity and commercialization. But, in both recent and earlier appropriations of online media, the tension between the ‘public’ and the ‘private’ is prevalent. The common thread among all these tendencies can be located in the individual, who operates civically in political sphere that is founded about the tension between that which is considered public and that which is considered private.

Digital and Media Literacy

The most commonly used definition of media literacy comes from the Aspen Institute Report of the National Leadership Conference on Media Literacy, which defined media literacy as “the ability to access, analyze, evaluate, and produce media for specific results.” (Aufderheide, 1993). This definition is expanded by the Center for Media Literacy (medialit.org) that describes Media Literacy as

A 21st century approach to education framework to access, analyze, evaluate, create and participate with messages in a variety of forms from print to video on the Internet. Media literacy builds an understanding of the role of media in society as well as essential skills of inquiry and self-expression necessary for citizens of a democracy.

The latest development of digital media has been proposed by the Media Awareness Network (2011), by expanding the category of media to include digital media, such as computers, cellular phones, and internet, and not only the hardware but also the software.

However, Potter (2005) has defined media literacy as a set of perspectives that we actively expose ourselves to through the media in order to interpret the meaning of the messages that are encountered. Likewise, Tyner (in Warnick, 2008) defined information literacy as the ability to identify, find, evaluate, and use information. This definition covers: distinguishing primary through to secondary information; checking content accuracy, determining the source of information; and in the ability to assess the credibility and quality of information resources. So, it could be inferred that media literacy is an individual skill that can be improved. If we consider how important the media is in constructing and maintaining the culture that helps define us and our lives, it is therefore the skill that must be developed.

Digital Literacy provides capabilities which fit an individual for living, learning and working in a digital society. Hobbs (2010) suggested for all aspects of daily life, people today need a configuration of well-developed communication and problem-solving skills that include these five competencies:

Access: finding and using media and technology tools skillfully and sharing appropriate and relevant information with others.

Analyze & Evaluate: Comprehending messages and using critical thinking to analyze message quality, veracity, credibility, and point of view, while considering potential effects or consequences of messages.

Create: Composing or generating content using creativity and confidence in self-expression, with awareness of purpose, audience, and composition techniques.

Reflect: Applying social responsibility and ethical principles to one’s own identity and lived experience, communication behavior and conduct.

Act: Working individually and collaboratively to share knowledge and solve problems in the family, the workplace and the community, and participating as a member of a community at local, regional, national and international levels.

These five competencies work together in supporting active participation of society through the processes of both consuming and creating messages in online media.

Methodology

Exploratory research may be the first stage in a sequence of studies, in order to examine phenomenon to develop preliminary ideas and move toward a refined research question (Neuman, 2006). The research involved in-depth interviews to emphasize online competencies by young people, in understanding the level of online media literacy in Indonesia. The research data source was qualitative interviews involving four respondents. This data was collected to answer the research question on the digital and media competencies contributing to the development of online media literacy. The researcher conducted interviews with young people (aged of 17-25) studying in Faculty of Computer Science, also having internet connection on a mobile phone and home computer, in order to have more detailed information of online competencies especially from young people that had studied Information Communication Technology (ICT) in Jakarta. The discussions and questions were considered within the competencies of digital and media literacy to access, analyze & evaluate; create, reflect, and act on the information from online media.

Findings and Discussion

Profile of Respondents

The discussion was conducted among 4 respondents, who are all students from The Faculty of Computer Studies. The first respondent was a male student from Information System, he usually finds online information from Detik.com, Kaskus.co.id, Indowebster.com. The second respondent was a male student from Information Technology, His favorite online media is Detik.com, kompas.com, okezone.com. The third respondent was a male student from Information System, he likes to visit online forum. The fourth respondent was a male student from Visual Communication Design, he likes to visit Kaskus.co.id and Youtube.

Ability of Access

The competencies of access are skills with technology tools in finding and using media online, also sharing appropriate and relevant information with others. In the discussion, all of the four respondents admitted that online media is a great channel to get information. They preferred to find the information from new media rather than old media such as newspaper and television. Furthermore, all of respondents already have communication skills especially in access, such as, in finding and getting the information that they needed. They were accustomed to looking for everyday information in the online news portal instead of the conventional media as they trust online more than conventional media. All the participants said they usually access the information online everyday, even though the access still only has limited topics such as entertainment, lifestyle and sport. Also, their preferences are different, Respondent#1 and Respondent#2 choose Detik.com or Okezone.com as online media because they are more popular in online information giving. However, Respondent#3 and Respondent #4 prefer Kaskus.co.id as the biggest community forum in Indonesia.

This is also similar with the research conducted by salingsilang.com (2011), the data showed the topics from social media that are most widely discussed in Indonesia were still entertainment, lifestyle, and public figures. Therefore, it was not so much the political or social discourse on the online media that seemed important. Mostly the respondent in this research are still interested in access to online media with the discourse of entertainment and

sport in everyday information retrieval. Eventhough, there is one from four respondents, whose already interested to find political news.

“I searched for the information online, such as music and film on indowebster.web.id and Kaskus.us. I became the member of that site. Other times, I also like to looked for information about soccer in Detik.sport (Respondent# 1). “I like to find information in online such as sport, entertainment and politic of Indonesia in Detik.Com and Vivanews.com” (Respondent#2). “Everday, I always online with my gadget or personal computer to look information regarding of development of computer technology in online forum” (Respondent#3). “I always search online information but only for my preference such as film and art, I seldom to find online news because of the politic in Indonesia is complicated “ (Respondent#4).

Also, mostly respondents can share information that is still limited through social media from the features that are provided by online media. All of them have internet connection on their mobile phones, so it is quite convenient for them to share information with others. The market research of Ericsson (2012), reported that the growing number of smartphone users in Indonesia saw mobile data traffic increase double from the previous year. The number of smartphones in Indonesia grew by 19 percents from the fourth quarter in 2011 to the first quarter of 2012. Mobile PC and tablet devices currently dominate data traffic, but smartphones use is growing more rapidly, these are encouraged by the rapidly growing number of users (Muhtarom, 2012). With the number of smartphone users growing so quickly, especially those using internet mobile, it is becoming ever easier for citizens to access online information by the gadget or smart phone.

In addition, all of respondents stated that online media can give opportunity to easily share the information, but only one from four respondents already have blog and shared the information by his private blog.

“I often give information on my private Blog, such as the background of music, culinary and book review...” (Respondent#2)

The respondents also realized that social media is becoming the preferred media to shared information from them. However, still this competence can ensure that young people that are literate with digital and media technology have the skills to get and share information online. This competency has been used widely by all respondents to share information among individuals and groups in a community online setting.

“I shared online information at Kaskus, which is in the category of Lounge. I posted about several hotels with high prices in the world in one of my thread at Kaskus. However, I got the story of the hotels from other site on internet...” (Respondent#1)

To become effective participants in a democratic society, people need to be engaged in the public life of the community, the nation and the world. They need access to relevant and credible information that helps them make decisions. There is therefore a challenge of how to convert a new public space into a democratic public sphere. Papacharissi (2009) has argued that greater access to information that is made possible by online media, does not directly lead to increased political participation, civic engagement, or trust in the political process. In Indonesia, access to the internet may primarily promote the entertainment and lifestyle uses of the medium, so that access to information still does not make the electorate more politically or socially active in democratic society.

Ability of Analyze and Evaluate

Many young people today receive nearly all their information through mass communication, so they need to have skills that will enable them to think critically about media. Furthermore, the competencies of critical thinking for online media is being able to analyze message quality, veracity, credibility, and point of view, while considering potential effects or consequences of the message.

Among the four respondent, there are only two participants who can already perform evaluation concerning information obtained, he can look at the media agenda in the message in online media by the use of language with negative tones in online information, the advantage of some online media and the characteristic of media. Every mass media always own their agenda, also included in online media.

“...There was a news reported member of House of People's Representative (DPR) gave a support to Fauzi Bowo and negative comment to Jokowi During the campaign of election to the governorship. I was thinking that news based of the politic agenda or media agenda, so it can be stated like that in order to promote one” (Respondent#2)

There is other respondent, who evaluated information of sport not only from one source. He likes to find from two or three online news portal, because every online media has their own characteristics regarding of their reporting. Furthermore, this respondent has a favorite online media to provide him the information, also has the ability to analyze the message from information in online media. Seeking for information online everyday, he shared his experience when he was looking the sport news.

“...I usually look information about football sports news on goal.com, Detik.com such as the transfer of football players in Manchester United Club. After that I checked to the account of kaskusunited or unitedindonesia at Kaksus, in order to re-checked information.” (Respondent#1).

Eventhough there are two respondents who can analyze and consider online information, most of the respondents have no skills to analyze the quality, veracity, credibility, and point of view from online information. Also, they are not aware on how to consider the potential effect or consequence from messages in online media and the right source to find the related information. Meanwhile, people who live in the information age need to have concern for the quality and high-value of information from online media. The information needs to be relevant for their lives, including appropriate media literacy skills to determine the credibility of news sources and to understand the new media's characteristics, functions, and responsibilities. According to Martinsson (2009), without skills of media literacy people will be prone to the emergence of cycles of misinformation and the continuity of harmfulness, which will consequently hinder the development of a more democratic public sphere.

Ability of Create

The impact of democracy in promoting greater participation in public culture requires not just a willingness to consume information, but also to create and share information through online media; therefore, online media literacy is a life skill that is increasingly necessary in our information society experiencing media convergence. The skill is to compose or generate content using creativity and confidence in self-expression, with awareness of purpose, audience, and composition techniques.

According to respondent in this research, for the purpose of the interest and study they become a media creator in online. A media creator is someone who has created a blog or

website, posted original artwork, photography, stories or videos online or remixed online content into their own new digital creations (Jenkins, 2006). In this research, two respondents have done two or more of these activities.

“I have a blog and like to share my idea and thought in there, my blog is about my interest or hobbies, such as favorite music; films; books” (Respondent#2). “...I used to share information about new films on Facebook and Twitter, also I uploaded the poster of that film..” (Respondent#1). “ I usually use social media such as Facebook, to share my feelings with others by updating status...” (Respondent#3). “Sometimes I uploaded my creation of visual design in Facebook, in order to publish it to other people and can get comment from them....” (Respondent#4).

Mostly respondents are used to creating a profile in social media (Facebook and Twitter) by uploading personal data and photos, in order to manage their online profiles. However, all the participants already have the ability to express their opinion, but it is used to perform updated status, comment with their thought in social media, blogs, or online community forums.

“I posted wall to Sandra Dewi as a famous Indonesian artist, regarding her advertisement on television because I am a fans of her...” (Respondent#4). “...I made a comment and the question to Kaskus member, when the member has sold his gadget, in order to know market price” (Respondent#3).

The ability to create in online media is not just essential competencies for literacy of citizens in the digital era, but also this ability can become the practice of good message composition and creativity in their social life. Nevertheless, this research found that young people in Indonesia still lack the skills to create content or information in online media specifically within the topic of public issue to support a healthy democracy.

Ability of Reflect

The ability to engage in reflection and ethical thinking is essential in digital life, such as the skill to produce content, express opinions, and to be able to use digital media tools in innovative ways which can make literacy experiences more relevant to students’ interests, everyday life, and important current events. One of the advantages of online media is the participant can become consumers and also producers. However, the respondents in this research still do not have the ability to produce content in innovative ways by combining text, images, sound and upload to personal Blogs or the feature of an online news portal. Most of them also mentioned, that they do not have a blog or profile account in online media in order to provide them with a place to produce the content of information.

Furthermore, there is an interesting finding regarding of the participant, who is already aware of the risks and challenges in using social media. He has the knowledge of level of communication in online media, but lack of the ability of ethical thinking that also important element in using online media.

“...Usually in online media related my identity, I did not give the valid data because at certain points, I feel more comfortable with different identity in public communication. However, regarding of my communication behavior, I was not concerned about how well or ethical I am in online media, that I really care only about to fulfill my needs from online information ” (Respondent#1).

Papacharissi (2009) said, in order for online discussion to be democratic, it must involve two way communications, include topics of shared interest, and be motivated by a mutually shared commitment to rational discussion and focused conversation. This element allows a

level of reciprocity, that actually helps connect citizens from a democracy. Therefore there are other challenges of how to convert a new public space into a participatory public sphere in online media, while there is less of interest or concern by online user, this could cause a decrease of freedom of expression in public.

Ability of Act

Digital and media literacy is eventually to be understood as the ability to actively participate through teamwork and collaboration in a digital era, such as to share knowledge and solve problems in the family, the workplace and the community, and participating as a member of a community at local, regional, national and international levels. The skill of digital and media literacy could develop essential competencies of a citizen for the democracy process and will provide excellent practical value for their life. Young people, who participate and take social action in actual public activities in order to improve their communities, could be involved and support empowerment that comes from working collaboratively to solve social problems for a better life in society. However, none of the respondents in this research took individual and collaborative social action with online information and used online media, so the level of digital and media literacy should be imposed more intensely and with continuity.

Conclusion

This research has identified a range of levels that extend from skills of online media that include greater detail on the characteristics of digital media use, including levels of access, analyze and evaluate, create, reflect, act as forms of competencies to support active participation of a democratic society. However, the dynamic nature of the information and technology environment means basic skill requirements for digital media literacy will not correlate to support the dynamics of level literacy among different concentrations in the computer studies.

Specifically, research found that digital and media literacy are essential skills to be learned by them, all of the respondents rely on online media access in order to get information and further, it is not only online media that gives opportunity to consume but also to produce content online. The ability to create information online is not just only essential competencies for literacy of citizens in the digital era, but this ability can become useful in the practicalities of social life. Nevertheless, this research also found that young people in urban areas still lack the skill and interest to create content or information in online media specifically in support of the development of a healthy democracy.

The researcher concludes that young people have not been able to actively participate and take social action in actual public activities in order to improve their communities, where they could be involved and support the empowerment. Also identified is a potential challenge to digital and media literacy across the education taken by the respondent, this exploratory study reported that respondents show a lack of competencies of digital and media literacy, even though already learned of computer studies .

Recommendation

The development of Indonesia's democracy process will be impeded if its citizens are limited in their ability to participate because they lack sufficient skills or confidence. Those who cannot participate will not enjoy the advantages of the increasing flows from digital media as it becomes more integrated into everyday social, cultural and economic life. Furthermore, those who are not digital literate, or who have low levels of digital and media literacy are

likely to have less knowledge and understanding of the importance of participate in a secure and informed manner in a democratic society.

This study recommends extending and expanding further research on the digital and media literacy concept of Indonesian society, also with further research in measuring online competencies among young people as the strongest growth users of the Internet. Research is suggested to be conducted in urban and rural areas with a high penetration rate of the Internet. Therefore, this research recognises that strategies of digital and media literacy should be implemented more broadly in every concentration of education. Also, to integrate digital and media literacy as critical elements for education at all levels through collaboration among government, public and state education system. The participation of digital and media literacy in formal education can connect across digital divides and literate culture, as a way to encourage young learners and make links among subject areas, and a means for providing skills and more equal opportunities to civil society in the democratic process.

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Digital Terrestrial Television in Indonesia:
Collaboration Between Political and Economic Power to Maintain Existing
Concentration and Power

By Amir Effendi Siregar and Rahayu¹

Abstract

The Indonesian government's decision in recent years to switch from analog to digital broadcasting system has led to the promulgation of various administrative orders by its Ministry of Communication and Informatics. However, the decrees and its implementation have increased debate in Indonesia about the significance, purpose and value of realizing progressive and democratic broadcasting in the country. Based on literature review, focus group discussions and an analysis of official records conducted from June to mid-October 2012, this paper endeavors to portray and describe various issues, problems and perceptions with regard to the implementation of digital terrestrial television in Indonesia. We apply political economy and communication perspectives, presenting the view that the government's attempts to digitalize terrestrial television in Indonesia further reinforces the already close collaboration between state/political power (i.e., the government, political parties and

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Ministry of Communication and Informatics bureaucrats) and the capitalists (i.e., those with political connections to the ruling party or political power). This collaboration is an attempt to: (1) perpetuate monopolies and concentrate television broadcasting ownership within a powerful elite; and (2) establish political and economic power by procuring and securing public opinion within the public sphere. This article also seeks to highlight some recommendations for initiating a new policy of broadcasting. Currently, a new Act of Broadcasting is before the Indonesian House of Representative; when passed, it will replace the existing Broadcasting Act (No. 32/2002); we hope this study will provide a concrete and significant contribution and perspective on digital terrestrial television in Indonesia.

Keywords: *digital terrestrial television, democracy, power, capital, concentration, public sphere, Indonesia*

Introduction

In democratic countries, the guarantee of certain freedoms—of expression, of speech, and of the press—is *de rigueur* (Siregar, 2012). However, it is insufficient merely to guarantee or ensure the realization of democratic media and communication; the assurance of the various liberties must also operate in tandem with the guarantee of diversity—of voices, content, and ownership on media regulation (Siregar, *Kompas*, 2012). This pledge necessarily demands and requires a healthy respect for minorities and minority voices, along with an administrative system that ensures and enforces justice without fear of favor or recrimination. Without a guarantee of diversity, it is possible that “authoritarianism of capital” could

emerge (Siregar, *Tempo*, 2012), along with an oligarchy operating in the name of freedom. This alone could spell the end of democracy in a country.

Since 1998, through the process of *Reformasi* (political change), Indonesia has chosen democracy as a way of state- as well as nation-building. *Pancasila* (the Five Principles of National Ideology) and the Indonesian Constitution together embody the state's philosophy and ideology, and form the basis and direction for building a democratic Indonesia. To many Indonesians, the principle of justice represents a prominent creed, that of civilized humanity and social justice for all Indonesians. The state has emphatically declared its desire to uphold decentralization through broad regional autonomy, in accordance with the Indonesian Constitution, Article 18, 18A and 18B (Siregar, *Tempo*, 2012). Furthermore, not only does Indonesia guarantee freedom of speech, opinion, organization, and politics (Articles 27 to 29), it also guarantees the people's economic, social, and cultural rights (Articles 31 to 34). In our view, this indicates that Indonesia must move from a centralized authoritarian system to a decentralized democratic system. Moreover, Indonesia is neither a liberal, orthodox, neoliberal, nor an authoritarian dictatorship; it is a democratic state that carries out the principles of a social market economy, is based on the rule of law, and emphasizes the implementation of justice and respect for minorities. Those basic principles must be used as a foundation in drafting the new Broadcasting Law, including the regulation and implementation of digital terrestrial television.

The new Broadcasting Law is currently being intensively deliberated in the House of Representatives (DPR). The new law is necessary because various broadcasting issues exist that cannot be resolved by the current statute (Broadcasting Law No. 32/2002); for instance, the consolidation of ownership of private broadcasting bodies has resulted in an imbalance of power; network stations are not

run as they should be; and private television broadcasting has become dominant, while public television seems to have lost much of its social function. The new Law is necessary to set out detailed, clear, complete and emphatic regulation, and to give some finality and solution to a number of anomalies and issues. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government has already begun the digitalization process, even though the House of Representatives has yet to ratify the new Law. However, unless the policies have been well thought through and not scuttled, taking into consideration existing problems and loopholes, the process of digitalization—from implementation to administration—could be fraught with complications and uncertainty.

In this paper, we argue that digitalization of terrestrial television broadcasting in Indonesia involves more than a simple technological switch from analog to digital technology; it is a social process in which the values and functions of digital television are constructed, pronounced and negotiated within specific political, economic, social, and technological conditions. Conflict, competition and collaboration have influenced the process, involving many interests including the Indonesian government, bureaucrats, politicians, existing broadcasting companies, associations and civil society. All of the groups are aware that digitalization brings about a significant impact—opportunities as well as threats—on their interests and positions; thus, each has tried to control the manner in which the technology is implemented so as to safeguard their interests. Nevertheless, it is clear that the government and capitalists hold the dominant position, as digitalization has been articulated based on their perspectives. There is intense and ongoing debate on the issue, and a number of parties continually have openly criticized the Indonesian government's policy as unfair, unclear and discriminative.

Since digitalization of terrestrial television broadcasting is a relatively new phenomenon in Indonesia, academic discussion on this issue is limited, being largely unexplored or discussed. This paper endeavors to compile and present a comprehensive account of the controversies and to provide an alternative interpretation on the underlying motive of digitalization, based on an analysis of focus group discussions (FGD), documents and literature studies. Our research findings are based on the results of two separate three-hour long FGD conducted by Media Regulator and Regulation Watch (PR2MEDIA) in Jakarta (July 25, 2012) and Makassar (August 1, 2012)²; the PR2MEDIA invited 30 participants, widely identified as experts³ involved in Indonesia's digitalization exercise, to share their views. Jakarta was selected because it represents the national perspective and Makassar in East Indonesia because it represents the local perspective.

We then did a detailed study of documents related to digitalization, tracing and analyzing various papers and statements issued and published by the Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Informatics, ATVLI, KIDP, ATVJI and other institutions or associations connected to, or that exhibit an interest in, the implementation of digitalization. This attention to various documents was necessary to identify and understand the associations' and institutions' responses and positions. We also did a review of the literature to obtain an alternative perspective on policy and implementation of digital terrestrial television in various democratic countries.

² We involved in the FGD conducted in Jakarta and recorded the process and results; we referred to PR2Media's report to analyze the process and results of FGD in Makassar.

³ The participants included academics, media observers, media activists, media professionals, representatives from the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) and the Indonesian Local Broadcasting Commission (KPI-Daerah), public broadcasters (Television of Republic Indonesia/TVRI, Radio of Republic Indonesia/RRI, TVRI and RRI Daerah), private broadcasters, the Indonesian House of Representatives, BPPI (Association for the Assessment and Development of Information) and other associations (such as Independent Coalition for the Democratization of Broadcasting/KIDP, Association of Indonesian Local TV Broadcasters/ATVLI, and Association of Indonesian Network Television/ATVJI).

To provide a systematic and comprehensive overview of our research findings and analysis, this paper begins with a review of the government's initiative to digitalize television, which led to public discontent. We then examine political collaboration and attempts to preserve existing concentration and power. Thereafter, we discuss the impact of digitalization on the development of Indonesia's democracy. Finally, we conclude the paper with policy recommendations.

The Initiative of Digitalization

As with other developing countries, the Indonesian government concerns itself with pursuing the latest trends in technology development; in this case, digital technology, considered a necessary step in aligning Indonesia to developed countries (Depkominfo, press release, 2009). From the Indonesian government's standpoint, it appears to be crucial for it to build and present, to its citizens and to other countries, an impression of Indonesia as progressive and modern; and this is certainly not the first time it set out to do so. In 1960s, the Indonesian government, under the leadership of President Soekarno (in the Old Order) also endeavored to utilize and showcase TVRI, being the country's first television station, presenting Indonesia as a modern, confident, and active-in-regional-matters country (Kitley, 2001).

In 2006, shortly after the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) conference in Geneva, the Indonesian government decided to follow the trend in other countries and adopt digital technology for terrestrial television broadcasting. Specifically, the government announced that it would implement digital technology, making the switch from analog to digital broadcasting by June 17, 2015, with a possible five-year extension (ITU, press release, 2006). Although the ITU agreement has mainly been implemented in Region 1 countries (i.e., Europe, Africa and the

Middle East, including Iran), the Indonesian government voluntarily decided to follow suit, even though Indonesia is in Region 3. Without giving much consideration to whether there was a legal basis that allowed for digitalization², the Indonesian government, through decree No. 07/2007, established digital terrestrial broadcasting as a standard. A year later (2008), Vice President Jussuf Kalla gave a soft launch at TVRI of digital television broadcasting trials in *Jabotabek* (greater Jakarta). Subsequently, on May 20, 2009, Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono formally launched the pilot project of digital television at SCTV's central studio in Jakarta; the date coincided with the commemoration of the country's National Awakening Day. It was also announced that the switch to digital would be 2015 for Java and Riau Islands, and 2018 for the rest of Indonesia.

The country's free trade zone policy effectively means that the government's decision to implement digital technology immediately cannot be separated from the global media capitalism movement. The players in the global media market are interested in the digital technology because this is "a key" to media convergence. As Herman and McChesney (1997) noted, the change to digital television not only enhances technical quality, lowers production cost, and instantly expands the number of channels, it also enables television to broadcast digital data, making available electronic newspapers, multimedia or World Wide Web internet sites to businesses and home subscribers via their computers or television sets. This makes the global distribution of media far more feasible and widespread. For global media capitalists or industries, Indonesia, with a total population of more than 233 million, constitutes a very large potential market and digital goldmine. The sharp increase in the country's adoption of new media has created a vast opportunity in which to produce and

² Broadcasting Act (No. 32/2002) does not regulate the implementation of digital technology on broadcasting.

distribute media product in digital multiplatform. Indonesia's mobile penetration in 2012 was 62.7%, making it the fourth largest market in the world (Private Equity Indonesia, 2012). The number of Internet users has also escalated significantly. Data from Indonesia's Directorate General of Post and Telecommunication (2001) showed that in 1999, the numbers of Internet users was estimated at 900,000, increasing to 4 million in 2001; by 2010, the number had jumped sevenfold to 28.4 million (around 12% of the total population).³

William (2007) posited that under the global media capitalists' intervention, the position of government and local media capitalists is for assistance in acquiring global media markets. They serve the interests of global media players and to perform for transnational capital through a set of local media policies. With regard to the implementation of digital terrestrial television, the Indonesian government has already issued various decrees aimed at achieving macroeconomic balance, spelling out property laws, providing infrastructure, social control and ideological reproduction.

Another reason the Indonesian government is keen to push for digital technology is its inability to meet the public's request for more television broadcasting because of the limited number of analog frequency. By comparison, digital technology offers a single frequency that can be used to broadcast many programs and has many other advantages, thus reducing the maintenance and operational costs (Depkomino, 2009). Moreover, in term of social and cultural benefits, the government has stated that digital implementation will strengthen diversity of content and ownership (Subiakto, 2012).

The government's formal announcement in 2007 has drawn positive responses from broadcasters, especially local broadcasters, who have placed their hopes on

³ International Telecommunication Union/World Bank/Trade Sources/Euromonitor International.

being allocated the frequency. Till now, local broadcasters do not have opportunity to develop local television station because allocation of the frequency is limited and dominated by “national” television stations.⁴ For example, in Surabaya (the capital city of East-Java Province), eleven of fourteen frequencies available for television broadcasting are used by “national” private television (i.e., RCTI, SCTV, Trans TV, TPI/MNC, Trans7, Global TV, ANTV, Indosiar, TV One, and Metro TV) and “national” public television (i.e., TVRI). However, sixteen local television stations in this region require frequencies and have to compete among themselves for the remaining three frequencies (*Antara News*, 2011). This situation is common in many provinces such as Yogyakarta, Central Java, West Java, Riau Island, and West Kalimantan. The initiative to develop local television stations has increased sharply since *Reformasi* (political transition) in 1998, in part the effect of the Act of Regional Autonomy Law (No. 22/1999). Data from the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (2008) showed that there were 200 applications for broadcast licenses and frequencies that year.⁵ However, the positive response soon became negative when the public realized that digitalization was heavily biased toward political and economic interests and began questioning the government’s intention to digitalize.

The Government’s Forces and Public Discontent

The Indonesian government’s plans to proceed immediately with digital technology and to make the switch to digital system by 2015 and 2018 are ambitious, and seem to have been made without much consideration about societal needs and/or local broadcasters.

⁴ “National” television stations refer to stations located in Jakarta which broadcast across Indonesia regions (provinces) using local frequency. This happens as the impact of centralizing broadcasting system.

⁵ The unpublished data (updated on March 25, 2008) was collected from Depkominfo in 2008.

The government's decision is particularly burdensome for both the people and broadcasters. One, there is strong dependence by the Indonesian people and broadcasters on analog broadcasting system. Two, the analog terrestrial television remains the main medium for information and entertainment for most of the Indonesian population. In 2010, the penetration rate of this medium among adults (over 15 years of age) reached 93.4% in nine big cities (Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Medan, Makassar, Yogyakarta, Denpasar, Palembang).⁶ The national private television stations' footprint can reach 78% of the total population—about 181 million of an estimated 233 million people.⁷ Three, 13.33% of the poor⁸ and 38.5% of the lower middle class (whose *per diem* expenses are about US\$2 to US\$4 (approximately S\$2.20 to S\$8.80) are dependent on analog technology, being all they can afford (Basri, 2011). It is highly unlikely that this category of people will be able to meet the expense of a box converter or a digital television set (Subagyo, 2012). The Agency for the Assessment and Application of Technology (BPPT)'s 2010 survey revealed that 82% of Indonesians were not aware that the country is currently undergoing analog-to-digital migration nor did they know about digital television (Arawanto, 2010). This means the Indonesian government has its work cut for them and has to work very hard to educate and persuade both its citizenry and television broadcast companies (whether private, public, or community-based) if it wants to achieve its 2015/2018 switch-off target.

In response to the government's decisions and political forces, public discontent has emerged in various forums, asking the government to postpone digital implementation, to provide sufficient time in adopting this new technology, and to set

⁶ *Media Scene*. (2010/2011). Volume 22, p. 50.

⁷ *Ibid*, at p. 61

⁸ In BPS Statistic-Indonesia. (2010, November). "Trends of the selected socio-economic indicators of Indonesia."

a fair and transparent policy for all parties in the process of digitalization. Meanwhile, the Indonesian House of Representatives has declared the digitalization policy to be chock full of violations and that there is no legal basis for the implementation (Sindonews.com, 2012). The Institute of Community and Media Development (INCODE) petitioned the Supreme Court for a judicial review in regard to the Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Informatics' No. 22/2011 order on the execution of digital terrestrial television broadcasting's free to air and No. 23/2011 on the master plan of radio frequency for digital terrestrial television broadcasting, on grounds that the orders are contrary to the Broadcasting Act (No. 32/2002), Telecommunication Act (No. 36/1999) and the Government Regulation on Private Television (No. 50/2005).⁹ Many local and community broadcasters that have struggled for years to obtain broadcast licenses and frequency allocation¹⁰ now expect to receive compensation in the form of digital frequency allocation and further incentives to build infrastructure for digital television broadcasting.¹¹ These broadcasters may already have spent huge amounts of money to purchase analog technology, but even before they can make a profit from it, they discover they now have to turn, almost immediately, to digital technology, which requires another huge capital investment. The government's stance has been that plans for digitalization were made known to the population since 2003 (Subiakto, 2012) and the trial project conducted in 2007 and 2009. Nevertheless, the broadcasters have been reluctant to adopt the technology, as there is no legal clarity on the parameters and authority for the switchover.¹²

⁹ Detik.net.com, "TV Digital Digugat ke Mahkamah Agung". (Available at <http://inet.detik.com/read/2012/07/24/132837/1973378/328/tv-digital-digugat-ke-mahkamah-agung>)

¹⁰ Statements by ATVLI's representative during the Focus Group Discussion, in Jakarta, July 2012.

¹¹ In an unpublished letter by ATVLI and ATVJI to the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR-RI) Commission 1 (Komisis 1), June 13, 2012.

¹² Focus Group Discussion in Jakarta, July 2012 and Makassar, August 1, 2011.

As a developing country with a very wide range of localities, diverse socioeconomic conditions and a high degree of dependence on analog terrestrial television, the government's decision to digitalize is widely viewed as an audacious move. By comparison, even a developed country such as France took about nine years to implement a digital system (i.e., in 2005) from when plans to digitalize were initially discussed in 1996 (Bourreau, 2003). The government waited—at least five years—for the Act of Digital Television to be passed in 2005 before proceeding with implementation. In many countries, the switch-off deadline is determined after careful consideration of the coverage area of digital television; for instance, in England, the deadline will only be implemented if digital television reaches 98.5% of households in the country (McEwen, 2006). Canada has been more flexible in planning the switch-off and does not have a specific timeline in mind, save for the 28 stations that broadcast in the capital city and the provincial capital where television viewers are served by various stations¹³; the state also launched an intensive public awareness program to educate and make the population aware of the benefits of digitalization.

Collaboration and Maintaining Existing Concentration and Power

Even though public discontent has been growing, the Indonesian government insists on continuing the process of digitalizing, regardless of the public's reaction. The government's ambition to immediately apply the digital technology has been questioned by many segments of society. The Indonesian House of Representatives is highly suspicious of the true reason behind the push for digitalization (Sindonews.com, 2012). FGD participants in Jakarta and Makassar shared similar sentiments.

¹³ <http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/archive/2009/2009-406.html> (Accessed June 18, 2012)

The general skepticism and mistrust is reasonable because broadcast frequency policy almost certainly carries a connotation of the locus and control of power, of hidden agendas, ideology and morality (Hartley, 2009). Frequency control impacts not just the economics of a country, but also its politics, society and culture. Nevertheless, frequency regulation must also take into account public interest and how it is used for public welfare. It is obligatory, because the frequency is in the public domain and very limited. Thus, even in democratic countries such as America and Britain, the television broadcasting industry remains tightly regulated and the legal doctrine *lex specialis derogat legi generali* (law governing a specific subject matter) relating to the interpretation of laws generally applies: where two contradicting laws govern the same factual situation, a law governing a specific subject matter (*lex specialis*) overrides a law that governs only general matters (*lex generalis*).

Historically, in Indonesia, the frequency has always been heavily contested and used as a machinery of power (Dahlan, 2012). During the Japanese colonial period, the Japanese government used the airwaves to manipulate public opinion about their power and war progress. In the early days before Indonesia's independence, the Indonesian soldiers seized the frequency from the Japanese invaders to announce Indonesia's independence (Dahlan, 2012). During Soekarno's Old Order regime, the government employed the frequency as the instrument of political communication to develop a national culture that emphasized the importance of uniformity and unity (Kitley, 2001). In the New Order, the Suharto government controlled the frequency to develop and strengthen a "national" culture and employed it as a machinery of political hegemony (Sen & Hill, 2001). During this period, the government and capitalists who had connections to Suharto largely controlled the

frequency for political and economic purposes (Gazali, 2004).

In the post-1998 *Reformasi* era, there has also been fierce competition to control the frequency; it suffices to note that capitalist forces have tended to dominate usage of the frequency. The government seems powerless to control the capitalists. Although the Broadcasting Act was mandated to develop television network¹⁴ and government regulation¹⁵ provides an operational frame within which to realize the television network, this has not yet been realized.

Ten national television stations that have hundreds of local/relay stations (about 72.5% out of about 300)¹⁶ are controlled by five companies: (1) PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk (MNC) which owns RCTI, MNC TV, Global TV and many local/relay stations; (2) PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk (EMTEK), which owns SCTV and Indosiar with the network; (3) PT Visi Media Asia Tbk (Viva) owns ANTV and TV One, along with many local/relay stations; (4) Metro TV; and (5) CT Corporation owns Trans TV and Trans 7, local and relay stations. In the provinces, the national television stations hold sway. Atkins (2002) noted that television broadcasting is one of the crucial strategies that Southeast Asian governments can utilize to shore up their ideology and plans by broadcasting what is in the government's interest¹⁷; this finds support in the history of Indonesian television, where television has been used as an instrument for political communication and economic domination.

¹⁴ Based on the policy, television stations that were willing to cover other parts of the country would have to develop network-stations or local television. This means that Jakarta-based "national" television stations could not broadcast their programs centrally from Jakarta for national coverage without developing a network with local stations.

¹⁵ No. 50/2005 set a specific December 28, 2007 deadline for implementing television broadcasting network and No. 32/2007 extended the deadline to December 28, 2009.

¹⁶ Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia. (2012). "Data jangkauan grup dan jaringan lembaga penyiaran di provinsi Indonesia."

¹⁷ Unpublished Summons (Indonesia: Somasi Terbuka) KIDP, ATVLI, ATVJI (Jakarta, August 13, 2012); and unpublished letter by ATVLI and ATVJI to the Indonesian House of Representative (DPR-RI) Commission 1 (Komisis 1), June 13, 2012.

Today, the frequency is being continually contested. The Ministry of Communication and Informatics' order (No. 22/2011) makes clear that there are two types of broadcasting institutions: first, those that provide various types of programs and second, those that funnel programs, i.e., multiplexing broadcasters/providers (Indonesia: Lembaga Penyelenggara Penyiaran Multiplexing/LPPM). Based on this decree, LPPM will be performed by public (TVRI) and private broadcasting institutions that currently hold broadcasting licenses. In addition, the order also allows private broadcasters to manage five multiplexes while the public broadcasting institution (TVRI) will be permitted to manage only one multiplex. The law also provides flexibility for the multiplexing to serve more than one zone. In Indonesia, there are 15 zones and within each zone, the multiplexing providers may serve many regions; there are 216 regions in total throughout Indonesia. In effect, this law potentially establishes the concentration and monopoly of television broadcasting in Indonesia.

Moreover, the selection of LPPM is marked by competition and also a collaboration of interests between the government (the existing ruler) and capitalists, especially the existing and established investors/owners of television broadcasting in Jakarta. The government in this case purposely and systematically controls the power relations in managing frequency resource by providing more opportunities for the established broadcasters and their networks rather than the local investors/owners as LPPM. In ATVLI's unpublished statement to the House of Representatives¹⁸, the limited time in the LPPM selection process makes it difficult for local broadcast applicants to obtain the bid bond and performance bond within the specified time.

¹⁸ *ibid*

In late July 2012, the Government announced the winners for five zones: Zone Service 4 (Jakarta and Banten), Zone Service 5 (West Java), Zone Service 6 (Central Java and Yogyakarta), Zona Service 7 (East Java), Zona Service 15 (Riau Islands). The winners of Zone Service 4 (Jakarta and Banten) typify the situation in the other zones: i.e., they are the existing national television broadcasters; PT Banten Sinar Dunia Televisi (BSTV), PT Lativi Media Karya (TV One), PT Media Televisi Indonesia (Metro TV), PT Surya Citra Televisi (SCTV), and PT Televisi Transformasi Indonesia (Trans TV). Once again, it appears that new players do not stand a chance. Interestingly, MNC (Media Nusantara Citra), a large player that offers the most extensive network and coverage, did not succeed in obtaining a license in Jakarta and Banten, which sparked protest.

To date, MNC—in particular, its owner and leader Hary Tanoesudibjo (HT)¹⁹, who is openly opposed to the government and its ruling political party—is often presented with economic trials and hardships. For instance, MNC was not able to obtain a multiplexing operating license in Jakarta and Banten, rich regions that are the center of national economic activity. However, in a strategic move, Hary Tanoesudibjo joined media tycoon Surya Paloh's²⁰ newly-formed political party The Nasdem Party (Indonesia: *Partai Nasional Demokrat*) as chairman of its panel of experts. Nasdem is a new political party in Indonesia and widely expected to be a middle-of-the-road party²¹. Any collaboration would appear to be economically and politically motivated to obtain and maintain political power.

¹⁹ Forbes.com (November 23, 2011) ranks HT Indonesia's 22nd richest. Retrieved October 31, 2012 from http://www.forbes.com/lists/2011/80/indonesia-billionaires-11_Hary-Tanoesoedibjo

²⁰ Surya Paloh owns Metro TV.

²¹ Tempo Interaktif. "Hasil survey LP3ES Demokrat masih teratas". October 21, 2012. (Online available www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/politik/2012/10/21/078436926) (Accessed October 22, 2012)

Thus, we conclude that state policies on the parceling and distribution of broadcast multiplexing is with the objective of maintaining economic and political power, using collaboration and lobbying as the means. In effect, this further reduces diversity of views on the airwaves; concentrates and perpetuates economic power within the same elite business empires, while enabling the groups to broaden their political power.

Impact on Indonesia's Democracy

Television broadcasting, especially free-to-air terrestrial television broadcasting has a potential role within the public sphere. However, to fully function as a public entity, television broadcasting should be freed from state political interventions and capitalist control as either could lead to censorship and repression. Dahlgren (1995) and Kellner (1990) held pessimistic views about the purpose of television broadcasting, believing that public interests and public sphere were strongly at odds with modern media industry in a highly capitalistic society. We take the view that television broadcasting can still play a promising role in the public sphere, but only if the government is committed to maintaining television broadcasting as a medium to preserve diversity and public expression.

However, digitalization in Indonesia has not democratized players or views. Concentration is still happening. Economic and political collaboration occurs solely for the benefit of investors and government. To date, equal opportunity to be actors in the broadcasting business has not yet occurred. Based on the current situation in Indonesia, we predict that investors and owners of broadcast companies will use television as their tool in the next General Election in 2014. Examples abound: Golkar

Party controls ANTV and TV One, while Nasdem uses Metro TV and MNC group. Regulators such as KPI and civil society must work hard to control this.

Conclusion and Recommendation

The Indonesian government was too hasty in pushing for broadcast digitization by 2015/2018. Ideally, the process of broadcast digitalization should be postponed until the new Broadcasting Law is in effect; it is hoped that the proposed law, now being discussed and deliberated in Parliament, will offer some clarity and put an end to the ambiguity that surrounds who gets what in the distribution of broadcast digitalization licences.

Meanwhile, the implementation of the digitalization program clearly benefits existing broadcasters. This is discrimination, as it does not offer or provide equal opportunities to new players. Currently, only broadcasters that already have broadcasting licenses are allowed multiplexing opportunities. In effect, these are the large national broadcasters with extensive networks. Local broadcasters are left out. Collaboration between the owners of capital and the political elite essentially means that power becomes further consolidated in the hands of the big players.

In Jakarta, for instance, which is more economically developed and wealthier than the rest of the country, the group that wins the right to become multiplexing hosts are often the broadcasters that are pro-government. Elsewhere in Indonesia, the multiplex licences go to media conglomerates that have extensive networks. This explains why broadcast companies and political parties in Indonesia have chosen to collaborate and pool together their resources and political clout in an economic/political marriage of convenience.

In Indonesia, the dynamics of the television industry has to be understood against the backdrop and perspective of political economy and the relationship between economic and political power and capital.

In light of Indonesia's various guarantees of freedom—of expression, speech and press—enshrined in its Constitution, it is imperative that the opportunity to be a multiplexing broadcaster should be open to all parties, regardless of political views or size. In the interest of diversity, this means that all parties should be given an opportunity to obtain digital broadcasting licenses. The multiplexing broadcaster can be a mix of private, consortium or state-owned broadcasting companies, the primary criteria being that they should be independent and professional. Furthermore, public broadcast multiplexing should comprise over 20% of the total number of channels.

It is envisaged that the ongoing vigorous discussions and debate among the House Of Representatives, the government and civil society will result in a new broadcasting law that ensures that the process of broadcast digitalization will become more democratic, open and fair, and that will ultimately benefit the nation and its citizenry.

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Diversity Digital Media Project: Engaging Local Community for Migrant Youth in Japan Through Creative Practice

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Since the 1990s, the number of migrants residing in Japan has rapidly increased. Fukui prefecture, a regional yet important area of Japan for its textile and mechanical industries, has increasingly become home to mainly Japanese Brazilian workers and technical intern trainees from China. As a result of an increase in migrants in the region, second generation migrant youth have also increased through the settlement of permanent residents and through international marriage. Digital media can play a valuable role as a tool to help migrants and their children acclimatize to new environments. However, when migrant youth attempt to use digital media to potentially foster their relationships with the local community, the 'Japanese only' environment can discourage them to make use of it for creating and extending their social networks in Japan. In addition, conflicts between local Japanese and migrants such as several suspected arsons targeting foreign residents have been widely reported in the media and these have fostered negative images of migrants among the local community in Fukui. This presentation focuses on an experimental project called 'DDM: Diversity Digital Media Project' carried out in northwest Japan from 2010 to 2012, which I developed to explore to what extent Information Communication Technology and digital media can enable a greater variety of creative expression beyond conventional production in community engagement projects and act as a bridge between the local community and migrant youth in a creative manner. In DDM project I organized 1) a three day digital media workshop with four migrants from China and Sri Lanka in 2010; 2) a two day farm-stay camp with four migrant students from China and Brazil in 2011; 3) a documentary film making workshop with two migrant students from China in 2012. Various locals, such as media artists and migrant support professionals supported migrant youths and helped them create a digital media production such as a short video clip for local tourism advertisement and a short documentary. During this project, I conducted both participant observation and interviews with participants to understand the ways in which these migrants and local Japanese interact with each other through the use of digital media. This paper explores two key questions. First, I examine how digital media can be employed for community engagement between migrant youth and the local community and how it can help them achieve cultural citizenship. Second, this paper examines how local Japanese participants perceive their attitude-change process in real encounters with migrants in Fukui through the use of digital media.

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Implications and Challenges of Mobile Devices Adoption in Journalism: A Concept Paper

Azlinawati Ngainon* and Megat Al Imran Yassin**

The arrival of new communication technology has brought new opportunities and challenges for media professionals. Moving from telephones, computers, laptop and notebook to palmtop and nowadays, mobile devices such as tablets and smartphones changes how people communicate and been informed. It seem that the rapid development of the technologies shaping people's everyday life and become far more important and significant in delivering information and easier journalist's work. Taking this development and changes, this concept paper aims to understand how journalists experienced the adoption of new technology specifically on mobile devices in journalism practices. This paper also explored the implications and challenges of using mobile devices by journalists. It will first provides a background to the adoption of new technologies in journalism and describe how journalists employ new technologies in news gathering and news diffusion. Then, it further explained about issues that related with journalists work ethics, rules, authorship and personal principles. The evidences suggest that mobile devices not only transform the physical landscape of newsgathering places but also deal with changes in journalistic product, relationships, routine and cultural. Current generation of journalists uses mix methods of news gathering and news reporting. They either can meet their sources face-to-face or using new tools like email, SMS or MMS.

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INDONESIA INDEPENDENT FILMS AND POP CULTURE CHANGES

The Roles of Indonesia's Independent Films to the Establishment of New Patterns of Indonesian Cinema as Popular Amusement among Its Audience in Indonesia (1970-2012)

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INDONESIA INDEPENDENT FILMS AND POP CULTURE CHANGES

The Roles of Indonesia's Independent Films to the Establishment of New Patterns of Indonesian Cinema as Popular Amusement among Its Audience in Indonesia (1970-2012)

ABSTRACT

This research is titled *Indonesia Independent Films and Pop Culture Changes: The Roles of Indonesia Independent Films to The Establishment of New Patterns in Indonesian Cinema as Popular Amusement Among Its Audience in Indonesia (1970–2012)*¹. The research describes the definition of Indonesia independent cinema term in Indonesia film industry now days; how Indonesia independent cinema role in affected the Indonesia mainstream cinema; and whether Indonesia independent cinema could arguably as popular culture.

The literary is a historiography which its research and writing process uses the historical method. This research describes the growth of Indonesia independent cinema according to government era and economic condition. Not long after its appearance, world cinema influence by the movement of independent films, cinema had grown in steadiness as the mass culture and lifestyle in world citizen. Analyze approach in this literary explain that the influence of independent cinema in national cinema also occurred in Indonesia within first half 20th century in significant. Explanation in this research describes that Indonesia independent cinema as the new kind of amusement in 20th century had become pop culture in Indonesia. Unfortunately, the development of independent cinema in Indonesia not yet in a position to influence the pattern of mainstream cinema; on mainstream cinema still dominated by horror-sexploitation films while the independent cinema in the other hand still struggling to find Indonesia character on their works.

Keyword:

Indonesia Cinema

Independent Cinema

Independent Film

Pop Culture

¹ I was born in Bandung at 1984, as an older child from three brothers. I spend my childhood in Tasikmalaya, before going back to Bandung in 1996. I describe my self as adventurer, perfectionist and romantic. My passion is all about film, books and food. Introduced to cinematography by my best friend in High School, my experience in videography now have been running for almost ten years. I involved in more than 12 title of fiction film, 5 title of documentary film, 10 title of video tutorial, and 5 title of company/institution video profile since 2002. In 2011, one of my documentary movies appreciated as one the SBM Golden Lens International Documentary Film Festival nominee. Now, fulfill my other childhood dream becoming a lecturer, I joining Telkom Institute of Management as broadcast lecturer in the middle of 2011.

If I found film as the reflection of the wildest imagination of life, I discover that the university student is the key to making those imaginations alive.

INDONESIA INDEPENDENT FILMS AND POP CULTURE CHANGES

The Roles of Indonesia's Independent Films to the Establishment of New Patterns of Indonesian Cinema as Popular Amusement among Its Audience in Indonesia (1970-2012)

Introduction

During the last decade independent cinema in Indonesia is more closely with the term of *film independen* (independent film), *film indie* (indie film) or *film pendek* (short film). However, with a long history of Indonesian cinema starting in 1900, in current days, the term maybe defines differently. This paper presents a conceptual framework for the analysis of Indonesia independent cinema in relation with mainstream cinema and popular culture changes. Several question ask: what is the definition of Indonesia independent cinema term in Indonesia film industry now days? How Indonesia independent cinema role in affected the Indonesia mainstream cinema? Whether Indonesia independent cinema could arguably as popular culture? Films are a major part of the creative and cultural industries (CCIs), which have become increasingly important in government policy terms because of their economic, social and cultural impact (Cooper et al., 2010 as cited by O'Reilly and Kerrigan, 2012). Film becomes a reflection of the culture of a nation. This paper proposes a discourse about Indonesia independent cinema role and development to mainstream cinema and how it's perceived among Indonesian youth as an audience. Its draws upon a cultural perspective on popular culture; if popular culture is indeed "the culture of the people," then film worldwide popularity justifies the consideration of film as perhaps the iconic media form of popular culture (Galician and Natharius, 2008), or, as Tom Adaba (1987), Briggs Adam, Copley Paul (1998) and Stanley J. Baran (2002) contend that television and films have had profound impact on cultural traits in the modern world.

Independent cinema itself, according to America cinema, was assumed as any film that is produce outside of a major film studio². Tzioumakis (2006) has said that for the majority of people with a basic knowledge of American cinema, independent filmmaking consists of low-budget projects made by (mostly) young filmmakers with a strong personal vision away from the influence and pressures of the few major conglomerates that control tightly the American film industry (p. 1). As film critic Emmanuel Levy argued (Levy, 1999, as cited in Tzioumakis, 2006, p.1), 'ideally, an indie is a fresh, low-budget movie with a gritty style and offbeat subject matter that express the filmmaker's personal vision.

Whereas, apart from an understanding brought by the American cinema, Hofstede (Hotstede, 2000, as cited in Aartsen, 2011, p. 20) explains three models of cinematic convention: Hollywood, independent and national cinema. Hollywood is the mainstream cinema and focuses on entertainment³. Independent cinema, on the other hand, is the little league and the opposite of Hollywood. It uses different, less commercial conventions and is more interested

² The major Hollywood studios that currently exist are Sony Columbia Pictures (taken over MGM and UA), News Corp. Fox/20th Century Fox, ABC Disney/Walt Disney Pictures/Touchstone Pictures, AOL Time Warner/Warner Bros. Pictures, Viacom Paramount/Paramount Pictures (taken over Dreamworks SKG) and NBC Universal/Universal Studios.

³ Hofstede calls it: "the major league." The movies watched in theatres use commercial conventions and are intended for a wide and global audience. Hollywood utilizes easily recognizable genres and plots. (Hotstede, 2000, as cited in Aartsen, 2011)

in acquiring cultural wealth instead of a financial one⁴. While, even though the production of national cinemas no all are the same, but they do use similar conventions. Each national cinema has its own characteristics⁵. (Hotstede, 2000, as cited in Aartsen, 2011) According to that character, Hollywood and independent models share one similarity, each of them addressing to the international market. This differs with national cinema that is locally oriented and not aimed at an international market. Hofstede explains it further in the table 1.

Table 1
Principle of Films in Models of Production and Distribution

	Central Production	Peripheral Production
Transnational Distribution	Global mainstream, Hollywood film	Independent film, <i>film d'art et essai</i> , festival film
Local Distribution	---	National mainstream, telefilm, comedy

Note. The data on principle of films in models of production and distribution are adapted from “Nederlandse Cinema Wereldwijd”, by Hofstede as mentioned by Josscy Aartsen on her thesis “Film World Indonesia: The Rise After The Fall”, 2011, p.21.

Yet, ‘Top 20 Independent Movies of All Time’ list shows contradictions between the ‘ideal’ independent cinema definition terms with the reality in the industry. In fact, explain by Tzioumakis (2006, p. 2), *The Aviator* (Scorsese, 2004), said in *Variety* article quoted by Graham King⁶, as a “biggest independent movie ever made”, because it’s spend \$115 million for the production, produce by Howard Hughes and starring by Leonardo DiCaprio. Meanwhile *Lord of the Rings* was financed and distributed by New Line Cinema and despite its \$300 million price tag (for all three instalments). Only *The Blair Witch Project*⁷ who is categorized as the ultra-low-budget film from the list.

Meanwhile, the academic and film scholar in Indonesia tends to relate the term of independent films to *film pendek* (short film). In another term independent film describe as film pinggiran⁸ (fringe film). Referring to Gotot Prakosa (2008a), fringe films are a represent of short films, experimental films and documentaries. Prakosa often equates a wide range of those film genres as an independent film. Later in the text, Prakosa (2008b) explain, short film categorized as short duration film; experimental film is a film that contains elements of the experiment both content and form; and documentaries describe as a film which tells something real, like facts or reality. Thus, the term of Indonesia independent films perceived

⁴ According to Hofstede, innovation is one of the thriving factors within independent cinema. (Hotstede, 2000, as cited in Aartsen, 2011)

⁵ For instance, Dutch cinema primarily uses its national language, has a certain freedom in portraying sex and uses local humor. (Hotstede, 2000, as cited in Aartsen, 2011)

⁶ Head of Initial Entertainment Group

⁷ Once a small independent film gets much media attention at a film festival that it is purchased by a major film studio and screened in major theaters all over the country. For example: *The Blair Witch Project*. The first official public screening was on January 23rd, 1999 at the Sundance Film Festival. Writer-directors Daniel Myrick and Eduardo Sanchez made this film for \$25,000. By the end of the festival they sold their movie for 1.1 million dollars to Artisan Entertainment, who then went on to make \$248 million dollars with this little movie! (www.makeindependentfilms.com/definition.htm)

⁸ Film Fringe term conceptualized by Billy Prakosa in his book *Film Fringe: Anthology Film Short, Experimental Film, and Film Dokumentasi*. 2008. Jakarta: Indonesian Visual Art Foundation. It can be concluded that the term refers to the three Fringe Film genre film.

by most of the Indonesia filmgoers as *film pendek* (short film). They also perceived Indonesia independent films as a film that is not showing in theaters. Later, the definition evolved is that independent cinema is film made by independent film community and/or independent filmmakers without distributed and exhibited by commercial enterprises, nevertheless it's distributed from one film festival to others.

As mentioned above, referring to America independent cinema practice, independent film is any film that not financed, produced and distributed by America major big studios. However, there are several reasons why such a theory not easy to apply in analyzing Indonesia independent cinema. Firstly, there were no books or studies that analyzed which Indonesia film studios belonging to the term of major big studio. Even though, there were several film studios which actively producing films in recent days, Indonesia considered not have a film industry. Like explain by Effendy (2008), since the first film produced in 1926, when referring to the theory said that film industry is form by three film industry chain-forming: production chain⁹, distribution chain¹⁰ and exhibition chain¹¹ which integrally stranded, then, Indonesia not yet have a film industry. And secondly, Indonesia doesn't have new statute that specifically addresses the issue about film. *Pasal 33 and 34 UU No. 8/1992* about film considered obsolete and no longer able to accommodate the condition of the film industry today (Effendy, 2008). The condition causes obscurity the film studio definition; criteria and category, whether it's called as major big studios or indie film studios.

As well as the long history of Indonesia cinema, Indonesia independent cinema also has a long history. Indonesia independent cinema believed started since 1970. If we traces its history, different to the American Independent cinema, that born out of the resistance movement against major film studio initiated by Hollywood big names like Steven Spielberg, George Lucas, John Cassavetes, Stanley Kubrick and Martin Scorsese (Tzioumakis, 2006), Indonesia independent cinema present as a response to the emergence of a particular policy in an era of Indonesia government. Hence, the most appropriate approach to define Indonesia independent cinema in recent days, is to look at Kleinhans (1998, p. 308 as cited by Song, <http://ejournalist.com.au/v9n1/Song.pdf>) who cites that “independent” is a “relational term”, in relation to “the dominant system”, rather than being understood as totally “free-standing and autonomous.” According to this viewpoint, first of all, should be analyzed what the dominant system is that Indonesia independent cinema relational with, before propose the definition of Indonesia independent cinema. Historically, as noted before, Indonesia cinema always in between commercialism and government policy, thus, the previous definition of Indonesia independent cinema focused on its opposition to the mainstream cinema system – develop by commercial groups and government.

Moreover, the economic condition as a result of government policy also affected to the independent cinema appearance. Like said by Tzioumakis, for his analysis in examines American independent cinema in different historical trajectories, the different economic

⁹ Film production chain covers all the work, from the selection of ideas until the film was finished and ready to be distributed. Production chain includes crew, investors, home production, equipment rental companies, and post-production house. (Effendy, 2008, p.2)

¹⁰ Film distribution chain is all the work of spreading the film to enthused audiences to come to movie theaters. In distributor chain, film distribution companies played a major role in distributing films from producers to the network of movie-theaters, television and home video (DVD and VCD). (Effendy, 2008, p.2)

¹¹ Film exhibition chain is all the work of showing the film at the movie theaters by movie-theaters chain. (Effendy, 2008, p.2)

environments generated different majors and correspondingly different indie films appeared. Accordingly, the purpose of this paper is to develop the conceptual framework, about the new definition of Indonesia independent cinema, situated within popular culture in recent days, focused in government policy and economic condition approach. An illustrative historical development of the Indonesia Cinema and the process of Indonesia Independent Cinema growth are provided so that the potential of the framework can be clearly understood. Following this, the paper hopefully can be the beginning of research on Indonesia independent cinema within film industry.

Film as Modern Popular Amusement and Propaganda Tools In Indonesia During The Growth of Indonesia Cinema 1965s-1970s - between The Censorship and The Bureaucracy

In pre-independence era, Indonesia film industry owned by Europe (Dutch and Russian) and Chinese enterprises since they founded the film company and movie theaters. Indonesian peoples during their leadership take parts in the film industry as an actors or assistant director. Only then, after the independence year, Indonesian intellectual take a role in the development of the Indonesian film industry. Through awareness that the film can be used as a medium to criticize the social condition and inculcate national values, filmmakers in 1950s era made an idealist film and supports their work by the film organization and awarding festival. Unfortunately, in Old Order Era, communist party intervention made the film industry development going nowhere, forgotten by the conflict of interest. The disputes between non-communist filmmakers and communist cultural actors often ended in the arrest of non-communist filmmakers, due to the proximity of president Soekarno and communist party, because that, the era is referred as Dark History of National Cinema Era.

After the country overtaken by Soeharto as president, in New Order Era, governments still play a direct role in supervise Indonesia cinema growth through regulations, in fact, the rules over filmmaking were very difficult and hard, for example the censorship and the bureaucracy. Shooting permits for all forms of audiovisual recordings were the norm with prior approval required of production companies, and of course the company should be a member of the union (Marselli & Achnas, 2002, p. 156 as cited by Imanjaya, 2009). Then, had fulfilled all the requirements, the filmmakers should face the censorship affairs. Heider illustrates that the government film censorship board must approve the script of a film before shooting, and it must advise again during the editing stage (Imanjaya, 2009). In 1977, the Censorship Board states that films that emphasize sex and violence and films deal with colonialism, imperialism, fascism as well s socialism and communism are all subjected to being censored or banned. Additionally, films that would destroy the unity of Indonesia, be it by exploiting or arousing sentiments of religion, class, politics, ethnicity or race, ran the risk of being banned (Aartsen, 2011).

In the other hand, differently with the national policy in native's film-making, the ban for Hollywood films which appeared during Soekarno leadership was lifted and the market was once again flooded by Hollywood pictures and other imported films. Within three years (1967-1970), the number of import films rose to nearly 800 (Aartsen, 2011). The condition, brought the declining number of local film production, therefore on 30th May 1968, the Minister of Information BM Diah issued a decree on *Dewan Produksi Film Nasional* (National Film Production Council), which consisted of nine members from the public and private filmmakers. This council, aim to produce the films that expected to lift the national

film industry, like *Apa Jang Kau Tjari Palupi?* (1969-Asrul Sani), *Djambang Mentjari Naga Hitam* (1968-Lilik Sudjio), *Mat Dower* (1969-Abbas Acup), *Nyi Ronggeng* (1969) and *Kutukan Dewa* (1969) films by Alam Surawidjaya. The dominant discourse of the film shows greed, immortality, and rejection of a man's love (Sen, 1994, p. 141 as cited by Imanjaya, 2009). *Mat Dower* has a strong satire social critic and distributors were frightened away by its content (Said, 1991, p. 82-83, as cited by Imanjaya, 2009). The results itself were quite positive and the number of films title proven increasing, from 9 titles in 1969, to 20 titles in 1970, and 52 titles in 1971.

Two contradictory policies has resulted, on the one hand, an inhibition of national film production growth, while on the other hand, the increased of economic condition impacted to the society entertainment options. Once again, since the golden era of movie-theaters in 1930s-1942s, films became modern popular amusement among Indonesian people. Unfortunately most of the films shown in theaters were imported films, because the movie-theaters enterprises tend to not interest in national film. They were argued that imported film attract more viewers than national film, beside of course, because the lack of national film production.

Indonesia Cinema 1970–2012 and The Birth of Indonesia Independent Cinema

Indonesia Cinema 1970s-1980s

The rapid development of movie-theaters supported the Indonesia film industry growth. In 1970s era the development of national film industry preceded by the establishment of Jakarta Art Institute majoring in cinematography and Taman Ismail Marzuki (TIM)¹². The founding of the institution in 1970 believed as the derivation of Indonesia independent cinema because its appearance spur the student to made films without the aim to show the films in theaters. This student enthusiasm appreciated by the enforcement of mini film competition held by Jakarta Arts Council, using the 8mm film or mini film as the medium. There were 125 films born during 1970-1971. Moreover, not only for that reason, in this era there were also Indonesia's intellectuals, who later became an idealist filmmaker, such as Teguh Karya, Syuman Djaya, Frank Rorimpandey and Arifin C. Noer¹³. They present a film that tells the

¹² Taman Ismail Marzuki (abbreviated "TIM") is an art and cultural center located in Central Jakarta, Indonesia. Also within this complex stood Jakarta Art Institute and Jakarta Planetarium. TIM has six modern theatres for performing arts, exhibition hall, gallery, archive building, and cinema.

¹³ Sjumana Djaya -who had studied film in Moscow, films trying to describe social and political critique such as *Si Doel Anak Betawi* (*Si Doel Betawi Boy*, 1973), *Atheis* (1974), *Si Doel Anak Modern* (*Si Doel Modern Boy*, 1976), and *Si Mamad* (1973). Teguh Karya made films about showing the life of ordinary people (Sen, 1988, p.5 as cited in Imanjaya, 2009), like *Wajah Seorang Laki-Laki* (*The Face of a Man*, 1971), *Secangkir Kopi Pahit* (*A Cup of Bitter Coffee*, 1984) and *Ibunda* (*Mother*, 1986). Arifin C. Noer made films that have the passion to represent on-screen the reality around him as, for example, *Rio Anakku* (*Rio My Child*), *Suci Sang Primadona* (*Suci the Prima Donna* 1977), *Petualang-Petualang* (*The Adventurers*, 1978) and *Yuyun Pasien Rumah Sakit Jiwa* (*Yuyun, Patient of a Mental Hospital*, 1979). Furthermore, in 1978, Frank Rorimpandey, directed film that depicts the huge difference between wealthy people in the mansion and poor people in *kampung*, *Perawan Desa* (*The Village Virgin*), (Sen, 1989, p. 14-15 as cited in Imanjaya). Film journalists commended that *Perawan Desa* is a film of very high social relevance, extremely relevant in the efforts of the Indonesian people to search for and establish truth and justice and it depicts clearly the fate of the little people (*rakyat kecil*) who suffer, trampled by injustice (Imanjaya, 2009).

condition of Indonesian society and also plays a role in critique a growing issue in society. Teguh Karya, made it clear in his statement, that the films he made was not a commercial films, “We have to revolt against the producers. Do not give them a change to dictate to us. They know nothing about filmmaking. They possess the capital and see filming as a lucrative investment” (quoted in Said 1991, p. 117 as cited by Imanjaya, 2009). The statement above described the line between an idealist films with commercial films. And, if we referring the definition of independent cinema brought by America film industry, independent films were a film that not funding and distributed by major producer, consequently, films made by the directors above can be considered as independent films.

Unfortunately the euphoria of youth in making indie film ended in 1972 - this is most likely to occur because of the high cost of film production at the time which not able to be funded by amateur filmmakers. Yet, the same condition also occurs in mainstream industry, the number of productions decreased, in 1974, there were 77 films, but downed to 41 in 1975 (Imanjaya, 2009). The film critics and journalist assumed that the condition due to government regulation in cinema. On 18th January 1975, some directors, producers and actors gathered in Taman Ismail Marzuki, Jakarta, to discussed the crisis in film industry and its connection to cinemas and government. As a result, three ministers issued a regulation stating that every cinema should put national films on-screen and in 1976, the Minister of Information stated that film importers should produce national films as a condition to import film from abroad (Said, 1991, p. 86-87 as cited by Imanjaya). However, the regulation actually disserve Indonesia’s film industry, cause the importers just felt the need to make a movie to fulfill the obligation, they made films for commercial purposes without regard to the quality and artistic values. Since then appeared the films with sexploitation theme like *Bernapas dalam Lumpur* (Breathing in the Mud) and *Bumi Makin Panas* (The World is Getting Hotter -Ali Shahab).

In the era of the 1980s to the early 1990s slapstick comedy films starring the legendary comedy group, Warkop Jakarta: Dono, Kasino and Indro, became the most popular films in this period. Such as *Mana Tahaaan..* (1979), *Setan Kredit* (1981), *Tahu diri Dong* (1984), *Maju Kena Mundur Kena* (1983) and *Sabar Dulu dong* (1989)¹⁴. Running concurrently with this period there appeared a horror films starring Suzana like *Sundel Bolong* (1981), *Malam Jumat Kliwon* (1986), and *Malam Satu Suro* (1988); action history films, such as *Jaka Sembung* (1981), *Saur Sepuh* (1987) and *Satria Madangkara* (1987); and teen films like *Catatan Si Boy* (1987) also had great success with four sequels. Meanwhile, there are also an quality drama films from the rising directors at this time, like *Doea Tanda Mata* (1984-Teguh Karya), *Matahari-Matahari* (1985-Arifin C Noer), *Tjoet Nyak Dien* (1986-Eros Djarot), *Kodrat* (1986-Slamet Rahardjo Djarot), *Kejarlah daku Kau Kutangkap* (1985-Chaerul Umam, and Nagabonar (Deddy Mizwar).

Noteworthy in this era is that films used as propaganda by Soeharto to inculcate a particular ideology in society. The most phenomenal film is *Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (G30S/PKI Treason, 1982)*, many film scholars consider its a propaganda film; the film became compulsory to be watched by all students, and was to be annually screened on TV to commemorate the event until the Reform era came (Imanjaya, 2009). The film was especially commissioned by Soeharto to provide an official narrative of the controversial 1965 coup by the PKI, and highlights the suffering of the military heroes victimized by PKI as well as

¹⁴ With a unique style and silly jokes, during 1979 until 1994, Warkop has produced more than 33 films and is almost entirely commercial success.

Soeharto's heroism in aborting the coup and stabilizing the situation, without tells a story from both side and ignoring the values of Soekarno patriotism (Paramaditha, 2007, p. 42 as cited by Imanjaya, 2009). Other films that depict Soeharto as historical and narrative hero are *Janur Kuning* (Yellow Coconut Leaf, Alam Rengga Surawidjaya, 1979) (Sen 1994: 90 as cited by Imanjaya, 2009) and *Serangan Fajar* (The Dawn Attack, Arifin C Noer, 1981) (Sen 1994: 101 as cited by Imanjaya, 2009). These things show the dominance of government in Indonesia film industry during 1980s era.

Other than that, in this era, in 1978, a The condition above encourage Sinepleks 21, with their 500 screens spread in Indonesia major cities –the only Indonesian movie-theaters network imported many America and India films to fulfill the needed of Indonesian society for entertainment.

Indonesia Cinema 1990s

The New Order Era then became politically and economically weaker, in 1990s. Rupiah lost 75% of its value, prices spiraled, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the companies listed on the local stock exchange were technically bankrupt. The sector was in tatters, and unemployment was expected to triple this year (Suryakusuma, 2004, p. 4 as cited in Imanjaya 2009). Economic crisis and political pressures toward film regulations affected film production. The cinema industry felt pressures from some regulations. Thus, starting early 1990s to the early decades of the 2000s, Indonesia cinema was in dormant condition by the decreasing of some film production numbers.

Beside the economic and political condition according to Sen (Sen, 2006, as cited in Aartsen, 2011, p. 10), this could be related to the spread of private television; the number of feature films plummeted from one-hundred-and-fifteen in 1990 to a mere three productions in 1999. The private television started arising in the late 1980s. Another problem was the present of movie-theaters network, sinepleks 21¹⁵, founded by Sudwikatmono –Soeharto cousin as leading cinema chain in Indonesia. The problems was he favored the screenings of Hollywood films over national ones and this contributed to the demise of the Indonesia film industry in the early 1990s.

This moment eager the film company to produce low budget films with easy money, thus, the slack in film production in early 1990s made sexploitation cinema¹⁶ grew rapidly. The phenomenon of sexploitation cinema underlines the strong position of the commercial group of filmmaking, these films were made for commercial aims, thus the stories were poor and female bodies were exploited to sell the films (Imanjaya, 2009). The domination of sexploitation genre remained strong from 1993 until 1997 (Kristanto, 2007, p. xxii, 376-402 as cited by Imanjaya, 2009).

¹⁵ Sinepleks 21, become the biggest movie-theaters network in Indonesia for almost 34 years (only Blitz Megaplex who become their competitor).

¹⁶ Some of the sexploitation films were *Kenikmatan Tabu* (*Taboo Pleasure*, RA, Danesh, 1994; starred by Inneke Koesharawati, Kiki Fatmala) and *Gairah Malam* (*Night Passion*, Maman Firmansjah, 1993; starred by Malfin Shayna). Others were *Nafsu Liar* (*Wild Lust*, Steady Rimba, 1996; starred by Deby Carol, Megy Megawati), *Bergairah di Puncak* (*Passion in Puncak*, Steady Rimba, 1996; starred by Windy Chindiyana), *Misteri Permainan Terlarang* (*Mystery of The Forbidden Game*, Atok Soeharto, 1993; starred by Kiki Fatmala, Lela Anggraeni) and *Ranjang Pemikat* (*Bed of Charmer*, Pitrajaya Burnama, 1993; starred by Sally Marcelina, Windy Chindiyana).

Kuldesak/(Cul-de-sac)

In the midst of a sexual films and soap operas for private television consumption, the downfall of President Soeharto's regime (1966-1998) in May 1998, gave wind of change to the film industry. If in New Order Era nobody dared to speak up their opinion, or criticize the government, or even said social critique through art medium, without having a fear of being silenced or disappeared without a cause. Nowadays, Indonesian people have more freedom to openly express their opinion although it may be different from or even against that of the government (Imanjaya, 2006). The freedom is apparently gave direct effect on the emergence of 'different' filmmakers who dare to made different kind of films.

Four young directors—Riri Riza, Rizal Mantovani, Mira Lesmana and Nan Achnas—made omnibus project as their debut in 1996. It was called *Kuldesak* (Cul-de-sac or Dead-end street, 1998), *Kuldesak* was produced 'underground' in 1996, breaking all the rules of film production of the New Order. Kantika van Heeren (2012) in her thesis Contemporary Indonesian Film: Spirits of Reform and Ghosts From The Past explained that they did not register the production plan of *Kuldesak* at the Guidance Council of Film and Video of the Department of Information. In addition, as the film's directors, they neither obtained the mandatory membership of the KFT, nor did they follow the conventional New Order system in which it was only possible to become a film director after having been an assistant film director five times. When, the production finished in 1998, right after the Reform Movement succeeded, the political condition able to make their film show in movie-theaters.

Kuldesak is a representation of youth generation. Later in the text Heeren (2012) explained that *Kuldesak* rebellious production and fresh content and techniques -filmed in an MTV-style, set *Kuldesak* apart from both the films produced by the earlier generation and from the everyday soap operas on television. The film successful among youth, the press labeled it the first-ever Indonesian 'independent' film and often highlighted its 'non-Indonesian' features, the film motivated young people to make independent films (Heeren, 2012). While, researcher Joanna Sharpe writes that *Kuldesak* is widely hailed as the first in the recent wave of independent productions, which are self-funded and filmed on the 'guerilla style' without the necessary state permits (Sharpe, 2008 as cited in Imanjaya, 2009). *Kuldesak* became a momentum of Indonesia independent cinema, because it was the first independent film to make it into the big-chain cinema Studio 21 and sign of the birth of a new wave of filmmakers including both professionals and non-professionals with "do-it-yourself" attitudes (Ratna, 2010).

Independent Film Festival, Independent Film Community and I-Sinema

The successful of *Kuldesak*, continues to grow into a snowball, it's triggered a euphoric movement among youth to making an independent film. The wave of independent filmmaking re-emerged since the last time in 1970. Year after, some youth-based pop-culture community in Jakarta began to held a film workshop for junior and senior high-school students. The emergence of independent film communities goes hand in hand with the presence of the film festival. The film communities usually were organized at cultural venues, educational institutions, and foreign cultural centers. The community objective outline is to manage travelling screenings and discussions to introduce the concept of independent film to a wider public –most of them are youth (Heeren, 2012). While the objective of film festival was designed to provide independent filmmakers with a forum in which to screen their films. More ambitiously, it fostered a hope of reviving Indonesian film

as a whole, an industry that had virtually died in the last decade of New Order Era (Heeren, 2012).

Independent Film Festival and Independent Film Community

Heeren (2012) said that in 1999, Komunitas Film Independen (Konfiden, Community of Independent Film) began to hold a series of 'travelling' film screenings (*film keliling*) and discussions in the bigger cities in Java. Konfiden then manage Festival Film-Video Independen Indonesia (FFVII). FFVII was free screenings and dedicated its program to local independent films (which were mostly shorter in duration) from various cities throughout Java (Ratna, 2010). Konfiden also published a monthly bulletin and commenced organizing workshops for filmmaking. In the same year, also hold Jakarta International Film Festival (JiFFest). JiFFest opened public access to alternative films, focused its program on international films. And because JiFFest put prices on their tickets, all films in the JiFFest program were required to go through censorship by the state censorship institution, *Lembaga Sensor Film* (Ratna, 2010).

JiFFest and FFVII inspired other local festivals who are less consistent and on a smaller scale, such as in 2000, the Festival Film Pelajar dan Mahasiswa (High-School and University Film Festival) was held by Universitas Muhammadiyah Jogjakarta's cine-club (Ratna, 2010). The number of local-scale festival increasing during 1999s until 2002s, they hold film screenings and discussion; the event providing a chance for filmmakers to form wider networks. This led to another phenomenon of the *film independen* movement: *komunitas film*, or film communities (Ratna, 2010). And as the Internet become popular in the nation, the barrier in information seems to be disappeared, thus, the film festival and communities continuously grown.

The film festivals which are listed such as Jogja Documentary Film Festival, Bandung Short Film Festival, Purbalingga Film Festival, OK. Video—Jakarta International Video Festival, Jogja-NETPAC Asian Film Festival, Q Film Festival-Jakarta, Indonesia Animation Film Festival-Jakarta Europe On Screen, Solo Film Festival, Golden Lens-International Documentary Film Festival, Bali Documentary Film Festival, and Indonesia International Fantastic Film Festival (Screamfestindo)-Jakarta. While, Ramli and Faturrahman (2005) mentioned some independent film communities who exist in recent days, beside Konfiden are Fun Community, UKM Dimensi Universitas Moestopo, Perfilma UI, Khadut Film, Biru Hijau Cinema, FFTV IKJ, TRaFFIC, Safer, Forum Film Bandung, Genoa Culture Studies, Unpar, STSI and LFM ITB, Montase Visual, Komunitas Film Unila, Kronik Kine Klub, Kine Fisip, Ekonema, and FKSM Unika,

The festival hosted film competitions (most of them are documentary or short films) from the highschool to the professional level, non-competition screenings, masterclasses, and discussion (Ratna, 2010). Even though, there are many film festival held inconsistently, unprofessional and amateur, no doubt that film festival brought some positive effort to Indonesia independent cinema growth. One of them, of course, the present of film festival encourages film community to produce an indie film. The growth of these various film festivals in Indonesia has created an atmosphere that supports *komunitas film* and their main activities, with an emphasis on film production and film screenings (Ratna, 2010). Later in the text Ratna (2010) mentioned some of the benefits that come from the presence of the film festival, which are: 1. The places where the general audience can see alternative cinema, which is different from the kind of audio-visual reference they have from television; 2. Film

festival enriching the diversity of Indonesian films and helping the emergence of new filmmakers; and 3. Provide a space for local filmmakers to express themselves in their own language and perspective, adding to the richness of forms, styles, and language of Indonesian films.

Some numbers of films from those festival succeed raise social and political issue, like *Revolusi harapan* (Revolution of hope, 1997), by Nanang Istiabudi –a surrealistic story about a gang of thugs who go out on orders to kill and pull the teeth of artists, students, and others who are in any way critical; *Dunia kami, duniaku, dunia mereka* (Our world, my world, their world, 1999), by Adi Nugroho, which narrates the life of a transvestite in Yogyakarta; and *Kameng gampoeng nyang keunong geulawa* (The village goat takes the beating, 1999), by Aryo Danusiri, a chilling testament to the survivors of torture inflicted by the Komando Pasukan Khusus (Kopassus, Special Forces), filmed in Tiro, northern Aceh (Heeren, 2012). While some of them drawn the uniqueness of local content such as *Topeng kekasih* (English title: *Dearest mask*, 2000), by Hanung Bramantyo, is entirely in Javanese and revolves around the Oedipus complex, while *Di antara masa lalu dan masa sekarang* (Between the past and the present, 2001), by Eddie Cahyono shows the reflections of an old man about the guerrilla struggle for Independence. Both films depicted a typically Yogyakarta atmosphere. Another example of a film that explicitly reflected local culture is *Peronika* (Veronica, 2004), directed by Bowo Leksono from Purbalingga. This film is about villagers being baffled with technologies that are mainly used in the city. All dialogues are in Banyumas dialect. (Heeren, 2012). All these films were also screened at international film festivals and on other occasions.

I-Sinema

Meanwhile, from mainstream industry, some of the filmmakers announce their self as independent filmmakers. A group fronted by four *Kuldesak* directors and nine other directors called I-sinema, Sharpe (as cited by Imanjaya, 2009) writes that the meaning of ‘I’ in ‘I-sinema’ is ambiguous—it stands for the word ‘Indonesian’ as much as it does for ‘Independent’, as well as other terms like ‘eye’ or even the English ‘I’. The movement by thirteen young filmmakers: Riri Riza, Nan Achnas, Richard Buntario, Sentot Sahid, Mira Lesmana, Srikaton M, Enison Sinaro, Ipang Wahid, Teddy Soeriaatmadja, Dimas Djayadiningrat, Rizal Mantovani, Jay Subyakto and Yato Fionuala, made a manifesto that said: “we trust and support each other. Synergies of creativity, spirit of explorations, aesthetical achievements, variety of themes and stories, all to give new colors to films. More importantly: to give different choices, insights, and experiences to spectators”.

According to the manifesto, I-sinema defined independent film in the term of filmmaking style that made an exploration on film medium, including camera technology, shooting techniques, or directing treatment. The point is that independent film is defined as film using non-mainstream cinema filmmaking style. This is in line with that expressed by Tzioumakis (2006), that in terms of aesthetics, independent films tries to break the mainstream traditions, the extent of which varies from film to film. Nevertheless, in some point, independent film still used the mainstream cinema filmmaking style, especially in terms of narrative, as Geoff King has argued, ‘it is rarely if ever the case that [it] is entirely absent in the more commercial/industrial independent sector (as cited in Tzioumakis, 2006).

Riri Riza, the figure in I-sinema and Indonesia independent cinema argued that the thirteen members of I-Sinema do not make demarcation between art-films and commercial films.

“The next film I make might be commercial, it might be more art house, and it might even be a documentary. I’m not a jukebox. I’ll make whatever films I want” (quoted by Sharpe, 2008 as cited in Heeren, 2012). The members of ‘I-sinema’ emphasize the importance of film as a form of freedom of expression and pledge to create films of artistic and personal credibility, but they remain aware of the practicalities of production (Sharpe, 2008 as cited in Heeren, 2012). The movement main objective is to awakening of Indonesian films –its mean to give Indonesian soul to what usually called as national films. One other thing to note from the movement, even though they made an indie film the filmmakers emphasizes primary concern to the Indonesian audience who has been starving for Indonesian film, Riza says “It seems that alternative film movements in other countries just don’t care much about their audience. For us, the audience is still very important” (quoted by Sharpe, 2008 as cited in Heeren, 2012). Unfortunately, there is no further information about I-Sinema following the production of four films: *Sebuah Pertanyaan untuk Cinta* (A Question for Love, Indonesia: Enison Sinaro: 2000), *Eliana Eliana* (Riri Riza, 2002), *Bendera* (The Flag, Indonesia: Nan Achnas: 2002) and *Titik Hitam* (Black Dot, Indonesia: Sentot Sahid, 2002).

“Film Independen” Term

Looking to the history of Indonesia independent cinema, it is still difficult to truly define independent cinema concept in Indonesia. Heeren (2012) explained some opinion about independent films in Indonesia perceived by filmmakers and audience, which are:

1. For some, independent film meant just any film produced outside the New Order system of film production.
2. To a few, it also meant that independent films had to be produced for less commercial motives. In their opinion commercial film was contaminated by the New Order politics of economic growth, and a derivative of its structures of crony capitalism. They believed that because the New Order had treated film as a commercial commodity, it had crippled the production of domestic films with the exception of cheap commercial films filled with sex, violence, or slapstick humor. In their eyes, the combination of film and commerce implied structures of New Order domination.
3. Others believed that independent films tackled daring subjects, broached innovative subjects, and depicted the filmmaker’s free artistic expression.
4. Yet others thought that independent film meant the production of low-budget, technically inferior, (short) films, filmed by unskilled filmmakers with a digital camera.
5. Some people even thought the term stood for the production of films about the Indonesian struggle for Independence in 1945.

The opinion still cannot explain how Indonesia independent cinema define in now days. Anyhow, the history described that there are two parties who actively involved in shaping Indonesia independent films. First, Indonesia independent cinema refers to the parties from mainstream cinema that is I-Sinema. Second, it’s refers to members of independent film communities across Indonesia, both as an individual and group. These communities consisted of amateur filmmakers, the majority of them students, who tried to produce films on a shoestring budget, borrowing money and film equipment from friends and family (Heeren, 2012).

For the second time euphoria of independent filmmaking are got stagnant in 2004. Several film communities had stopped producing films because of a chronic lack of funding, the dim prospects for turning the coalition into an official organization, and internal private conflicts; these conflicts revolved around questions of leadership, disputes over what direction to take,

clashing personalities, and, at times, envy and distrust (Heeren, 2012). Many of film festival fail to be held and several film festival that has been running regularly each year absent in those years. Whereas, during 2002-2003 Indonesia independent cinema reach a productive point, proved when SCTV's Festival Film Independen Indonesia (FFII, Indonesian Independent-Film Festival) held. In the first year, 1,071 short films were submitted to the festival committee, of which 836 qualified to enter the competition. In the following year this number rose to 899 films (Prakosa, 2005, p. 81). Later in the text, Prakosa explain, that the films were from all over Indonesia, from major big cities until small villages in one of the provinces in Indonesia; made by a variety of people ranging in age from nine to seventy. And registered as primary school students, bureaucrats, housewives, journalists, even police officers (Prakosa, 2005, p. 7-9).

On the other hand, marked by the success of *Petualangan Sherina* (Sherina's Adventure, Riri Riza, 1999), Indonesia cinema growing significantly. The movie-theaters not anymore dominance by sexploitation films, yet appear some quality and in the same time commercial films¹⁷. Coupled with the increasing number of private television, the film industry brings out an actor as society figure among audience. Later, some numbers of influential actors share the role on Indonesia independent cinema growth.

Independent Cinema as Popular Culture

If mentioned above that the stagnant of Indonesia independent cinema growth one of the reason is because the lack of funds. The invention of technology of digital films became a solution to that problem. The digital film technology is dramatically decreasing the cost of film production. Thus, in 2008 Indonesia independent cinema began to excite again. The technology facilitates amateur filmmakers to produced films in low-budget. However, even though most of the digital cameras have not been able to replicate the production quality of film, its excellence motivated amateur filmmakers to started the film production. Some of the major benefits of shooting on digital film are lighter and easier to move, resulting in much faster camera set-ups and more locations; easier to review the footage to see if you got the shot, editing the footage right on the spot; ability to shoot an unlimited amount of takes resulting in perfection; cheaper distribution with digital cinema's; and cheaper and easier post-production workflow.

Not only that, this situation also supported by the appearance of social networks. With the arrival of social networking platforms, it allows filmmakers to develop and easily prove to distributors that they have a personal audience, by creating Fan Pages through Facebook and MySpace. It's like cutting off the distribution line. On the other hand, Internet also allows amateur filmmakers find new way in distribution channels that is via the Internet and Video-

¹⁷ Box office national films in this era include: *Jelangkung* (*The Uninvited/ Ouja Board Ghosts*, Jose Purnomo and Rizal Mantovani, 2001); *Ada Apa dengan Cinta?* (*What's Up with Love?*, Rudi Soedjarwo, 2001); Nia Dinata's: *Berbagi Suami* (Love for Share, 2006) and *Arisan!* (The Gathering, 2003); Riri Riza's *Untuk Rena* (Dear Rena, 2005); Nan Achnas *Bendera* (The Flag, 2002); Hanung Bramantyo's: *Catatan Akhir Sekolah* (The School's Last Notes, 2004) and *Get Married* (2007); Rudi Soedjarwo's *Mendadak Dangdut* (Suddenly Dangdut, 2006); Nanang Istiabudi's *Detik Terakhir* (The Last Second, 2005); and *Viva Indonesia*, an omnibus project (Ravi L. Bharwani, Aryo Danusiri, Asep Kusdinar, Lianto Luseno and Nana Mulyana, 2001) (Imanjaya, 2009).

On-Demand. Independent filmmakers now days no longer limited by film festival to showcasing their works.

Because of this in recent days emergence many film communities in Indonesia, arrange by school, independent youth community and foreign community. Almost every universities and high school in Indonesia have student film community. Film festival also begin to appear once more, in fact in some big cities in Indonesia hold film festival and some of them held by regional government. The independent cinema became enchanting magnet for mainstream cinema stakeholders. In recent days, mainstream actors started to produce their short film to showcasing in film festival such as LA Indie Light Film Festival. The mainstream filmmakers, seems to be enjoyed an autonomy that 'is unique in the history of the entertainment industry' in independent cinema (Tzioumakis, 2006, p. 5). Inherent with Tzioumakis (2006) that said Hollywood stars are showing up in the films that play at festivals like *Telluride*, *Seattle*, *Toronto*, *Santa Barbara* and *Sundance* in an effort to experience a piece of the hard-core acting side of the film industry, which is something they rarely get to experience in big-budget studio films.

Indonesia independent cinema become pop culture, like described by Christopher Geist and Jack Nachbar that there are four dimensions that are involved in pop culture. First, beliefs, values, and also the movement of the population were large enough to express to something; second, it's human-made and describe the community; third, it's the form of art; and fourth, has a ritual or event.

Conclusion

The new Indonesia political condition as well as economic environment describes the new definition of independent cinema in today Indonesia. Even so there were hard to clearly define Indonesia independent cinema. If we refer to America independent cinema, essentially Indonesia doesn't have a film industry. Each of the film industry stakeholders not yet developed the association. Yet, there was no research in discussing the film industry, in minor scale, for example analyzing the major big studios in Indonesia. However, the history describes that Indonesia independent cinema belongs to two parties: mainstream cinema filmmakers and members of film community filmmakers. Another one to discover is that in recent days, Indonesia independent cinema became pop culture in Indonesia. Only, related to the role of Indonesia independent cinema in affected the pattern of mainstream cinema, still not able to see. Although, the film festival aim to opened the audiences paradigm about 'good' film genre, the process still need a long time.

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Indonesian Mainstream Media Construction of Marginalized Social Groups: A Case Study on Front Pembela Islam (FPI)

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This thesis studies the representation of FPI and the matters related to FPI in Jakarta Post in the period of May 2012 in relation with the Lady Gaga Show Controversy. The significance of this period is that, FPI was reported in the media as the Islamic most extreme group in Indonesia. According to that, The Indonesian Government was extremely being pushed to dismiss the organization in order to maintain the law and order and in anticipating the social conflicts. This study focused on the media discourse on Lady Gaga controversy. Throughout analyzing 19 headlines (news lead) and 19 full-text news stories, the study shows that FPI represented in a very negative way in these period. In the this period, FPI is introduced as a dangerous powerful public enem. The study uses the analytical components of CDA and the grammar of transitivity of SFG to analyze this case. In addition, typology of news bias by Dennis McQuail was supplemented. The conclusion made by this study asserts that, TJP can be seen as not in favor of FPI and has attempted to build a biased public opinion in line with its hidden ideology inserted through its news publication.

Keywords: Media construction, FPI, marginalized social groups, Jakarta Post, Indonesia

Background of the Problem

This research is about the role of language in the construction of power relations. The language which is investigated here is not a mere individualistic instrument belonging to a perfect native speaker who can produce a set of finite or infinite number of sentences, each finite in length and constructed out of a finite set of elements as Chomsky believes (Lyons, 1981, p. 7, in Rahmani 2010). Contrarily, the meaning of language used in this study is a social one that looks at it, as a function of human's social life in Indonesia. Nowadays one of the most important outlets of this language is apparent in the media discourse and this is the only point that the study is going to survey and discuss in order to discover how language plays its function within the structure of the media as a power institution.

Because of so many reasons, studying the media and analyzing the media discourse seem to be important and interesting. To put it in a simple language and cut the story short, one can begin with this reason that they are accessible and ready to use everywhere and every time and they are also tangible and in relation with people's everyday life. In the case of the present study, there is no limit to access the texts and contents of The Jakarta Post. Another reason is the influence and impact of media on people's social life. Not only do Media reflex and represent the social habits, the life and the culture of people, the speech communities and above all the social meaning and models but also through (reproducing discourse and applying the power they have gained from their social position can influence people and social groups, and make some changes within these structures. In much the same vein, they can teach people many things about other nations and other people's culture and way of life that finally can be considered as a good direction to rectify and improve people's social habits.

Anyhow, there are some problems with media, in lockstep with some limitations on the domain of their activity leading them to mal-operation or at least preventing them from playing their effective social role and make them have special directions. Access to media, economy and politics of media, production and consumption and practices of media text are among the factors that may affect their general policies .Still another important factor is the general policies of the states, mostly seen in international events, and their representation and coverage in the media. Because of these effects and influences, media tend to represent special types of stereotypes most of which are based on the common beliefs of the West (Sheyhollislami, 2001, in Rahmani, 2010). In societies with a tradition of partisan news media, whether news organizations have a political bias in their reporting is less of a concern (Lee : 2008, in Donsbach). In other environments where mainstream news media purport to be fair and objective, and journalists are expected to be neutral gatekeepers instead of partisan advocates, whether or not the news media have a bias would receive close scrutiny from politicians, scholars, the general public, and journalists themselves. It is common for observers to perceive a political bias, which reduces their trust in the news media, and triggers their criticism of both media organizations and journalists (Lee, 2008, in Donsbach, 2008). This study is going to survey the representation of a marginalized social/religious group in one of the most influential Indonesian newspapers and the role which language plays in establishing the images of this representation.

Research Objective

It is expected that this research can offer a contribute to the existing literature in Communication Science especially in the field of Marginalized social/religious groups in Indonesia which are hardly exist in the mainstream media. In addition, the study is expected to provide a fairer view point of the FPI as a social organization in Indonesia.

Research Question

Analyzing this possible difference or differences we need to investigate the linguistic component of the texts belonging to these periods. Consequently the following questions arise as follow:

How FPI represented in this period's specification of this study?

Theoretical Framework

This study is a replication study and was modelled on previous study which was conducted by Diyako Rahmani in an MA thesis titled: *Change in Practice: A Critical Discourse Analysis of New York Time's Approach toward Iran, before and After Obama* (2010). However, our study is differ in terms of the locality aspect of the subject under study, compared with Rahmani which was more on the comparative study between Iranian and US contexts. This study is to investigate the application of the language and the relation that it bears to the question of power and institution to reveal that if there are any differences in the language usages in different periods and if yes, what are the rationales behind that. Our main devices of analysis are systematic functional grammar that is developed by Halliday and critical discourse analysis, which has an origin in the Halliday's grammar. Because of that reason in this chapter, we are going to describe these theories and clarify the theoretical basic of them.

Functionalist Approach

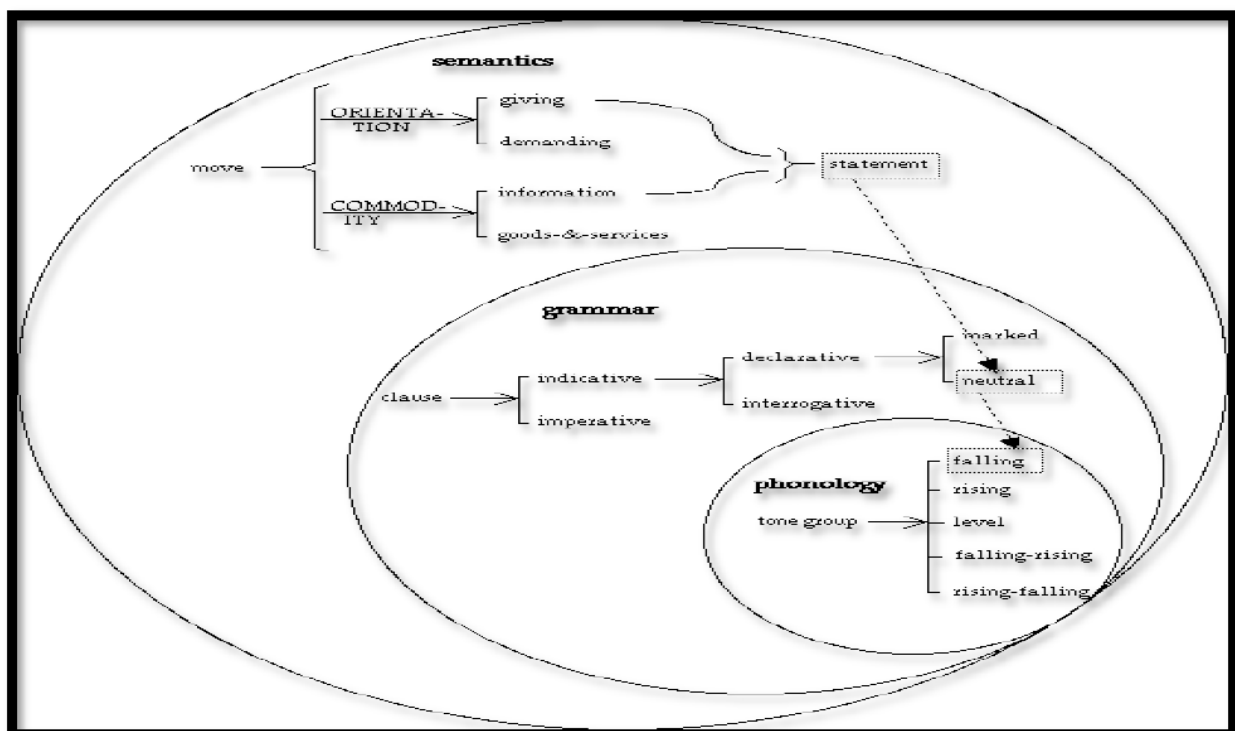
The greatest distinction of systemic functional grammar (SFG) is that SFG concentrates on the communicational aspects of language while the structuralist generative grammar deals with its internal structure. According to SFG, language is used to interact with others and to manage the information of one's ideas and experiences and it is looked as a part of the process of living (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1997). He believes that language as an important part of our daily life not only determines the way that is produced and conveys a special meaning but also through producing texts, it reveals the structure of the language used to produce that text either in written or spoken form (Halliday and matthiessen, 2004). According to them, the grammar of the language is something that can explain these cases.

The most important principle of a functionalist vision of language as was mentioned is to explain the effect of interaction and communication on the formation of language. Formalistic view of structuralist like Chomsky does not accept the priority of communicational form of language and priority of the idea of language as a devise for thinking with an instinctual, natural and complete form that can be activated in the critical period in childhood (Chomsky, 1986). In contrast to this idea, the functionalist approach believes that it is the environment, which shapes the language and its components. Therefore, language is not an autonomous phenomenon. Besides regarding the completion of language,

it believes that it is ontogenetic with the growth of child and because of genetic characteristics of human being; it becomes more completed in matrix of society and social application of it. The other major characteristics of functionalists view is that it believes that morphosyntax of language is a dependent on the pragmatic and the semantic of language according to which any change in the of language is a result of the change in the semantics or pragmatics of language. Of course, not is the entire functionalist in same degree of accordance with this idea. Some of them such as Halliday are some radical while some others like Van Valin believed that, to some extent, these syntactic changes are the result of semantic changes (Butler and hengeveld, in the press). Beside all of that, there are some more characteristic, which are very important. In contrast to the generative grammar that exclusively deals with the standard written form of language, the functionalist approach sets all kinds of language production as its materials for investigation because it mostly deals with the communicational aspect of language and not only the written form but also other language exposition vastly are use as means of interaction. In addition to this, in the everyday life, the produced text are not produced in the form of unique separated ones rather they are connected to each other and even they are multi-propositional, so functionalist in addition to dealing with text itself deals with the context and discourse, too. The functionalist viewpoint is not limited just to a special language; instead, it tries to find the common fields of different language and mostly is equipped with a typological instrument to classify language as the result of this motivation that common cognitive behavior will give rise to universal linguistics features (Butler and Hengeveld, in the press).

Systemic functional Grammar

According to Halliday’s functional grammar, language has three outstanding functions



Picture 2-1.A general view of SFG from Halliday & Matthiessen (1997, p. 38)

(metafunctions) which serve to cover the needs one expects from using a language. These metafunctions are ‘textual’. Interpersonal and ideational. The interpersonal metafunction is the specification of language that deals with the relation within an interaction. According to Halliday and Matthiessen, it provides the needed enacting roles in general and speech role in particular and is responsible for the dialogue strategies like initiating, changing and closing an interaction (1997). The last one contains the experiences, perceptions and discernment of people who use the language.

Table 2-1. Systemic functional grammar’s metafunctions from Halliday & Matthiessen (1997, p. 46)

	characterization	related typologies	major resources
ideational	ideation -- interpretation and representation of the world in and around us	semantic representational denotative propositional content cognitive	transitivity (process + participants + circumstances) Loc Actor Proc Goal ... it
interpersonal	interaction between speaker and listener; assignment of speech roles and modal-attitudinal comments	conative-expressive (pragmatic)	mood & modality; key Mood Moodtag Su Fi ... TFi TSu ... we'll ... won't we
textual	presentation of ideational & interpersonal information as text in context; control of textual statuses and conjunctive development of text	pragmatic discoursal functional sentence perspective	theme; information; conjunction Theme Rheme Tomorrow we'll...

In his paper, Martin (2004) writes down” in this mapping, ideational meaning scaffolds domestic and institutional activity, interpersonal meaning enacts social relation and textual meaning organizes the distribution of information” (p.23). textual ‘metafunction’ as the only metafunction that deals with the text itself copies with the way those language components are organized within the sentences and determine the nature of the representation of two other metafunctions.

The manifestation of each of these metafunctions is through some special grammatical systems that apply the role of that function to the structure of the text or they are some signs for all the traces that these metafunctions leave after them in the text. Textual metafunction “whose job is to package ideational and interpersonal meaning as waves of information” (Martin, 2004, p. 323). One of them main grammatical system of textual metafunction is the systems of THEMES which provide the necessary resource “for setting up a local context for a clause by selecting a local point of departure in the flow of information (or perhaps rather ‘swell of information’, since it is not a uniform flow)” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1997, p. 12).

Teo writes, “thematization looks at the organization of information within the clause” (2000, p. 29). The definition that Halliday and Matthiessen present for the question of how to determine this point of departure mostly is based on the idea that this departure point varies in different languages. For example, as they describe for English it is based on the position on sequence. They write, “Theme of a clause is the first group of phrase that has some function

in the experiential structure of the clause” (2004, p.66). While there are different criteria for other languages like Japanese where the position of *wa* is the point of departure and indicator of theme/rheme structure or Chinese in some similar way (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004, p.64). Of course, the point of departure may also have other characteristics especially in the spoken form where the peak of a tone group can determine the theme of the text.

Theme structure and its defined point of departure change and are not the same permanently. Halliday and Matthiessen (1997) indicate that there are complementary device to recognize the prominence within the text that is the newsworthiness, which relates to the question of new and given information. The most attention of the addressee goes to components of the text that contain the new information, and the less attention is devoted to given one.

Halliday and Matthiessen explain the structure of the voice as a matter of the language, which is related to the thematic system of textual metafunction. They do not recognize either passive or active voices as the unmarked cases of language voice rather he defines the unmarked and neutral cases for any of them. According to them, “the active version will have Agent/Subject as unmarked Theme and Medium as a candidate for unmarked New, whereas the passive version will have Medium/Subject as unmarked Theme and Agent (if present) as a candidate for unmarked New” (1997, p. 22). Besides that, they believe that there is a relationship between the thematic system and the mood system of English language in the way that, for every case of mood in English there is a special theme/rheme structure in the unmarked occurrence (Egins, 2004).

The relation of the thematic structure with the analysis of the discourse is something completely obvious and direct. This fact that the most important part of the text message is embedded within the theme of the text, can direct the listener of the text how to comprehend the intended message of the speaker of the text. By the other direction, theme can lead the listener who probably is an analyst, to find out, which part of the information has been emphasized by the speaker and what kind of it has been ignored. Selecting one part of the message as the main part of the message and disqualifying the rest of it contain a code to realize and understand the reason behind it.

Mood is the main notion in interpersonal metafunction and it handles the way that the speaker (in its general meaning as writer, speaker or producer) treats the listener or the way that speaker wants listener to recognize him/her. For example when a speaker is asking a question, one expresses themselves as a person with the role of information seeker and the listener as a source of one’s information. Conveying of these roles is possible through a kind of clause mood that speaker chooses for his/her clause. The major grammatical system of the interpersonal metafunction is the mood system. Egins (2004) regarding the definition of the mood writes ‘the mood structure of the clause refers to the organization of a set of functional constituents including the constituent subject’ (p. 147). Just like what Egins mentions on some previous pages, Halliday and Matthiessen deals with the notion of mood (grammar of interaction) from a semantic approach. The summary of their discussion is that in any interaction, there are two sides, the person who speaks and the other one who is to speak. In this typical interaction, two possible speech roles may occur, giving and demanding; by the other side, two different types of commodity may be exchanged, the information and the goods and services. Therefore, on the base of the table 2-2 there can be four speech functions, which are statement, question, offer and command. These are the functions that can be chosen by the speaker and the response of the person who is to speak can be in support or confront of the functions that are shown in the table 2-3. So considering the positive or

negative answer of the other side on the interaction that actually completes the process, there can be eight major functions that these functions are the different moods of the language. (pp. 106-111) – the tables are from Eggins (2004, p.146).

Transitivity is the grammar of experience (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1994) and that is “the key analytic component of ideational metafunction and provides us with the potential for categorizing the infinite verity of occurrence or going on into a finite set of process types” (Teo, 2000). It offers a system to express the experiences and internal world’s ongoing happenings and thought. Despite the interpersonal metafunction and its major grammatical system which deals with the outer world and the relation between people. In transitivity system, three factors are prominent, the processes, the participants and the circumstances. The transitivity system is various in the different languages and these varieties are the result of two major types of this system. Transitivity systems are either transitive or ergative.

Transitive Type

This variety of transitivity system puts the experiential processes in the more detailed and classified processes according to the nature of those processes and the involved participants within that system.

Ergative Type

This type of transitivity system has put its bases on the mode of participants and on the effect that the participants have on each other. It seems that even the notion of transitive in the classic grammar refers to a similar idea, which is restricted to the material process – where a special role is needed to complete the meaning of a material process. Here the main point is that if the Actor has an impact on the other roles or not. According to Halliday, this is not limited to the material process and can be generalized and applied to all other process types (1997). However, the impact of the participants on each other or in the exact words, the impact of the Agent on the other participants is not only case of ergative type. It can be viewed from another view, too. It is possible to consider the causation instead of the impact. In this case, according to these writers, in the same book, there is a participant, which is in the most relation and engagement with the process. It is named *Medium* and the main question here is to investigate the activity or non-activity of agents in *Medium + Process*. If there is an agent, the phrase is called effective and if there is not an agent the phrase is called *Middle*. The relation between these two models is not a binary one in a way that presence of one of them prevents the other one to be presented, but they are complementary components of the ergative system. There is the same relation between the ergative and transitive models too, in the way that they are working to gather to codify the processes of the experiences and even their simultaneous presence and the amount of the share in this cooperation is the main cause of difference between the transitivity systems of the different languages. According to Halliday and Matthiessen, “English is a typically mixed system.” (1997, p.20)

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) as its name suggests first, is a critical device. Although it is not attached to any special theory and philosophy, it calls itself merely as a method of analyzing the text (McKenna, 2004). It mainly deals with the questions of inequality and power, power institutes and the relation of language and power so it is natural to conclude that it has a political attitude (Stubbe et al, 2003). Fairclough defines it as: relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices,

events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. (1993, p. 135)

Beaugrande (2006) describes it as an interdisciplinary knowledge and heterogeneous mass that cannot be put in one category. It is called interdisciplinary because it is located somewhere between sociology and linguistics and some linguists believe that a correct understanding of the relations between society and discourse is impossible unless linguistics and sociology approaches are totally combined (Wodak, 2006). Van Dijk (2001, p. 352) writes “Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context.”

Using the word of discourse in the title of this method means that there are many ways for discussing the social inequalities but the way that CDA proposes is based on the role of discourse in producing power, abusing it, and finally creating the inequality. Power which is produced by the elites, institutes or groups results in dominance and discourses reproduce this dominance or challenge it; in this condition an analyst examines the structures, strategies and other properties of the text or discourse to see how they work and (re)produce this dominance (van Dijk, 1993b).

Bias in The News

A bias can be understood as a preference or inclination. Media bias, the opposite of objectivity, can be defined as differential treatment of (e.g. favoring) a particular side of an issue, which can be measured quantitatively or qualitatively (Lee, in Donsbach, 2008). If one side receives proportionally less news coverage, or apparently more negative, inaccurate, or unbalanced coverage, a bias is shown (Simon et al. 1989, in Lee, 2008).

McQuail (1992) identifies four types of bias on the basis of a typology of open versus hidden, and intended versus unintended, such as an editorial endorsement. Propaganda is intentional yet hidden, such as the result of a firm's or a government's public relations efforts. An unwitting bias is open and unintended, such as the fact that certain news topics are covered while others are not. Finally, ideology is unintended and hidden, and therefore is difficult to define or detect as it is “embedded in the text” (1992, 194).

Methodology

Data

The data selected for this study are from online version of daily *The Jakarta Post (TJP)*. These data have been selected in one month of May 2012. Gathering the data, at first all of the news reports related to FPI in 2012 were downloaded. During downloading, it took into consideration that if selected news stories are categorized as the official news of the newspaper or they are classified as *opinion*. It is obvious that I have rejected the opinion writings because they do not represent the media's official viewpoints. The selected news stories for this study are from the pages of The Jakarta Post online version. The reasons behind choosing *TJP* for analysis were the high rate of circulation of it. According to

Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Jakarta_Post), in 2006, the Reporters Union of Indonesia recognised *The Jakarta Post* as being one of the Indonesian newspapers that best followed the journalism ethics and standards; other papers so recognised were *Kompas* and *Indo Pos*. The paper received the Adam Malik Award in January 2009 for their reporting on foreign politics; the coverage was considered accurate and educated, with good analysis. In addition, TJP has long been considered as more moderate positions in comparison with other main national dailies of the Indonesian news papers.

Methods of Analysis

Headline

Headlines summarize the story and put them in some words. This summarizing entails choosing of special words to represent the preferred mentality of the writer or editor of the text. According to this, headlines are important because of two reasons; firstly, they attract most of the reader's attention because they —are first and on top, and usually in bigger type than the text—that is, there are also visual markers that emphasize the importance of the global topic of the text (van Dijk, 2006c, p. 135) . Secondly, they can imply certain ideologies because headlines give a possibility to the writer to convey a special kind of interpretation of that text among various other possible interpretations and consequently to form the mind of the readers in a special way. Van Dijk reads —Language users employ ... [some special] macro-structures in order to understand globally and to summarize a text. In news discourse, the top of this macro-structure is conventionally expressed in the headline and the lead paragraph. (1991, p. 113) Headlines of this study have been investigated using transitivity grammar introduced by Halliday. Here in this section a more in detail description of this system will be presented. Transitivity is the grammar of experience and beside that it's —the key analytic component of ideational metafunction and provides us with the potential required for categorizing the infinite verity of occurrence or going on into a finite set of process types (Teo, 2000, p. 25), it expresses —who did what to whom in what condition to put in exact words. Therefore, any transitivity analysis contains three major components: the process (what) the participants (who and whom) and circumstances (in what condition). Verbs (what) as the main process-describer components of a clause, at the side of their specific meanings can convey a special kind of process which is undergoing in that clause.

Full-text Stories

Analyzing the full-text stories, I have adopted the analytical facilities of CDA to show the wide range of analytical components of it. Achieving this aim, the name choosing process, lexical choices, cases of over completeness and the voices devoted to FPI. The truth is that there are many more possibilities to analysis a text through the analytical instruments of CDA but the question is that if all of them fit the text which is going to be analyzed or not. For example, Teo (2000) uses the *generalization* and *over-lexicalization*; the first one is defined as generalizing a feature of a member of a group to all members of that group entirely. For example, characterizing a minority group as evil or responsible for all of problems of majority because of a crime done by one of the members of that minority group can be counted as a clear case of generalization. The later refers to introducing marked case of unmarked position of a word through adding some extra words. For example, while *attorney* generally and in the unmarked case means *male attorney*, using the extra explanation of *female attorney* makes it be in its marked case and it is counted as an example for over-lexicalization. Teo (2000) has used this element to analyze the cases of the over-lexicalization to investigate the approach of Australian newspapers toward the Southeast Asian minorities and to interpret if there is a case of racism against them. Generalization also has the same condition. It is mostly used in the studies, which survey the situation of minorities within a society. However, on the other side there are some other elements,

which to some extent seem to be common among most of the studies done in the field of practical investigation of the relation of power and language. Studying the transitivity system is one of them that most of the time is a part of such studies. It is because of the clear outcomes about the relational place of discourse segments that analyzing the transitivity system gives to hand. Following there is an explanation of every CDA analytical component which are used in this study

Naming Choices

The way that people are named in the texts can contain both ideological implication and power-relation reflections. Wardhaugh reads on the other side beside the reflection of power-relation, the naming choices can indicate the ideological implication. In other instance, Wardhaugh illustrates that whites sometimes address blacks by their first names in situations that they should call them by title or title and last name. (1989, p. 260). This way of naming represents the ideologies of these people. In the same manner Fowler, Kress and Trew (1979) believe that different ways of naming indicated different attitude, approach and intimacy relationships of the speaker or writer to the one/ones whom are spoken to or written about. Using all of these indications the study will examine the naming choices for FPI to illustrate the approach of the newspaper toward FPI. In the international scope of this study naming the countries with their full formal name, calling the authorities with their full title or with all of possible honorifics can imply the possession of power and authority for the named people and in the contrary naming, those people without the mentioned sequences can indicate the opposite.

Lexical Choices

Lexical choice is an eminent aspect of news discourse in which hidden opinions or ideologies may surface. According to van Dijk —... the powerful position of the speaker may be emphasized by a very formal setting, attire, tone of voice, lexical choice, and so on (2006a, 376). He also believes that —The boundaries of topics and of possible lexical variance are set in advance, even when there is personal and newspaper variation in the description of the same things (1988b, p. 75) The main question about choosing a lexicon to be used in a special place is the matter of choosing itself. The basis of SFG in which CDA has a long root, is the matter of choosing among some possible choices for a certain place instead of other possibilities. These special kinds of choices can imply ideological tendencies. As an example, using the object pronoun of *her*/*him* instead of using *him* as the object pronoun for sexual-unclear cases can reflect the feminist considerations within the text, which is going to be analyzed. In another example, using *chairperson* instead of *chairman* can stand for the same implications. There are even more examples in the data used for the present study.

The study is going to survey the case of meaningful lexical choices to explore the taken approach of *TJP* regarding FPI. Doing this, first I will signify the main themes of lexical choices then I will base my reasoning, analysis and conclusion on that. The main point here is that the differences between lexical choices in these periods are so colorless and faded that it needs a lot of attention to analyze and comprehend the differences between what happens in these circumstances. I found out that it is possible only through determining the themes and motives of these times and comparing them together.

Over completeness

As van Dijk indicates —In a similar sense we also may have over completeness if in a sequence of a certain degree of completeness we have a subsequence that specifies more facts than needed (1980, p. 92). Later on, he divides the different types of over completeness and enumerates two major groups of acceptable (functional) and unacceptable. Defining the

unacceptable kind of over completeness he writes —over completeness is also sometimes unacceptable, especially if there are no obvious communicative reasons to give so much detail. (1980, p. 92). However, there is also a functional type, whose application is due to the future happenings within the text and it is counted to be acceptable. Using the over completeness cases, text can contain some special ideological tendencies and it can shape a particular image of what the writer of the text wants to draw. It can be used to draw an extraordinary positive or negative description of a subject although as Sheyholislami quotes van Dijk (1993b, p.258) he has mentioned that it is used —to convey a negative picture of a news actor.

Voices (sound-bites)

The first and the most important thing that the voices bring to the mind is Fairclough's idea of intertextuality, which has been mentioned before. Voices and quotations as mentioned before in 2-3-3-3 are explicit examples of —heterogeneous constitution of text by which specific other texts are overtly drawn upon within a text (Fairclough 1992, p. 85). Van Dijk has always put an emphasis on the role of voices and quotations in the representation of the power relations between different social groups and structure of hierarchies that demonstrate these relations. He believes that —such exclusion may also mean that the less powerful are less quoted and less spoken about, so that two other forms of (passive) access are blocked (1993a, p.260). In another quotation, he points toward the voice and quotation and writes; —This also shows that news gathering and quotation in news are often biased through the choice of sources and the uses of source texts. Demonstrators and Mendis are not allowed to speak, as I have generally found for the role of minority speakers in ethnic affairs coverage (1993a, p.260), he also believes that —similarly, in most social conflicts, authorities such as high ranking politicians, experts, or police officers are asked their description of and evaluation of the facts (1988b, p. 78). All of these extracts about quotation simply mention the amount of voice that a person or a group possesses in the text and it is directly in relation to its social rank and the amount of its accessibility to the power sources. The next important matter about the quotations is the directness or indirectness of quotation. Teo (2000, p. 18) believes that in the case of quoting of minorities, media keep distance from the sources or quote them with suspicion. In other words, mostly they are quoted indirectly. In addition to the mere question of quotation, there is the question of how the quotation takes place. According to van Dijk (1988b, p. 136) —The use of communicative verbs in clauses that dominate embedded content clauses used in indirect discourse, sometimes express the evaluation of the reporter about the content of the speaker□. Although this phenomenon can be inferred in, the frame of the media's taking distance from the minority sources but anyhow the same quotation can be represented in various forms and it is a useful clue to recognize the ideological tendencies of the text.

Analysis and Discussion

News Lead

In this part of analysis, we will show that what kinds of approaches *TJP* has used toward FPI. In addition, we are going to investigate the relationship of FPI and the Lady Gaga controversy in the headlines and news title used by this newspaper in stories related to FPI in the time frame of May 2012. Additionally, articles The Jakarta Post will be explained in the data analysis are summarized in narrative format headline / news lead matrix. The number of items has 19 unit in the news leads during of analysis was May 2012 is divided into four,

namely: namings, lexical choices, over completeness & voices. The analysis making categories corresponding publications date on news items in TJP online during May 2012. The structure of a chapter will be the systematic of the following: conceptual definition-matrix on individual data analysis item – narrative

Namings

The way that people are named in the texts can contain both ideological implication and power-relation reflections. Wardhaugh reads on the other side beside the reflection of power-relation, the naming choices can indicate the ideological implication. In other instance, Wardhaugh illustrates that whites sometimes address blacks by their first names in situations that they should call them by title or title and last name. (1989, p. 260). This way of naming represents the ideologies of these people. In the same manner Fowler, Kress and Trew (1979) believe that different ways of naming indicated different attitude, approach and intimacy relationships of the speaker or writer to the one/ones whom are spoken to or written about. Using all of these indications the study will examine the naming choices for FPI illustrate the approach of the newspaper toward FPI. this study naming the subject of the news with their full formal name, calling the authorities with their full title or with all of possible honorifics can imply the possession of power and authority for the named people and in the contrary naming, those people without the mentioned sequences can indicate the opposite.

Namings Narrative

(TJP, in the period of May 2012, using the strategy of naming as much as 10 times in 9 item article is for date: 27/5, 27/5, 27/5, 28/5, 30/5, 29/5, 27/5, 27 / 5, 27/5 & 27/5. The existence repetition news, especially for dates 27/5 as many as 6 times a development news (news development) in order to update the news (news update) online news very stressed in deliverable. Aspect is to be the leading online news compared to the electronic news (TV, radio) and printed news media. The repetitions are predominance selected news. namings techniques on TJP used in the controversial issue has plan lady gaga concert in Jakarta show a concretely done by providing is "labeling" of the object in this context to the news especially to FPI. Labeling technique doing the context naming is strategy to give the "stigma" of the FPI. Results in a matrix of categorization can be seen how are the "stigma" entered into each analysis units lead news TJP. At the publication date of 27/5, for example, said that given the stigmatic FPI is "Islamic hardliners", "Hard-line Indonesian Groups", "Negative International Perceptions", "A Weak government", "Muslim Hardliners", "Hardliner Islamic Groups".)

(The lead news item date 27/5 (a), TJP decrease stigma editor "Islamists hard-liners" as can be seen in the following text (underlined are stigma)

“Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth”

While into date item 27 (b), at the same date, TJP put a news leads as:

“Controversial US singer Lady Gaga is having a bad romance with her fans in Indonesia, dubbed as “Little Monsters”, with her scheduled concert in Jakarta officially cancelled by her management amid strong reactions from hard line Indonesian groups”

In the next item (c), there is little difference in the editorial stigma created in TJP:

“The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism”.

The stigma carried on TJP in news lead item on 27/5 (d):

“The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism”.

(A Stigma "Islamists hard-liners repeated the lead news item on 27/5 (e):

“Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. The decision by Lady Gaga's management to cancel her planned June 3 concert reflects a government that is weak in the face of intolerant political groups, according to human rights watchdog group the Setara Institute”.

Finally, how TJP stigmatisation technique applied can be viewed in 27/5 (f):

“Lady Gaga has canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia over security concerns after Muslim hard-liners threatened violence if the pop diva went ahead with her "Born This Way Ball," promoters said Sunday. (AP Photo/Joel Ryan, File)The Islamic People's Forum (FUI), made up of several hard-line Islamic groups including the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), breathed a sigh of relief upon hearing that Lady Gaga's management cancelled her planned June 3 concert at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta”.

Lexical choice Narrative

TJP, in the period of May 2012, using the strategy of Lexical Choice 18 times in the 10 item article during: 27/5, 29/5, 28/5, 23/5, 23/5, 29/5, 27/5, 27 / 5, 25/5, & 23/5. The existence repetition news, especially for dates item 23/5 & 29/5 is 5 times in the form of news development. In order to update the news because online news really relies to deadline in deliverable. This aspect becomes online news advantages compared to the electronic news (TV, radio) and print. Therefore, a repetition is predominance news. Lexical choice techniques of TJP used in the issue has concretely done by providing "lexical choice" or the selection of lexical / word to the objects in the context of this particular news to FPI. Lexical technique is applied by providing "choice of words" against the FPI. From the results of categorization in the matrix to see how "lexical" inserted in each unit of analysis, news leads TJP. At the publication date of 28/5 & 29/5, for example, the choice of words given the FPI is "much-touted (talkative)", "treats of violence", "Censorship concern", "aggressive Organizations", "could not guarantee", "Threatened violence".

For news items leads item 23/5 (a), editorial on TJP used "much-touted". As can be seen in the following text (choice of words are underlined):

“The US pop singer Lady Gaga will not perform in the country as part of her “Born This Way Ball Tour 2012”, dealing another blow to the country's much-touted freedom of expression. Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment's executive Michael

Rusli told reporters in Jakarta on Sunday that Gaga's management had called him earlier that morning to cancel her performance in the capital".

The news lead item on 23/5 (b), on the same date, TJP created a news lead as follows:

"US Grammy-award winning singer Lady Gaga can no longer maintain her poker faces.

She has finally broken her silence on the prolonged drama over her planned Jakarta concert, making notes of copyright concerns and threats of violence against her on Twitter".

The same choice of words of TJP has created as in lead news item on 23/5 (C):

"Jakarta gubernatorial candidate Faisal Basri is calling on police to stand up against aggressive organizations threatening violence over US singer Lady Gaga's concert in the capital. Faisal, an economist from the University of Indonesia, said late Tuesday that while the Constitution guaranteed the rights of Indonesians to form community organizations, the groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society".

The lead news item on 29/5 (a), TJP launched and its editorial says "Could not guarantee" as can be seen in the following text (the words are underlined):

"Fans of Lady Gaga, known as "Little Monsters", gathered in Jakarta for an event called "Tribute to Mother Monster" on Sunday. Lady Gaga's managers cancelled the planned concert in Jakarta on June 3 as the police could not guarantee security at the event".

Finally, of the issue on 29/5 (b), TJP has varying the choice said to be:

"Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. (AP/Dita Alangkara) Fans of US pop act Lady Gaga, dubbed "Little Monsters", were still determined to keep on dancing after the Jakarta stop on the singer's "Born This Way Ball 2012" tour was canceled".

Over completeness Narrative

TJP, in the period May 2012, using a strategy over completeness 19 times in the 15 items article is to date: 27/5, 27/5, 28/5, 29/5, 27/5, 28/5, 23/5, 23 / 5, 28/5, 29/5, 27/5, 27/5, 27/5, & 24/5. The existence repetition news, especially for dates 23/5 & 24/5 which is 4 times is the development news (news development) in order to update the news (news update), this is done because the online news strongly emphasizes to deadline in deliverable. This aspect becomes the leading online news compared to the electronic news (TV, radio) and print. Therefore, repetition is predominance news. TJP over completeness techniques used in the controversial issue plan in Jakarta lady gaga show concretely done by providing "hyperbole (exaggerated description)" the object of the news in this context especially to FPI. Over completeness techniques undertaken in the context over completeness strategy by providing "hyperbole (exaggerated description)" the FPI. From the results of categorization in the

matrix can be seen how "excessive descriptions" is inserted in each unit of analysis, news leads TJP. At the publication date of 23/5 & 24/5, for example, descriptions excessive given the FPI was "a blow to the country's much-touted freedom of expression", "poker faces", "prolonged", "the groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society ", "American pop diva Lady Gaga.

News lead in item 23/5 (a), TJP's scriptwriting "blow to the country's much-touted freedom of expression" As can be seen in the following text (choices of words are underlined):

"The US pop singer Lady Gaga will not perform in the country as part of her "Born This Way Ball Tour 2012", dealing another blow to the country's much-touted freedom of expression. Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment's executive Michael Rusli told reporters in Jakarta on Sunday that Gaga's management had called him earlier that morning to cancel her performance in the capital".

Meanwhile in item on 23/5 (b), on the same date, TJP launched a news lead as follows:

"US Grammy-award winning singer Lady Gaga can no longer maintain her poker faces. She has finally broken her silence on the prolonged drama over her planned Jakarta concert, making notes of censorship concerns and threats of violence against her on Twitter".

Hyperbole description similar to news lead of TJP on 23/5 (C):

"Jakarta gubernatorial candidate Faisal Basri is calling on police to stand up against aggressive organizations threatening violence over US singer Lady Gaga's concert in the capital. Faisal, an economist from the University of Indonesia, said late Tuesday that while the Constitution guaranteed the rights of Indonesians to form community organizations, the groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society".

News lead on 24/5, TJP's scriptwriting as "American pop diva Lady Gaga" , as can be seen in the following text (choices of words are underlined):

"The National Police now says it will issue a concert permit for American pop diva Lady Gaga — but only if the promoters achieve the monumental task of getting recommendations from the Religious Affairs Ministry and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI)".

Voices Narrative

TJP, in the period of May 2012, using the strategy of voices 5 times in 5 item article is to date: 29/5, 27/5, 27/5, 25/5, & 23/5, The repetition news, for the 29 / 5, 27/5, 27/5, 25/5, & 23/5 is 5 times is the development news (news development) in order to update the news (news update) online news really push the pace in its transmission. This aspect becomes the leading online news compared to the electronic news (TV, radio) and print. Therefore repetition is predominance news. TJP voices techniques used in the controversial issue plan in Jakarta lady gaga show concretely done by providing both "direct / indirect quotation"

(quoted in excess) "to object to the coverage in this context especially to FPI. Voice technique performed in the context of the strategy by giving voice both "direct / indirect quotation" (quoted in excess) "the FPI. From the results of categorization in the matrix to see how "excessive quotation" is inserted in each unit of analysis, news leads TJP. At the publication date of 29/5, 27/5, 27/5, 25/5, & 23/5, for example, quotes excessive given the FPI is, "as critic have suggested", "The decision by Lady Gaga's management to cancel her planned June 3 concert reflects a government that is weak in the face of intolerant political groups, According to human rights watchdog group the Setara Institute ", " Lady Gaga has canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia over security concerns after Muslim hard-liners Threatened violence if the pop diva went ahead with her "Born This Way Ball," promoters said Sunday ", " Lawmaker Martin Hutabarat is calling on Indonesian Christians to not be provoked by "insults" on their religion made by U.S. pop singer Lady Gaga " .

News lead Represent 29/5, TJP keyword scriptwriting "as critic have suggested" As can be seen in the following text (direct quote are underlined):

"Government policies may apply differently on different cases and do not necessarily mean that it is bowing to the power of certain groups or people, as critics have suggested, said political scientist Fachry Ali".

Meanwhile in item on 27/5 (b), on the same date, TJP lowering News leads as follows:

"Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. The decision by Lady Gaga's management to cancel her planned June 3 concert reflects a government that is weak in the face of intolerant political groups, according to human rights watchdog group the Setara Institute".

Hyperbole Excessive quotes on TJP lead news item on 27/5 (b):

"Lady Gaga has canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia over security concerns after Muslim hard-liners threatened violence if the pop diva went ahead with her "Born This Way Ball," promoters said Sunday. (AP Photo/Joel Ryan, File)The Islamic People's Forum (FUI), made up of several hard-line Islamic groups including the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), breathed a sigh of relief upon hearing that Lady Gaga's management cancelled her planned June 3 concert at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta".

News lead in 25/5, TJP's scriptwriting as can be seen in the following text (direct quote are underlined):

"Lawmaker Martin Hutabarat is calling on Indonesian Christians to not be provoked by "insults" on their religion made by US pop singer Lady Gaga".

Item on 23/5 (a), on the same date, TJP put a news lead as follows

"Lawmaker Martin Hutabarat is calling on Indonesian Christians to not be provoked by "insults" on their religion made by US pop singer Lady Gaga. The Great Indonesian Movement Party (Gerindra) politician also invited Christians to remain calm in responding to "provocative" statements from Gaga, who is accused of promote "satanic values" and hatred against Christianity".

While in item on 23/5 (b), on the same date, TJP launched a news lead as follows:

“Jakarta gubernatorial candidate Faisal Basri is calling on police to stand up against aggressive organizations threatening violence over US singer Lady Gaga’s concert in the capital. Faisal, an economist from the University of Indonesia, said late Tuesday that while the Constitution guaranteed the rights of Indonesians to form community organizations, the groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society”.

Conclusion

Lexical choices as one of micro-analytical notions, plays a very important role in constructing the (desired) meaning of the text and to establish the various kinds of possible understandings of it. In other words as van Dijk believes these micro-level notions can direct the text to macro-level implications that helps to wider vision of the circumstance of power (re)production and other related subjects.

As it was shown in the data analysis chapter and within the part related to the lexical choices, this analytical component has been frequently used by *TJP* to paint a picture of FPI in which It seems to be dangerous and powerful.

Using the lexical choices – using the verb *Islamist hard-liner* instead of all of the possible-to-use verbs– the newspaper represents such image of FPI through emphasizing the improper answer of FPI suspend its anarchist culture activities.

There are many other examples, which are written about the way that lexical choices or other processes within CDA try to make that image and represent FPI in the described way. The point here is not that whether the real image of FPI is adopted to the image that *TJP*. Not the main point here is that whether FPI is bad or not, these processes of CDA show it in this way and if occasionally, we accept that all of what the newspaper writes about FPI is true and the medium treats FPI case fairly, still, in other places and situation they can be used improperly and dishonestly.

As mentioned above it is possible to say that these CDA processes can be used to establish a macro level of analysis out of the touchable micro level analysis of the contexts that accidentally these processes happen to be the main components to understand and realize what is going on. It means that we can find out about the relation between the groups and institutes out of the nature of relations that exists within the context. *TJP* as a newspaper is a part of another huge system of propaganda, which can have effect or can be affected by other items.

In sum, using the typology of news bias, FPI, have received unfairly negative coverage in *TJP* during May 2012.

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Appendices

1. Recent policies no proof of overpowered govt: Expert

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | National | Tue, May 29 2012, 7:02 PM

A- A A+

Government policies may apply differently on different cases and do not necessarily mean that it is bowing to the power of certain groups or people, as critics have suggested, said political scientist Fachry Ali.

Fachry says it would be inappropriate to perceive that the government is generally weak by citing recent cases, for example, of the demand by Kalimantan governors to increase subsidized fuel supplies and the US pop singer Lady Gaga brouhaha.

In the case of the subsidized fuel demand, which the government agreed to meet about on Monday, he says what happened was not that the government was yielding to regional administrations, but it was rather a case of democracy at work.

“Kalimantan is a vast area where life is scattered across wide geographic regions. It would be difficult for communities to thrive there without the right amount of transport fuel,” Fachry from the University of Indonesia told The Jakarta Post on Tuesday.

“This was a case where the central government and regional authorities worked things out. It is part of the dynamics of democracy.”

In another case, Lady Gaga’s management has cancelled the songwriter-singer’s Jakarta concert, which was initially scheduled for June 3 at the Bung Karno Stadium.

The decision was made on fears that it would be unsafe for the artist after hard line groups, such as the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI), which had purchased 150 concert tickets, had threatened to wreak havoc in the stadium, while the Jakarta Police had insisted on not recommending the National Police issue a concert permit. In response to the Lady Gaga case, Fachry said the government was actually following the public interest, not “bowing down” to violent groups.

“Most of the public was against Lady Gaga’s performance. Had they allowed Lady Gaga in, the government – especially the police – would have risked being alienated from the public,” he said. “On the other hand, think of other performances, such as the Java Jazz [an annual Jazz festival in Jakarta]. The public has no problems with that, so the government has no problems with that either.”

However, there are times when the government gives in to pressure from minority groups, he said. For example, congregations of the Indonesian Christian Church (GKI) Yasmin in Bogor and the Filadelfia

HKBP Church in Bekasi, both in West Java, and Ahmaddiyah followers find it difficult to worship due to protests from members of hard line Islamic groups or locals.

“The government cannot allow communities bullying religious groups. Doing so would let the violent groups get away with thinking that they are right. Think of the trauma the children of Ahmaddis will face when they see their parents become victims of violence,” Fachry said. (png/mtq)

2. Indonesia’s ‘Little Monsters’ cry over cancelled Gaga gig

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Jakarta | Sun, May 27 2012, 2:20 PM

A- A A+



Little monsters in action: Fans of U.S. pop star Lady Gaga perform a flash mob at a shopping mall in Jakarta, Indonesia, on Sunday. Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. (AP/Dita Alangkara) Student Darren Lim could not hold back his tears after hearing that his idol, American diva Lady Gaga, cancelled her planned concert in Jakarta.

“I just heard the news and I am really shocked. I was hoping that it was just a hoax,” the 18-year-old told The Jakarta Post on Sunday.

Darren is one of the 124 Gaga’s fans, nicknamed “Little Monsters”, slated to perform

Dressing in costumes that resemble Gaga's unique outfits, the fans were planning to post the dance video on YouTube in a bid to ensure the "Poker Face" singer perform in Jakarta.

However, local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment confirmed on Sunday morning that Gaga's management had decided to call off her performance in Jakarta, initially slated for June 3, citing "security reasons".

Darren, a Santa Maria high school student, said that his heart was broken by the decision, lamenting that he had been saving his money since October last year for the concert ticket.

"I started to save my money since Gaga was rumored to perform in Jakarta [in October last year]. On March 10, when the tickets went on sale, I arrived at the ticket box in FX Mall in Jakarta since 3 a.m.", he said, adding that he finally purchased the ticket at around 4 p.m. that day.

The Grammy-award winning singer was scheduled to perform before her fans at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta on June 3.

A total of 52,000 tickets, with prices ranging from Rp 465,000 (US\$50.75) to Rp2.25 million, had already been sold since tickets sales opened on March 10.

Simon Sibarani, the 19-year-old flash mob dance coordinator, criticized authorities for exaggerating Gaga's concert issue amid pressure from local hard line groups, which he deemed as the reason why Gaga's management did not believe in Indonesia's security.

"Tens of thousands of ticket buyers have had their rights taken away just because the police bowed to such pressure. For me, it just did not feel like living in a democratic country," he said.

He added that Gaga's fans would still perform the flash mob as scheduled.

"The show must go on. We still love Lady Gaga, until the end of time," he said.

Gaga, known for her live performances and eccentric fashion sense, has received been the subject of a backlash from hard line groups in Indonesia.

The groups accuse her for indulging in pornography and promoting "satanic values" in her music.

One of the groups, Islam Defenders Front (FPI), has threatened to intercept the singer once she “landed” in Jakarta. FPI also planned to rally on June 1 should Gaga proceed with her Jakarta concert. (asa/iwa)

3. Gaga's romance with Indonesian 'Little Monsters' ends badly

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Entertainment | Sun, May 27 2012, 10:51 AM

A- A A+



Bad romance: U.S. singer Lady Gaga pauses while making her way to a waiting car upon her arrival at Don Muang airport in Bangkok, Thailand Wednesday, May 23, 2012. Lady Gaga is performing a concert in Bangkok on Friday, May 25, 2012. (AP Photo)

Controversial US singer Lady Gaga is having a bad romance with her fans in Indonesia, dubbed as “Little Monsters”, with her scheduled concert in Jakarta officially cancelled by her management amid strong reactions from hard line Indonesian groups.

Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment's executive Michael Rusli told reporters in Jakarta on Sunday that Gaga's management had called him in the morning to cancel her performance in the capital.

"We have already received a call from Gaga's management that the singer had called off her concert in the capital," said Michael.

According to Michael, the 26-year-old singer's management decided to cancel the planned concert given "security concerns".

Michael told reporters in Jakarta that the tickets would be refunded "100 percent", starting on June 10.

"We will announce detailed procedures on Wednesday because we have to ask the police to issue a permit for us to refund the tickets, since it will involve crowds," Michael said.

The Grammy-award winning singer was scheduled to perform before her fans at the Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta on June 3, but problems with permits and stiff opposition from groups such as the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) forced the pop star to reconsider.

"Those who bought the tickets online will only have to fill out some forms before the money will be transferred back to their bank accounts. Other ticket buyers must show us the tickets first before we return their money," Michael said.

He declined to comment on how much money that the promoter had lost due to the cancellation

A total of 52,000 tickets had already been sold since the opening of tickets sales on March 10.

Michael added that a cancelled concert does not mean that Lady Gaga will never visit Indonesia.

In fact, the US singer's local promoter hinted at the possibility that the Grammy award-winning artist may make a visit to Indonesia once she was done with her European tour later this year.

"Once she is done with her European tour, she might make a visit to Indonesia," Big Daddy Entertainment executive Michael Rusli said on Sunday, as quoted by tribunnews.com.

Michael, however, said that there was no possibility to reschedule Gaga's concert in Indonesia anytime soon.

"Moving concert dates around is difficult because of her very tight schedule. Her management cancelled her concert due to security concerns. The artist herself doesn't want to cause any trouble for her fans here, in case violence breaks out during the concert," Michael said.

Big Daddy's lawyer, Minola Sebayang, said the promoter was still trying to complete all necessary documents in order for the police to issue a concert permit.

He added, however, that Gaga's management had decided to not take any risks on the singer, her crew members or ticket buyers from "suffering any harm".

"Gaga's camp did not want this show to cause any harm to anybody," said Minola.

Student Darren Lim could not hold back his tears after hearing that his idol, American diva Lady Gaga, cancelled her planned concert in Jakarta.

"I just heard the news and I am really shocked. I was hoping that it was just a hoax," the 18-year-old told The Jakarta Post on Sunday.

Darren is one of the 124 Gaga's fans, nicknamed "Little Monsters", slated to perform a flash mob dance at EX Mall in Central Jakarta on Sunday at around 4 p.m. to show their support to the singer.

Dressing in costumes that resemble Gaga's unique outfits, the fans were planning to post the dance video on YouTube in a bid to ensure the "Poker Face" singer perform in Jakarta.

Darren, a Santa Maria high school student, said that his heart was broken by the decision, lamenting that he had been saving his money since October last year for the concert ticket.

"I started to save my money since Gaga was rumored to perform in Jakarta [in October last year]. On March 10, when the tickets went on sale, I arrived at the ticket box in FX Mall in Jakarta since 3 a.m.," he said, adding that he finally purchased the ticket at around 4 p.m. that day.

Simon Sibarani, the 19-year-old flash mob dance coordinator, criticized authorities for exaggerating Gaga's concert issue amid pressure from local hard line groups, which he deemed as the reason why Gaga's management did not believe in Indonesia's security.

"Tens of thousands of ticket buyers have had their rights taken away just because the police bowed to such pressure. For me, it just did not feel like living in a democratic country," he said.

He added that Gaga's fans would still perform the flash mob as scheduled.

"The show must go on. We still love Lady Gaga, until the end of time," he said.

Gaga, known for her over-the-top live performances and eccentric fashion sense, has received backlash from hard line groups in Indonesia.

The groups accuse her of indulging in pornography and promoting "satanic values" in her music.

One of the groups, the notorious Islam Defenders Front (FPI), had gone as far as threatening to intercept the singer once she "landed her feet" in Jakarta.(asa/iwa/png)

4. Cops, promoter to discuss Gaga concert ticket refunds

Iman Mahditama, The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Jakarta | Mon, May 28 2012, 6:31 PM

A- A A+



The end of Gaga saga: Big Daddy Entertainment executive Michael Rusli (left) accompanied by lawyer Minola Sebayang (right) announces the cancellation of American pop diva Lady Gaga's concert in Jakarta on Sunday. Michael said the artist cancelled her concert due to "security concerns". (Antara/M Agung Rajasa)Jakarta Police spokesman Sr. Comr. Rikwanto said on Monday that the police would meet with concert promoter Big Daddy Entertainment this week to discuss ticket refunds for the cancelled Lady Gaga performance.

"We will discuss the [ticket refund] mechanism; regarding how many tickets were sold and estimation on how many days would be needed to refund all of them," he told reporters.

He said that the police estimated around two or three days would be needed to process all ticket refunds.

“We would also suggest that the process be done in a spacious place that can accommodate a large number of booths. We hope to discuss all of these technical matters [with Big Daddy] in the meeting,” he added.

The Grammy-award winning singer was scheduled to perform at the Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta on June 3, but problems with permits and stiff opposition from groups such as the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) forced the pop star to reconsider.

Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment’s executive Michael Rusli told reporters in Jakarta on Sunday that Gaga’s management had called him in the morning to cancel her performance in the capital.

According to Michael, the 26-year-old singer’s management decided to cancel the planned concert given “security concerns”.

Michael told reporters in Jakarta that the tickets would be 100 percent refunded starting on June 10.

He declined to comment on how much money the promoter had lost due to the cancellation.

A total of 52,000 tickets, with prices ranging from Rp 465,000 (US\$50.75) to Rp 2.25 million, had already been sold since the opening of ticket sales on March 10. (swd)

5. Promoter to refund Lady Gaga concert tickets

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | National | Sun, May 27 2012, 6:12 PM

A- A A+

Local concert promoter Big Daddy Entertainment has promised to issue full refunds for the 52,000 tickets purchased for Lady Gaga’s June 3 concert in Jakarta, after the US singer backed out early on Sunday morning.

Big Daddy executive Michael Rusli told reporters in Jakarta that the tickets would be refunded “100 percent“, starting on June 10.

"We will announce detailed procedures on Wednesday because we have to ask the police to issue a permit for us to refund the tickets, since it will involve crowds," Michael said.

The Grammy-award winning singer was scheduled to perform before her fans at the Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta on June 3, but problems with permits and stiff opposition from groups such as the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) forced the pop star to reconsider.

Michael confirmed that Gaga's management had decided to call off her performance in Jakarta on Sunday, citing "security reasons".

A total of 52,000 tickets, with prices ranging from Rp 465,000 (US\$50.75) to Rp 2.25 million, have already been sold since tickets sales opened on March 10.

"Those who bought the tickets online will only have to fill out some forms before the money will be transferred back to their bank accounts. Other ticket buyers must show us the tickets first before we return their money," Michael said.

He declined to comment on how much money that the promoter had lost due to the cancellation.

The Jakarta Police said earlier that they would not recommend the National Police to issue a concert permit for Lady Gaga.

The pop icon, known for her controversial fashion sense and outspoken advocacy for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender rights, is the first foreign performer to be rejected by Indonesian authorities. (asa/iwa)

6. Issue: ‘Little Monsters’ lament cancelled Gaga gig

| Readers Forum | Tue, May 29 2012, 10:00 AM

A- A A+

May 27, Online



Tribute to their mother: Fans of Lady Gaga, known as “Little Monsters”, gathered in Jakarta for an event called “Tribute to Mother Monster” on Sunday. Lady Gaga’s managers cancelled the planned concert in Jakarta on June 3 as the police could not guarantee security at the event. JP/NurhayatiStudent Darren Lim could not hold back his tears after hearing that his idol, American diva Lady Gaga, had cancelled her planned concert

in

Jakarta.

“I just heard the news and I am really shocked. I was hoping that it was just a hoax,” the 18-year-old told The Jakarta Post on Sunday. Darren was one of the 124 Gaga’s fans, nicknamed “Little Monsters”, slated to perform a flash mob dance at EX Mall in Central Jakarta on Sunday at around 4 p.m. to show their support for the singer.

Dressing in costumes resembling Gaga’s unique outfits, the fans were planning to post the dance video on YouTube in a bid to ensure the “Poker Face” singer performed in Jakarta. However, local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment confirmed on Sunday morning that Gaga’s management had decided to call off her performance in Jakarta, initially slated for June 3, citing “security reasons”.

7. Gaga cancellation could lower world opinion of Indonesia

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | National | Sun, May 27 2012, 8:04 PM

A- A A+

The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.

"The world community may still see that Indonesia is a democratic country despite the outcome of this Lady Gaga incident, but they will see the country as one where freedom of expression and different opinions are hampered," Otho Hernowo Hadi, a University of Indonesia social science and politics professor told The Jakarta Post on Sunday.

"It may even be possible that the handling of this controversy could lower Indonesia's democracy index."

The public could also lose trust in the police, Otho said.

"I am certain that strong pressure from minority groups had an indirect influence on the police's decisions throughout this controversy, even if they won't admit it," he said.

Hard-line groups have condemned the Grammy Award-winning pop diva and accused her of advocating pornography and promoting satanic values. The Islam Defenders Front (FPI) threatened to send its members to intercept the singer if she landed on Indonesian soil.

Lady Gaga was scheduled to perform at Jakarta's Bung Karno Stadium on June 3.

The Jakarta Police, who refused to recommend that the National Police issue a concert permit, have constantly denied allegations that their decision was made in response to hard-line Muslim groups' demands.

Whatever the motive of the police, Otho said that the outcome of this controversy is "a defeat for security".

"The public will see that the state is bowing down to these little groups, and it will set a bad precedent on freedom of expression. It could be that people will be afraid to freely express themselves unless they do so according to the limitations set by these little groups," Otho said.(png/iwa)

8. Mother Monster apologizes to Little Monsters

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Entertainment | Mon, May 28 2012, 8:33 AM

A- A A+



Born that way: Fans of U.S. pop star Lady Gaga prepare to perform a flash mob at a shopping mall in Jakarta, Indonesia, Sunday, May 27, 2012. Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. (AP Photo/Dita Alangkara) US pop singer Lady Gaga has apologized to her Indonesian fans for cancelling her planned June 3 concert at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta.

"We had to cancel the concert in Indonesia. I'm so very sorry to the fans and just as devastated as you, if not more. You are everything to me," she said, through her official Twitter account, @ladygaga, on Sunday evening.

Earlier on Sunday, local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment told reporters in Jakarta that Gaga's management had called their company in the morning to cancel her performance in the capital.

According to company executive Michael Rusli, the Grammy Award-winning artist's management decided to cancel the planned concert due to "security concerns".

Despite this turn of events, Lady Gaga hinted to Indonesian fans that she would give them special compensation for the cancellation.

"I will try to put together something special for you. My love for Indonesia has only grown. #GagaSendsLoveToJakarta and all its people," she wrote.

Lady Gaga had previously spoken out about the drama surrounding her Jakarta concert, noting censorship concerns and threats of violence against her.

"The Jakarta situation is two-fold: Indonesian authorities demand I censor the show and religious extremists are threatening violence," she posted on Twitter on May 22. "If the show does go ahead as scheduled, I will perform the BTWBall [Born This Way Ball] alone."

One of the authorities referred to was Religious Affairs Minister Suryadharma Ali, who had previously said that Gaga "indulges in pornography by wearing revealing costumes" and that she would have a negative influence on young Indonesians.

There are also groups like the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), which has expressed strong opposition to the Grammy Award-winning artist, with FPI chief, Habib Salim Alatas, saying that Gaga brings "the faith of Satan to our country and thus will destroy the nation's morals".

The FPI had even threatened to send its members to intercept the singer if she were to arrive in Indonesia.

In addition to these religious and political figures, the police also made it difficult for Lady Gaga to come to Indonesia.

The Jakarta Police, for instance, refused to recommend that the National Police issue a concert permit.

The National Police, in turn, set Gaga's concert promoters a large set of requirements in order for her to get a permit, which included asking for recommendations from groups like the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) and the Religious Affairs Ministry, both of which had expressed strong disapproval of the artist.

Due to the cancellation, Big Daddy Entertainment said they would refund the 52,000 tickets that fans had bought, 12,000 of which were purchased by overseas concertgoers, including from Australia and the Philippines. (png/swd)

9. Youth get political after Gaga furor

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Jakarta | Wed, May 30 2012, 9:40 AM

A- A A+

Sixteen-year-old Tamara Ramli says that she has heard news about local politics, but it was the hullabaloo over Lady Gaga that sparked her opinion. "The brouhaha gives you an idea about how our law enforcers give in to the demands of certain groups," she told The Jakarta Post on Tuesday. Tamara, an 11th grader at the Mahatma Gading School in North Jakarta, is among tens of thousands of fans of the American singer, dubbed "Little Monsters", who were unable to watch their idol perform after the organizer, Big Daddy Entertainment, announced that her Jakarta gig was canceled amid strong reactions from several Islamic groups.

The Jakarta Police initially declined to issue a recommendation for the concert permit for Gaga's concert, making her the first foreign performer to be rejected by the country's law enforcers. "The police did nothing" in the face of threats made by groups such as the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) should the controversial diva perform in the capital, Tamara said.

"Most of the media interviewed people opposing Gaga's concert, dismissing the voice of her fans. I don't feel like I'm living in a tolerant country anymore," she added. Bintang Lestada, 18, separately said that the entire

tumult made him realize that Indonesian politics tended to exaggerate minor issues. “How can we move on to talk about matters such as gender equality, poverty or corruption when some groups prefer to be narrow-minded for trivial issues like a concert permit?”

“Basically, this country is a big, fat joke,” he added in English. Local fans expressed their views on the concert’s cancellation issue via social networks. Among at least a dozen local Gaga Twitter fan-bases, @LadyGagaIndo and @IndonesiaProGaga totaled 25,310 and 6,832 followers respectively as of Tuesday. The latter account was formed in mid-May in the wake of the recent controversy. On Sunday dozens of fans staged a flash-mob dance at eX Mall in Central Jakarta, to be uploaded on the video-sharing site YouTube next week.

Some plan to gather at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta, where the concert was previously scheduled to take place, on June 3, among others planning to scatter flowers to symbolize “the death of this country’s freedom of expression”. Democratic Party lawmaker Tere Pardede noted the “positive outcome of the issue” regarding political awareness among the young.

Tere, one among Indonesian female pop and rock singers in the 2000s, serves in the House of Representatives Commission X overseeing youth and cultural affairs.

“I think many young Indonesians will have a hard time in learning politics merely through theories. However, the Gaga polemic is more relevant to their daily lives and thus encourages them to be more opinionated on the country’s political issues,” she added. (asa)

10. View Point: Gaga’s ‘gado-gado’: When blasphemy is best

Julia Suryakusuma, Jakarta | Opinion | Wed, May 30 2012, 7:57 AM

A- A A+

There are many words in the Indonesian language that start with “gaga”, such as gagas (to initiate); gagap (to stutter); gagau (to grope around in the dark); gagah (strong, sharp, as in “looking sharp”); bergagah-gagah to show off your strength) and gagal (to fail).

All of these have some sort of connection with Jakarta’s recent Gaga-saga. The Big Daddy entertainment organizers gagas-ed a Lady Gaga show for June 3rd, the authorities got all gagap and gagau about it, conservative Muslims, such as the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) went out of their way to bergagah-gagah, and then did all they could to make the Lady Gaga show gagal. They succeeded — for now.

Yes, Lady Gaga is a magnet for controversy. She’s been accused of spreading Satanism and corrupting young people’s morality.

She’s sexually vulgar and religiously blasphemous, so her critics say, and they revile her for outrageous performances. On the other hand she is the beloved of her many fans, engendering a worldwide Lady Gaga movement.

Love her or hate her, Lady Gaga arouses strong passions. So far, people have looked at the Indonesian Gagasaga in terms of freedom of expression, state authority and democracy.

But is there deeper significance behind the intense reactions she has evoked? Why was she named one of the 10 most influential people of 2010? And why did she rise to fame when she did?

First, let me state my position. I love Lady Gaga, in the same way I love all strong women who are not afraid to express themselves (remember Madonna's 1989 song "Express Yourself" with its gender equality message?) in powerful, forceful and creative ways.

And I love her because Gaga is like gado-gado! This is word that means not only the cooked vegetable salad with peanut sauce, considered one of our "national dishes", but also something mixed or eclectic.

Yep, Lady Gaga is definitely eclectic, creating an oversized persona from a cocktail of high and low culture, inspired by fashion, film, drag queens, heavy metallers and pop stars, as well as spiritual figures like Deepak Chopra.

That's what artists do. They use their skills — including lyrics, sound and performance — to take a snapshot explaining what it's like to be alive in the times they inhabit.

That's why Lady Gaga is to the YouTube generation what Madonna and Michael Jackson were to the MTV generation — and the viral system of social networking has been a much more effective means of turning her into a global icon than the recording industry's publicity machine.

Lady Gaga's ascendance began with the onset of the global financial crisis (GFC). Her outrageous, attention-grabbing acts were just what people needed to distract themselves from their economic woes.

But it would be a mistake to reduce her creative commotions to mere diversion from hip-pocket pain. Her art resonates with audiences because she expresses and defines images, ideas, emotions and desires that are already in people's minds and hearts.

Today we live in a time of limitation, be it of material, natural or spiritual resources. Rampant capitalistic greed has created a chasm between the minority rich and the majority poor, not to mention environmental degradation.

Those who benefit from the existing paradigm hang on to it tightly. The rest feel the future is bleak — doomed even — and want to change it. Hence the worldwide Occupy Movement. They've been criticized for not having an agenda apart from expressing dissatisfaction, but that's only because the time is not yet ripe.

Then, there are the desperados who act with reactionary fervor, either because they pessimistically feel their time might be coming to an end, or because they optimistically think vindication is just around the corner.

The pessimists not only include the FPI and that ilk, but also the Church (plagued with corruption and sex scandals and, in the West, declining attendance) as well as the Santorums and Romneys of the world, of whatever faith.

The optimists include the Facebook and Twitter generation who think the old guard is rotten, as well as women, many of whom have had it with patriarchal domination.

Lady Gaga's Born this Way, which is usually considered as a plea for LGBT rights, is also the anthem of a new generation who care more about social solidarity and the environment because their lives and future depend on it.

Part of the reason why both Muslim and Christian reactionary groups have lambasted Lady Gaga as satanic is because she is a woman who dares to be herself, therefore copping the usual "witch" label. It's ironic really. When groups like the FPI attack people or buildings are they being godly? No, of course not, and in the long run, they will lose because of it.

Be prepared folks, as things will get worse before they get better. It will be some time before the Facebook and Twitter generation come of age in 2023 but they will bring a new set of values to the world's leadership.

The reason why Lady Gaga has such a huge following is not just because she's giving the finger to the old guard, but also because she embodies the spirit of this coming generation.

It's a pity Lady Gaga didn't make it to Indonesia. But who knows, maybe she'll make the FPI even more famous by making them part of her next act!

The writer (www.juliasuryakusuma.com) is the author of Julia's Jihad.

11. Extremists win the Lady Gaga saga

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Headlines | Mon, May 28 2012, 7:00 AM

A- A A+



Flash mob:

JP/Nurhayati

Fans of American pop star Lady Gaga perform in a flash mob event in Jakarta on Sunday. The Lady Gaga concert in Jakarta was canceled after weeks of controversy created by religious hard-liners who claimed her outlandish clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt Indonesia's youth.

The US pop singer Lady Gaga will not perform in the country as part of her "Born This Way Ball Tour 2012", dealing another blow to the country's much-touted freedom of expression.

Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment's executive Michael Rusli told reporters in Jakarta on Sunday that Gaga's management had called him earlier that morning to cancel her performance in the capital.

"We have already received a call from Gaga's management that the singer had called off her concert in the capital," said Michael.

Radical Muslim groups have expressed strong opposition to the show, previously scheduled for June 3.

Jakarta-based Driyarkara School of Philosophy sociologist B. Herry Priyono said that the government had once again been powerless in the face of small groups of firebrands that imposed their views on the broader society.

“In this saga, we have two sides. One side wants to promote what Lady Gaga stands for, and the other stands against it. Apparently, the country’s law could not be used to prevent the promotion of [Lady Gaga’s} musical content, however unbecoming it is. The law can only be applied to those who used violence to reject Lady Gaga, and the police have not done anything,” Herry told The Jakarta Post over the weekend.

The Setara Institute, a human rights watchdog, said the gig’s cancellation reflected a government that was weak in the face of intolerant political groups.

“The state authorities should have guaranteed freedom of expression and security. These are rights guaranteed in our Constitution and in our laws,” Setara Institute chairman Hendaridi said on Sunday.

Big Daddy Entertainment said that the 26-year-old singer’s management decided to cancel the planned concert due to “security concerns”.

Big Daddy’s lawyer, Minola Sebayang, said that Gaga’s management had decided to not take any risks that might put the singer, her crew members or ticket buyers in harm’s way.

“Gaga’s camp did not want this show to cause any harm to anybody,” said Minola.

Gaga, known for her over-the-top live performances and eccentric fashion sense, has been the target of backlash from hard-line groups in Indonesia.

Via her Twitter account on late Saturday, Gaga hinted that her refusal to play Jakarta could have something to do with staunch opposition from Muslim hard-liner groups.

“There is nothing holy about hatred,” said Gaga, born Stefani Joanne Angelina Germanotta.

Michael said that all 52,000 tickets that had been purchased for the show would be refunded.

“We will refund the tickets that have already been bought. We will announce the procedures on Wednesday,” he added.

Contacted separately, Tourism and Creative Economy Ministry’s director general for cultural value, arts, and film Ukus Kuswara said that the show’s cancellation would not prompt other foreign performers to have second thoughts about performing here.

“I believe that Indonesia will remain an interesting destination as well as a potential market for international musicians. In the future, we will have to improve communication between related parties,” he added.

The ministry’s data showed that around 12,000 foreign tourists from Australia, the Philippines, and other ASEAN and Middle Eastern countries had bought tickets and booked rooms in three- and four-star hotels in Jakarta to watch the show.

Islam Defenders Front (FPI) spokesman Munarman said he “thanked God” for the cancellation, saying that the show “would only have been for stupid people”.

“Alhamdulillah [praise the Lord] that the concert was canceled. Only idiots welcome this kind of entertainment exposing stupidity and women’s nudity,” Munarman said.

12. Gaga concert — to be or not to be

Sita W. Dewi and Iman Mahditama, The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Headlines | Wed, May 23 2012, 7:21 AM

A- A A+

US Grammy-award winning singer Lady Gaga can no longer maintain her poker face.

She has finally broken her silence on the prolonged drama over her planned Jakarta concert, making notes of censorship concerns and threats of violence against her on Twitter.

“The Jakarta situation is 2-fold: Indonesian authorities demand I censor the show and religious extremists separately, are threatening violence,” she said on Twitter on Tuesday.

“If the show does go on as scheduled, I will perform the BTWBall [Born This Way Ball] alone.”

One of the authorities she was referring to is Religious Affairs Minister Suryadharma Ali, who said last week that Gaga “indulges in pornography by wearing revealing costumes” and that she would have a negative influence on young Indonesians.

The hard-line Islam Defenders Front (FPI) has also expressed strong opposition to the singer, with one FPI executive, Salim Alatas, saying that Gaga brings “the faith of Satan to our country and thus will destroy the nation’s morals”.

Gaga’s planned June 3 concert has been in limbo following objections by numerous conservative groups and the Jakarta Police’s aversion to recommend the National Police issue a concert permit.

As the saga continues, the National Police came up with a solution — but with a twist.

The National Police said Tuesday they would issue a concert permit for Gaga — as long the promoters got recommendations from the Religious Affairs Ministry and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).

According to the 2002 Police Law, it is the National Police who have the authority “to issue a permit for and monitor activities involving crowds”.

In response to the National Police’s solution, Adrianus Meliala, a University of Indonesia expert in security and police reform issues, said that the police needed no approval from the MUI or the Religious Affairs Ministry to issue a concert permit.

“The police are the security authority — that is their coverage of work. They can’t just turn a blind eye to the security issue should the MUI not issue a recommendation for the concert, can they?” he told The Jakarta Post.

Meanwhile, the Jakarta Police have relaxed their position, saying they were preparing between 2,000 and 4,000 officers to safeguard Gaga’s concert if it goes ahead.

“Our stance is still the same: We won’t recommend the concert be held. However, as part of the National Police, of course we are ready to safeguard the show if the National Police decide that the show can go on as planned,” he told reporters.

MUI arts and culture division head Cholil Ridwan said the organization would further discuss whether a recommendation would be issued in a leadership meeting.

FPI spokesman Munarman said on Tuesday that Indonesian Christians should praise the FPI, as well as other Islamic organizations, for their campaign against Gaga’s concert.

“Lady Gaga has obviously misused symbols of Christianity, such as the cross, in her work,” he said, citing Gaga’s song “Judas” as an example.

Munarman was speaking to reporters on the sidelines of a meeting with members of the House of Representatives’ Commission III overseeing law, human rights and security.

The FPI and other hard-line groups went to the House to ensure House members supported the police’s initial decision to ban Gaga’s concert.

Minola Sebayang, the lawyer of Gaga’s Indonesian promoter, Big Daddy Entertainment, said the management would unveil its final decision on whether the concert would be held or not, on June 2 — one day before the scheduled concert.

“There will be no concert if the permit is not issued,” Minola said at the Jakarta Police headquarters.

The Immigration Office has revealed that Gaga has already obtained a visa to enter Indonesia. (png)

Margareth S. Aritonang contributed reporting.

13. Cleric says Lady Gaga performs satanic rituals through concerts

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Entertainment | Mon, May 28 2012, 8:12 AM

A- A A+



Gaga protest: Muslim students shout slogans during a rally against U.S. pop singer Lady Gaga's concert that is scheduled to be held on June 3, outside the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, Friday, May 25, 2012. Lady Gaga might have to cancel her sold-out show in Indonesia because police worry her sexy clothes and dance moves undermine Islamic values and will corrupt the country's youth. (AP Photo/Dita Alangkara)The Assembly of Indonesian Muslim Young Intellectuals (MIUMI) welcomed the cancellation of US pop singer Lady Gaga's planned June 3 concert.

"MIUMI is grateful to God for protecting this nation from the curse of Satanic rituals. Lady Gaga doesn't perform concerts; what people see are actually satanic rituals," MIUMI secretary-general Bachtiar Nasir said on Sunday as quoted by *tribunnews.com*.

He said the MIUMI also extended its gratitude to those who had played a role in rejecting the Grammy Award-winning artist.

The fact that the country was able to keep Lady Gaga out is proof that Indonesia has the power to resist the influence of what Nasir called "mental imperialists".

"Imperialists nowadays don't come armed with weapons. Instead, they are armed with ideas that don't fit the country's character," he said.

"The fact that we have succeeded means that we can expel other cultural and mental imperialists in the future."

Even if Lady Gaga were to have toned down her dress code, Nasir said that the MIUMI would still have opposed her.

"Even if she wore a jilbab (headscarf), we'd reject her. Think of it this way: Beer packaged as mineral water is still haram (forbidden)," Nasir said.

After weeks of uncertainty, Lady Gaga's management finally decided on Sunday to cancel her planned concert at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta, citing security concerns.

Hard-line groups like the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) have long expressed strong opposition to the singer, with the FPI even threatening to send its members to intercept the show should the singer have insisted upon performing.

The local concert promoters have confirmed that the 52,000 people who bought tickets for the cancelled event will be given full refunds.(dic)

14. RI's 'Little Monsters' vow not to 'dance in the dark'

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Headlines | Tue, May 29 2012, 8:00 AM

A- A A+



Little monsters in action: Fans of U.S. pop star Lady Gaga perform a flash mob at a shopping mall in Jakarta, Indonesia, on Sunday. Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. (AP/Dita Alangkara) Fans of US pop act Lady Gaga, dubbed "Little Monsters", were still determined to keep on dancing after the Jakarta stop on the singer's "Born This Way Ball 2012" tour was canceled.

Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment said on Sunday that Gaga's management had decided to call off the Jakarta performance, previously scheduled for June 3, citing "security concerns" amid a backlash from the country's hard-liner groups against the controversial diva.

The Grammy-award winning singer, known for such hits as "Dance in the Dark" and "Born This Way", said via her Twitter account that she was as "devastated" as her Indonesian fans. "I am very sorry to the fans, I will try to put together something special for you. My love for Indonesia has only grown," she said late on Sunday.

While they were noticeably disappointed about the decision, Gaga's fans who had bought tickets for the gig tried to carry on despite the cancellation.

Kenny Santana, a 33-year-old film programmer at local movie theater Blitz Megaplex, said he had considered going to Gaga's concert in Singapore on Thursday.

The diva is currently in Singapore for three performances on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday, also part of her world tour.

"I am still hunting for last-minute cancellation tickets. The last time I checked, the ticket prices were around S\$100 [US\$78.35]," he told The Jakarta Post on Monday.

He added, however, that the plan was still undecided because there were other things to be considered such as plane tickets and accommodations.

Meanwhile, Ali, a 26-year-old banker from Bandung, West Java, said the whole Gaga brouhaha had taught him the lesson to watch his musical idol "anywhere else but Indonesia".

"I would prefer to see her perform in another country in the future," he said.

Other fans said that they did not have enough money to watch Gaga's performance in another country given the sudden cancellation.

"I just could not afford it at this time. I will stay focused on the flash-mob project instead as a

consolation,” 19-year-old Simon Sibarani, coordinator of a Gaga flash-mob dance, told the Post.

He added that the video of dozens of Gaga’s fans, who put on a flash-mob dance in Jakarta on Sunday, would be uploaded on video-sharing site YouTube next week.

Hervina, founder of one of Gaga’s Twitter fan-bases for Indonesia, said that a number of “Little Monsters” were planning to gather at Gelora Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta on June 3 to pay a tribute to the star.

“One of the plans is to sow condolence flowers to symbolize the death of this country’s freedom of expression,” said Hervina.

A total of 52,000 tickets, with prices ranging from Rp 465,000 to Rp 2.25 million, were sold after sales opened on March 10.

Big Daddy’s spokesman, Arif Ramadhoni, told the Post separately that the organizer had guaranteed to refund ticket purchasers “100 percent”.

He stressed that the example of Starlight Management, which failed to refund all the money to fans of Korean band CN Blue’s after the group canceled their gig, would not be followed by Big Daddy. (asa)

15. Gaga cancellation could lower world opinion of Indonesia

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | National | Sun, May 27 2012, 8:04 PM

A- A A+

The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.

"The world community may still see that Indonesia is a democratic country despite the outcome of this Lady Gaga incident, but they will see the country as one where freedom of

expression and different opinions are hampered," Otho Hernowo Hadi, a University of Indonesia social science and politics professor told The Jakarta Post on Sunday.

"It may even be possible that the handling of this controversy could lower Indonesia's democracy index."

The public could also lose trust in the police, Otho said.

"I am certain that strong pressure from minority groups had an indirect influence on the police's decisions throughout this controversy, even if they won't admit it," he said.

Hard-line groups have condemned the Grammy Award-winning pop diva and accused her of advocating pornography and promoting satanic values. The Islam Defenders Front (FPI) threatened to send its members to intercept the singer if she landed on Indonesian soil.

Lady Gaga was scheduled to perform at Jakarta's Bung Karno Stadium on June 3.

The Jakarta Police, who refused to recommend that the National Police issue a concert permit, have constantly denied allegations that their decision was made in response to hard-line Muslim groups' demands.

Whatever the motive of the police, Otho said that the outcome of this controversy is "a defeat for security".

"The public will see that the state is bowing down to these little groups, and it will set a bad precedent on freedom of expression. It could be that people will be afraid to freely express themselves unless they do so according to the limitations set by these little groups," Otho said.(png/iwa)

16. 'Gaga cancellation reflects weak govt': Setara

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | National | Sun, May 27 2012, 7:18 PM

A- A A+



Little monsters in action: Fans of U.S. pop star Lady Gaga perform a flash mob at a shopping mall in Jakarta, Indonesia, on Sunday. Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. (AP/Dita Alangkara) The decision by Lady Gaga's management to cancel her planned June 3 concert reflects a government that is weak in the face of intolerant political groups, according to human rights watchdog group the Setara Institute.

"The authority of the state should have led to freedom of expression and guaranteed security. These are rights guaranteed in our constitution and in our laws," Setara Institute chairman Hendardi said on Sunday.

Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment officially announced that Gaga's management had cancelled her performance in the capital due to "security concerns".

Hard-line groups such as the Islamic People's Forum (FUI) and the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) have condemned the Grammy-award winning pop star for allegedly indulging in "pornography" and promoting "satanic values".

The FPI even threatened to send its members to intercept Gaga at the Soekarno-Hatta International Airport to prevent her from setting foot in the country.

"It's clear that the promoter's decision to cancel the concert was a result of pressure and threats," Hendardi said.

"The tug of war from this [concert] permit acquisition demonstrates that this isn't just a technical matter about the law, but rather has become a political issue that will highly benefit the groups that are controlling it," he added.

Similarly, another critic says that the cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.

"The world community may still see that Indonesia is a democratic country despite the outcome of this Lady Gaga incident, but they will see the country as one where freedom of expression and different opinions are hampered," Otho Hernowo Hadi, a University of Indonesia social science and politics professor told The Jakarta Post on Sunday.

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"The public will see that the state is bowing down to these little groups, and it will set a bad precedent on freedom of expression. It could be that people will be afraid to freely express themselves unless they do so according to the limitations set by these little groups," Otho said.

Separately, an official at the Tourism and Creative Economy Ministry said that his office respected the decision of US diva Lady Gaga's management to cancel her show in Jakarta, but denied that the cancellation would prompt other foreign performers to follow suit.

The ministry's director general for cultural value, arts and film, Ukus Kuswara, told The Jakarta Post on Sunday that the ministry considered the decision made by Gaga's management the best solution under the circumstances.

"I believe that Indonesia will remain an interesting destination for international musicians as well as a potential market for them. In the future, we will have to improve communication between relevant parties," he added.

The ministry previously endorsed Gaga's performance, citing that the Grammy-award singer would boost tourism in the country.

Ministry data show that around 12,000 foreign tourists from Australia, the Philippines and other ASEAN and Middle Eastern countries had bought tickets to the concert and had booked rooms in three- and four-star hotels in Jakarta.

The singer was scheduled to perform at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta on June 3.

However, local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment said in a press conference on Sunday morning that Gaga's management had decided to cancel her gig in Jakarta, citing "security reasons" amid a hostile response from several hard-line groups in the country.

A total of 52,000 tickets, with prices ranging from Rp 465,000 (US\$50.75) to Rp 2.25 million, have already been sold since tickets sales opened on March 10.

(png/iwa/asa)

17. 'Thank God for Gaga's gig cancellation': FUI

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | National | Sun, May 27 2012, 7:33 PM

A- A A+



Go Gaga: In this Nov. 6, 2011 file photo, Lady Gaga performs at the MTV European Music Awards 2011, in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Lady Gaga has canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia over security concerns after Muslim hard-liners threatened violence if the pop diva went ahead with her "Born This Way Ball," promoters said Sunday. (AP Photo/Joel Ryan, File)The Islamic People's Forum (FUI), made up of several hard-line Islamic groups including the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), breathed a sigh of relief upon hearing that Lady Gaga's management cancelled her planned June 3 concert at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta.

"Alhamdulillah [Thank God] that this event, which has troubled Muslims across Indonesia, has been cancelled," FUI secretary-general Muhammad Al-Khaththath told The Jakarta Post on Sunday.

"I would like to thank all the members of the FUI, the FPI, and all those Islamic movements that persevered in fighting to defend the moral health of our nation."

Khaththath also thanked activists and the police for doing their part to stop Gaga's concert.

Similarly FPI spokesman Munarman also expressed his gratitude over Gaga's cancellation saying, "only idiots welcome the kind of entertainment that promotes stupidity and women's nakedness," FPI spokesman Munarman told The Jakarta Post.

Munarman denied allegations from Gaga's camp and Big Daddy Entertainment that Indonesia had a security issue, saying that the police had the authority to provide safety for any show in the country.

"Don't make the wrong conclusion about this ... what rubbish thought," he said.

Thousands of FUI members pledged to rally in front of police headquarters on June 1 to demand that the police withhold the concert permit for the Grammy award-winning singer. The FUI had previously rallied at the same location on Friday to rebuff Lady Gaga.

"We will still go on June 1 to rally in front of the National Police Headquarters as we had originally planned, only this time we will give the police our support and gratitude for helping to cancel this troublesome event," Khaththath said.

The FUI had previously condemned the pop star for allegedly indulging in "pornography" and promoting "satanic values". They also alleged that she would "corrupt the morals" of young Indonesians.(png/asa)

18. God will be the judge of Gaga: Lawmaker

Margareth S. Aritonang, The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | National | Fri, May 25 2012, 2:04 PM

A- A A+



Martin Hutabarat: *(Tribunnews.com)*

Lawmaker Martin Hutabarat is calling on Indonesian Christians to not be provoked by “insults” on their religion made by US pop singer Lady Gaga.

The Great Indonesian Movement Party (Gerindra) politician also invited Christians to remain calm in responding to “provocative” statements from Gaga, who is accused of promote “satanic values” and hatred against Christianity.

"Let God decide what to do to her if she does insult God or Christianity, as has been widely reported. We are not one to defend the Divine. Judgment doesn't belong to us," Martin said Friday at the House of Representatives.

An Islam Defenders Front (FPI) spokesman has previously condemned the public for negatively judging the group and other fellow hard-liners for protesting against Gaga's plan to perform a concert in the capital.

He said Indonesian Christians be thankful for the protest because it Gaga had attacked their religion.

"Just remain calm. I believe God knows what to do," Martin said.

19. The fallacies behind the Lady Gaga saga

Donny Syofyan, Padang | Opinion | Thu, May 24 2012, 8:37 AM

A- A A+

The National Police now says it will issue a concert permit for American pop diva Lady Gaga — but only if the promoters achieve the monumental task of getting recommendations from the Religious Affairs Ministry and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).

Police also demanded that concert promoter Big Daddy Entertainment have recommendations from the Tourism Ministry, the Home Affairs Ministry, the Director General of Immigration over Lady Gaga's visa and the Manpower and Transmigration Ministry (The Jakarta Post, May 22, 2012)

Things are getting fierce, as seen from the support and opposition of the planned Lady Gaga concert in this country. As a matter of fact, the saga of Lady Gaga is large and saturated with fallacies. There remain a lot of improper arguments in reasoning often, resulting in misconceptions or presumptions.

One of the most frequent fallacies that frequently bubbles to the surface is circular reasoning. For example, liberal camps always capitalize on the concept of freedom. From a different perspective, the fundamentalist groups assert there is nothing wrong with freedom so long as it has nothing to do with religious and cultural blasphemy.

While the latter regard Lady Gaga's music and performances as representing violations due to lewd and pornographic content, the former consider them as pure art without judgment.

The liberals accuse fundamentalists like the Islam Defenders Front (FPI) of losing logic and disregarding individual rights.

In contrast, the fundamentalists believe what they are doing is simply to practice *amar makruf nahi munkar* (call on good deeds and prevent evil deeds), which is at the same time in accordance with the country's traditional values.

I reckon that the tensions between the supporters and those who are opposed to Lady Gaga

performing can never end without the government sagely socializing lewd and pornographic content to the public, based on Law No. 44/2008 on Pornography. Going a bit deeper, despite its controversy, the law does not set out average treatments.

For instance, the law absolutely does not touch on those using koteka in Papua or wearing traditional Javanese and Balinese outfits without covering their aurat (parts of the body that must be showed and covered in Islam), and many others.

The debate over Lady Gaga's music and performances is different when they are seen from cultural and psychological insights instead of the religious perspective an sich. Strong criticism against her should not be judged from her costumes but against her "blasphemy, devil worshipping, nudity and lewd conduct" instead. Even in the name of freedom and democracy, all cultures come to term with perilous eroticism and blasphemy, including Muslims and Christians.

Massive socialization of lewd and pornographic content greatly serves to ease tensions and fosters common platforms between groups standing against and for Lady Gaga's music and performances. The failure to do so will give the impression that those fighting for freedom and minority rights are vulnerable to slander or defamation.

The second fallacy is retrospective determinism. Based on this fallacy, the opposing groups could be seen as the tips of the iceberg between liberal groups and hard-liners in Indonesia. Regarding the tensions between the liberals and the fundamentalists as socially constructed and historically unchangeable is really misleading and fallacious.

Such a mind-set would never set the scene for constructive dialogue among the conflicting parties when it comes to controversial issues such as openness to Western culture, music and entertainment.

Frankly speaking, the fallacy comes to the fore because the state lets any particular group exercise control over public security on one side and have a license to say "yes" or "no" over a particular discourse on the other. This tendency will definitely have tremendous effects in discouraging democracy because the government will eventually lose public legitimacy and become powerless.

The government, therefore, needs to restore its function to maintain public security straightforwardly and pave the way for both liberals and hard-liners to start listening to each other.

With the debacle of not doing that, each party will spend their time and energy to debate and prove that each are right, instead of seeking or working on consensus ad idem.

Further, the government and lawmakers are expected to show smart statement and just treatment in response to the mushrooming global culture and a declining domestic heritage. In addition to opening the door for Hollywood and Korean singers coming to this country, the Tourism and Creative Economy Ministry, for instance, should also advocate Indonesian arts that are now alarmingly dying, like the wayang orang ngesti pandowo puppetry and baratha in Java, or pasambahan (dialogical tradition) in West Sumatra.

The government's commitment to developing national culture based on the country's noble values call for clear-cut policies and huge amounts of money.

Lady Gaga's clothing problems that are viewed as not representing the Eastern culture could be well handled between the promoters and Lady Gaga's managers. But if we continue to use a culture of stuttering in looking at the real problems and fallacies behind Lady Gaga, our people will continue to be in the lowest levels of the pyramid. The visible rejection is merely half-hearted since another violation is taking place in a serious manner.

The writer is a lecturer in the Faculty of Cultural Sciences at Andalas University, Padang.

20. Cops should stand up to anti-Gaga groups: Candidate

The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Jakarta | Wed, May 23 2012, 8:19 AM

A- A A+
Jakarta gubernatorial candidate Faisal Basri is calling on police to stand up against aggressive organizations threatening violence over US singer Lady Gaga's concert in the capital.

Faisal, an economist from the University of Indonesia, said late Tuesday that while the Constitution guaranteed the rights of Indonesians to form community organizations, the groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society.

“The police should not bow down to pressure from such groups,” he said, as quoted by *tempo.co*.

Islam Defenders Front (FPI) Jakarta branch chief Habib Salim Alatas has said he would deploy FPI members to intercept the singer upon her arrival at Soekarno-Hatta International Airport in Tangerang.

FPI chairman Habib Rizieq also said in April that “if you want chaos in Jakarta, just go on with the concert.”

The controversial diva, known for her over-the-top performances and eccentric fashion sense, has sparked protests, particularly from hard-line groups. She is slated to perform in the capital on June 3.

Faisal said the public “should not relent to any group to tell them what is right and what is wrong”. (asa)

Matrix of Namings

DATE OF PUBLICATION	HEADLINE	NAMINGS
Tue, May 29 2012	Government policies may apply differently on different cases and do not necessarily mean that it is bowing to the power of certain groups or people, as critics have suggested, said political scientist Fachry Ali.	
Sun, May 27 2012,	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth.	Islamist hard-liners
Sun, May 27 2012,	Controversial US singer Lady Gaga is having a bad romance with her fans in Indonesia, dubbed as “Little Monsters”, with her scheduled concert in Jakarta officially cancelled by her management amid strong reactions from hard line Indonesian groups.	hard line Indonesian groups
Mon, May 28 2012	Jakarta Police spokesman Sr. Comr. Rikwanto said on Monday that the police would meet with concert promoter Big Daddy Entertainment this week to discuss ticket refunds for the cancelled Lady Gaga performance.	Neutral
May 27 2012	Local concert promoter Big Daddy Entertainment has promised to issue full refunds for the 52,000 tickets purchased for Lady Gaga’s June 3 concert in Jakarta, after the US singer backed out early on Sunday morning.	
Tue, May 29 2012	Fans of Lady Gaga, known as “Little Monsters”, gathered in Jakarta for an event called “Tribute to Mother Monster” on Sunday. Lady Gaga’s	

	managers cancelled the planned concert in Jakarta on June 3 as the police could not guarantee security at the event.	
Sun, May 27 2012	The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.	Could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.
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Wed, May 30 2012,	The Jakarta Police initially declined to issue a recommendation for the concert permit for Gaga's concert, making her the first foreign performer to be rejected by the country's law enforcers.	1. neutral
Wed, May 23 2012,	The US pop singer Lady Gaga will not perform in the country as part of her "Born This Way Ball Tour 2012", dealing another blow to the country's much-touted freedom of expression. Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment's executive Michael Rusli told reporters in Jakarta on Sunday that Gaga's management had called him earlier that morning to cancel her performance in the capital.	

<p>Wed, May 23 2012,</p>	<p>US Grammy-award winning singer Lady Gaga can no longer maintain her poker faces. She has finally broken her silence on the prolonged drama over her planned Jakarta concert, making notes of censorship concerns and threats of violence against her on Twitter.</p>	
<p>Mon, May 28 2012</p>	<p>Lady Gaga might have to cancel her sold-out show in Indonesia because police worry her sexy clothes and dance moves undermine Islamic values and will corrupt the country's youth. The Assembly of Indonesian Muslim Young Intellectuals (MIUMI) welcomed the cancellation of US pop singer Lady Gaga's planned June 3 concert.</p>	
<p>Tue, May 29 2012</p>	<p>Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. (AP/Dita Alangkara) Fans of US pop act Lady Gaga, dubbed "Little Monsters", were still determined to keep on dancing after the Jakarta stop on the singer's "Born This Way Ball 2012" tour was canceled.</p>	<p>" Islamist hard-liners"</p>
<p>Sun, May 27 2012</p>	<p>The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.</p>	<p>negative international perceptions</p>

Sun, May 27 2012	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. The decision by Lady Gaga's management to cancel her planned June 3 concert reflects a government that is weak in the face of intolerant political groups, according to human rights watchdog group the Setara Institute.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "a government that is weak" 2. "Islamist hard-liners"
Sun, May 27 2012	Lady Gaga has canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia over security concerns after Muslim hard-liners threatened violence if the pop diva went ahead with her "Born This Way Ball," promoters said Sunday. (AP Photo/Joel Ryan, File)The Islamic People’s Forum (FUI), made up of several hard-line Islamic groups including the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), and breathed a sigh of relief upon hearing that Lady Gaga’s management cancelled her planned June 3 concert at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. " Muslim hard-liners" 2. " the Islamic people's forum/ full made up of several hard- line Islamic groups"
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Matrix of Lexical Choices

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Wed, May 23 2012,	US Grammy-award winning singer Lady Gaga can no longer maintain her poker faces. She has finally broken her silence on the prolonged drama over her planned Jakarta concert, making notes of censorship concerns and threats of violence against her on Twitter.	1. "treats of violence" 2. " censorship concern"
Mon, May 28 2012	Lady Gaga might have to cancel her sold-out show in Indonesia because police worry her sexy clothes and dance moves undermine Islamic values and will corrupt the country's youth. The Assembly of Indonesian Muslim Young Intellectuals (MIUMI) welcomed the cancellation of US pop singer Lady Gaga's planned June 3 concert.	
Tue, May 29 2012	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. (AP/Dita Alangkara) Fans of US pop act	1. "threatened violence" 2. " would corrupt the youth"

	Lady Gaga, dubbed “Little Monsters”, were still determined to keep on dancing after the Jakarta stop on the singer’s “Born This Way Ball 2012” tour was canceled.	
Sun, May 27 2012	The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.	
Sun, May 27 2012	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. The decision by Lady Gaga's management to cancel her planned June 3 concert reflects a government that is weak in the face of intolerant political groups, according to human rights watchdog group the Setara Institute.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. " threaded violence 2. "government is a weak
Sun, May 27 2012	Lady Gaga has canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia over security concerns after Muslim hard-liners threatened violence if the pop diva went ahead with her "Born This Way Ball," promoters said Sunday. (AP Photo/Joel Ryan, File)The Islamic People’s Forum (FUI), made up of several hard-line Islamic groups including the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), and breathed a sigh of relief upon hearing that Lady Gaga’s management cancelled her planned June 3 concert at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. " threaded violence 2. " hard-line Islamic group"

<p>Fri, May 25 2012</p>	<p>Lawmaker Martin Hutabarat is calling on Indonesian Christians to not be provoked by “insults” on their religion made by US pop singer Lady Gaga.</p> <p>The Great Indonesian Movement Party (Gerindra) politician also invited Christians to remain calm in responding to “provocative” statements from Gaga, who is accused of promote “satanic values” and hatred against Christianity.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “insults” 2. " provocative statement" 3. " Satanic values" 4. " hatred" against Christianity
<p>Thu, May 24 2012</p>	<p>The National Police now says it will issue a concert permit for American pop diva Lady Gaga — but only if the promoters achieve the monumental task of getting recommendations from the Religious Affairs Ministry and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).</p>	
<p>Wed, May 23 2012</p>	<p>Jakarta gubernatorial candidate Faisal Basri is calling on police to stand up against aggressive organizations threatening violence over US singer Lady Gaga’s concert in the capital.</p> <p>Faisal, an economist from the University of Indonesia, said late Tuesday that while the Constitution guaranteed the rights of Indonesians to form community organizations, the groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. to stand up against <u>aggressive organizations</u> 2. "The groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society”.

Table 2: Matrix lexical choice (categorized by the author)

Matrix of Overcompleteness

DATE OF PUBLICATION	HEADLINE	OVERCOMPLETENESS
Tue, May 29 2012	Government policies may apply differently on different cases and do not necessarily mean that it is bowing to the power of certain groups or people, as critics have suggested, said political scientist Fachry Ali.	
Sun, May 27 2012,	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth.	her sold-out show -
Sun, May 27 2012,	Controversial US singer Lady Gaga is having a bad romance with her fans in Indonesia, dubbed as “Little Monsters”, with her scheduled concert in Jakarta officially cancelled by her management amid strong reactions from hard line Indonesian groups.	little monster-
Mon, May 28 2012	Jakarta Police spokesman Sr. Comr. Rikwanto said on Monday that the police would meet with concert promoter Big Daddy Entertainment this week to discuss ticket refunds for the cancelled Lady Gaga performance.	neutral
May 27 2012	Local concert promoter Big Daddy Entertainment has promised to issue full refunds for the 52,000 tickets purchased for Lady Gaga’s June 3 concert in Jakarta, after the US singer backed out early on Sunday morning.	

Tue, May 29 2012	Fans of Lady Gaga, known as “Little Monsters”, gathered in Jakarta for an event called “Tribute to Mother Monster” on Sunday. Lady Gaga’s managers cancelled the planned concert in Jakarta on June 3 as the police could not guarantee security at the event..	tribute to mother monster-
Sun, May 27 2012	The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.	Could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.
Mon, May 28 2012,	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth..	sold-out show-
Wed, May 30 2012,	The Jakarta Police initially declined to issue a recommendation for the concert permit for Gaga’s concert, making her the first foreign performer to be rejected by the country’s law enforcers.	
Wed, May 23 2012,	The US pop singer Lady Gaga will not perform in the country as part of her “Born This Way Ball Tour 2012”, dealing another blow to the country’s much-touted freedom of expression. Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment’s executive Michael Rusli told reporters in Jakarta on Sunday that Gaga’s management had called him earlier that morning to cancel her performance in the capital.	blow to the country’s much-touted freedom of expression

Wed, May 23 2012,	US Grammy-award winning singer Lady Gaga can no longer maintain her poker faces. She has finally broken her silence on the prolonged drama over her planned Jakarta concert, making notes of censorship concerns and threats of violence against her on Twitter.	1. "Poker face" 2. "prolonged drama"-
Mon, May 28 2012	Lady Gaga might have to cancel her sold-out show in Indonesia because police worry her sexy clothes and dance moves undermine Islamic values and will corrupt the country's youth. The Assembly of Indonesian Muslim Young Intellectuals (MIUMI) welcomed the cancellation of US pop singer Lady Gaga's planned June 3 concert.	" sold-out show" -
Tue, May 29 2012	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. (AP/Dita Alangkara) Fans of US pop act Lady Gaga, dubbed "Little Monsters", were still determined to keep on dancing after the Jakarta stop on the singer's "Born This Way Ball 2012" tour was canceled.	1. " her sold-out show"- 2. " little monster"
Sun, May 27 2012	The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.	The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism -

Sun, May 27 2012	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. The decision by Lady Gaga's management to cancel her planned June 3 concert reflects a government that is weak in the face of intolerant political groups, according to human rights watchdog group the Setara Institute.	1. "her sold-out show" – 2. " would corrupt the youth"
Sun, May 27 2012	Lady Gaga has canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia over security concerns after Muslim hard-liners threatened violence if the pop diva went ahead with her "Born This Way Ball," promoters said Sunday. (AP Photo/Joel Ryan, File)The Islamic People's Forum (FUI), made up of several hard-line Islamic groups including the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), and breathed a sigh of relief upon hearing that Lady Gaga's management cancelled her planned June 3 concert at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta.	1. Her sold-out show" – 2. " the pop Diva
, Fri, May 25 2012	Lawmaker Martin Hutabarat is calling on Indonesian Christians to not be provoked by "insults" on their religion made by US pop singer Lady Gaga. The Great Indonesian Movement Party (Gerindra) politician also invited Christians to remain calm in responding to "provocative" statements from Gaga, who is accused of promote "satanic values" and hatred against Christianity.	

Thu, May 24 2012	The National Police now says it will issue a concert permit for American pop diva Lady Gaga — but only if the promoters achieve the monumental task of getting recommendations from the Religious Affairs Ministry and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).	" American pop Diva Lady gaga" -
Wed, May 23 2012	Jakarta gubernatorial candidate Faisal Basri is calling on police to stand up against aggressive organizations threatening violence over US singer Lady Gaga's concert in the capital. Faisal, an economist from the University of Indonesia, said late Tuesday that while the Constitution guaranteed the rights of Indonesians to form community organizations, the groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society.	"the groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society"

Table 3: Matrix over completeness (categorized by the author)

Matrix of Voices

DATE OF PUBLICATION	HEADLINE	VOICES
Tue, May 29 2012	Government policies may apply differently on different cases and do not necessarily mean that it is bowing to the power of certain groups or people, as critics have suggested, said political scientist Fachry Ali.	" as critic have suggested" direct too long comment from news source
Sun, May 27 2012,	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth.	

Sun, May 27 2012,	Controversial US singer Lady Gaga is having a bad romance with her fans in Indonesia, dubbed as “Little Monsters”, with her scheduled concert in Jakarta officially cancelled by her management amid strong reactions from hard line Indonesian groups.	
Mon, May 28 2012	Jakarta Police spokesman Sr. Comr. Rikwanto said on Monday that the police would meet with concert promoter Big Daddy Entertainment this week to discuss ticket refunds for the cancelled Lady Gaga performance.	Neutral
May 27 2012	Local concert promoter Big Daddy Entertainment has promised to issue full refunds for the 52,000 tickets purchased for Lady Gaga’s June 3 concert in Jakarta, after the US singer backed out early on Sunday morning.	
Tue, May 29 2012	Fans of Lady Gaga, known as “Little Monsters”, gathered in Jakarta for an event called “Tribute to Mother Monster” on Sunday. Lady Gaga’s managers cancelled the planned concert in Jakarta on June 3 as the police could not guarantee security at the event..	
Sun, May 27 2012	The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.	
Mon, May 28 2012,	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and	

	provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth..	
Wed, May 30 2012,	The Jakarta Police initially declined to issue a recommendation for the concert permit for Gaga's concert, making her the first foreign performer to be rejected by the country's law enforcers.	
Wed, May 23 2012,	The US pop singer Lady Gaga will not perform in the country as part of her "Born This Way Ball Tour 2012", dealing another blow to the country's much-touted freedom of expression. Local promoter Big Daddy Entertainment's executive Michael Rusli told reporters in Jakarta on Sunday that Gaga's management had called him earlier that morning to cancel her performance in the capital.	
Wed, May 23 2012,	US Grammy-award winning singer Lady Gaga can no longer maintain her poker faces. She has finally broken her silence on the prolonged drama over her planned Jakarta concert, making notes of censorship concerns and threats of violence against her on Twitter.	
Mon, May 28 2012	Lady Gaga might have to cancel her sold-out show in Indonesia because police worry her sexy clothes and dance moves undermine Islamic values and will corrupt the country's youth. The Assembly of Indonesian Muslim Young Intellectuals (MIUMI) welcomed the cancellation of US pop singer Lady Gaga's planned June 3 concert.	
Tue, May 29 2012	Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened	

	<p>violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. (AP/Dita Alangkara) Fans of US pop act Lady Gaga, dubbed “Little Monsters”, were still determined to keep on dancing after the Jakarta stop on the singer’s “Born This Way Ball 2012” tour was canceled.</p>	
Sun, May 27 2012	<p>The cancelation of Lady Gaga's concert could lead to negative international perceptions on Indonesia's ability to be a democratic country that guarantees freedom of expression and multiculturalism.</p>	
Sun, May 27 2012	<p>Lady Gaga canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia after Islamist hard-liners threatened violence, claiming her sexy clothes and provocative dance moves would corrupt the youth. The decision by Lady Gaga's management to cancel her planned June 3 concert reflects a government that is weak in the face of intolerant political groups, according to human rights watchdog group the Setara Institute.</p>	<p>1. "The decision by Lady Gaga's management to cancel her planned June 3 concert reflects a government that is weak in the face of intolerant political groups, according to human rights watchdog group the Setara Institute" –</p>
Sun, May 27 2012	<p>Lady Gaga has canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia over security concerns after Muslim hard-liners threatened violence if the pop diva went ahead with her "Born This Way Ball," promoters said Sunday. (AP Photo/Joel Ryan, File) The Islamic People’s Forum (FUI), made up of several hard-line Islamic groups including the Islam Defenders Front (FPI), and breathed a sigh of relief upon hearing that Lady Gaga’s management cancelled her planned June 3 concert at Bung Karno Stadium in Jakarta.</p>	<p>1. "Lady Gaga has canceled her sold-out show in Indonesia over security concerns after Muslim hard-liners threatened violence if the pop diva went ahead with her "Born This Way Ball," promoters said Sunday" -</p>

<p>Fri, May 25 2012</p>	<p>Lawmaker Martin Hutabarat is calling on Indonesian Christians to not be provoked by “insults” on their religion made by US pop singer Lady Gaga. The Great Indonesian Movement Party (Gerindra) politician also invited Christians to remain calm in responding to “provocative” statements from Gaga, who is accused of promote “satanic values” and hatred against Christianity.</p>	<p>1. Lawmaker Martin Hutabarat is calling on Indonesian Christians to not be provoked by “insults” on their religion made by US pop singer Lady Gaga ,</p>
<p>Thu, May 24 2012</p>	<p>The National Police now says it will issue a concert permit for American pop diva Lady Gaga — but only if the promoters achieve the monumental task of getting recommendations from the Religious Affairs Ministry and the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI).</p>	
<p>Wed, May 23 2012</p>	<p>Jakarta gubernatorial candidate Faisal Basri is calling on police to stand up against aggressive organizations threatening violence over US singer Lady Gaga’s concert in the capital. Faisal, an economist from the University of Indonesia, said late Tuesday that while the Constitution guaranteed the rights of Indonesians to form community organizations, the groups should not disturb the peace of other members of society.</p>	<p>1. Jakarta gubernatorial candidate Faisal Basri is calling on police to stand up against aggressive organizations threatening violence over US singer Lady Gaga’s concert in the capital -</p>

Table 4: Matrix voices (categorized by the author)

Internet and Mobile Phone Usage: Digital Divides in China

Xu Meng*

According to the statistics published in 2008, there are 235 million internet users and over 600 million mobile phone users in China. Research shows that internet and mobile phone usage is very similar in American. Unfortunately, the relationship between internet usage and mobile phone usage in China is not known. Based on the secondary data from Chinese Family Panel Studies 2008 conducted in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangdong with 6016 adult respondents, this research therefore analyzed determinants of internet usage and mobile phone usage, and discussed the relationship between these two media in terms of a variety of demographic and socio-economic variables. Using logistic regression and ordered logistic regression models, the author predicted internet and mobile phone adoption and frequency of calls and SMS. It was found that the younger, higher educated and people with nonagricultural hukou, having children, party membership and higher household income were more likely to be internet and mobile phone users. This study also found that frequency of calls was related to age, gender, education level, hukou status, marital status, having children, party membership and household income, and frequency of SMS was associated with age, gender, marital status, education level, hukou status, region, having children, party membership and household income. At last, cross-categorization of internet and mobile phone usage/nonusage is predicted by age, education level and household income by using discriminant analysis methods. These findings demonstrate that different users' have many characteristics in common and they are overlapped but not the same. Scholars and policymakers should take these two media into an integrated consideration to improve measures and strategies for reducing the digital divides in China.

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„Local/Global Nexus and Celebrity Femininity in Three Auto/Biographies of Indonesian Female Celebrities

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Abstract

Through their auto/biographies, Indonesian female celebrities, Krisdayanti, Yuni Shara and Tiara Lestari, present femininities that are both global and local, revealing complex negotiations of local imperatives of modesty, maternity and normality and global imperatives towards sexuality, celebrity and universality. Femininity is performed both as normative and disruptive, extending and altering the space of what it means “to be a woman”, within the intersecting contexts of local Indonesian culture, celebrity culture and globalization. This paper contributes to understandings of globalization and its gendered processes, effects and impacts through the particular phenomenon of the auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities. Auto/biography as a genre that was initially allocated to the narratives of success of predominantly male public figures has been reclaimed by women to put the commonly undiscussed domestic and private issues in which women convey matters that are usually considered trivial in their lives. Particularly, this paper argues that auto/biography has become an important space to understand how media is used in the construction of celebrity image and representation. Thus, it makes the case for the inclusion of auto/biographies in media studies in its relation with celebrity culture and gender construction within a certain local and at the same time connecting it to the more global arena.

More specifically, the paper focuses on femininity framed both in private and public domains and is attentive to the persistent references to global constructions of femininity, global consumption and global language (namely English). All three auto/biographies discussed in this paper take urban life, i.e., Jakarta as their main setting. This intensifies references to globalization due to the fact that big cities in the world create certain global lifestyles and sameness. At the same time, each celebrity tries to ground her femininity in local ideologies, particularly Indonesian/Javanese and Muslim as argued by Heryanto (2008). In the paper I ask how [romantic/marital] relationships are portrayed in the auto/biographies and how these relationships attribute to the construction of femininities of the celebrities discussed. I also explore the notion of body, beauty and sexuality and seek to find answers to the question of how the celebrities discussed portray themselves in terms of the said notions and how their sense of being a [feminine] woman is constructed around the different local and global ideals of body, beauty and sexuality.

Keywords: local/global nexus, celebrity femininity, auto/biographies

Global Mass Culture and Auto/biography : The Making of Celebrity Femininity

This paper analyses three auto/biographies by the newly-established celebrities in their 20s and 30s, namely Tiara Lestari (born in 1980), Krisdayanti (born in 1975), and Yuni Shara (born in 1972). Of these three, Krisdayanti is perhaps the most well-known. Her celebrity status is established through her success in various careers, including singing, modelling and acting. Her elder sister, Yuni Shara is a singer, Tiara Lestari is a model and is best known for the controversy she generated when she posed in the Spain edition of *Playboy* magazine in August 2005. Though she has not called herself a singer, Tiara Lestari has recorded a song on an album produced by Baron, a prominent Indonesian guitar player.

The auto/biographies in this category are interesting in a number of ways. First, they are about lives that are in progress, compared to the relatively complete lives of the ageing celebrities I discussed elsewhere. Everyday events and recent situations or controversies dominate the three auto/biographies. In this way, rather than describing the whole life of the celebrity, the auto/biographies present slices of life emphasizing what is important to the construction of their celebrity femininity.

Second, the three celebrities discussed in this paper, Krisdayanti, Yuni Shara and Tiara Lestari, belong to a generation where their celebrity status and femininity cannot be contained within the local context. Krisdayanti's and Tiara Lestari's careers transcend national borders. They are famous not only in Indonesia but also in other countries. Even more significantly, both the careers of Krisdayanti and Tiara Lestari were triggered by what can be considered regional/global events. Krisdayanti's rise to her diva status began with her participation and victory in the Asia Bagus Grand Championship in Japan in 1992. Asia Bagus is a regional singing contest involving a number of Asian countries. As she commented (Endah, 2004: 19):

It was a huge leap for me. The victory that undoubtedly made my name a hot topic in Indonesia. I became more confident that the road to success was already opened.

Tiara Lestari had an even more global platform in the beginning of her career journey, which started in Singapore, where she was first invited to model in *FHM* Singapore in 2004. In her debut in the magazine she posed in a very sexual way and was labelled "Java's hottest export", which I will elaborate further later in this paper. Her modelling career expanded to other publications in different countries, such as *FHM* Germany, *Penthouse* (Thailand, Netherlands and Australia) and, the most controversial, *Playboy* (Spain) (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007).

Compared to these two other celebrities, Yuni Shara is perhaps the more local in terms of her career. Nevertheless, her narrative of femininity is very much in dialogue with the global. Her associations with global brands, for example, are presented as a distinct marker of her femininity and celebrity status.

Third, unlike the ageing celebrity auto/biographies, the auto/biographies of these 20-30 year olds are published to sustain the fame and the celebrity status of the auto/biographers or to "fulfil" the fans' wishes to know more about the celebrities. Krisdayanti expresses this in the introduction to her auto/biography when explaining why she wants to publish the auto/biography (Endah, 2004: 5): this is

[a] book that will satisfy my fans. Through the book I will tell a lot about my career and my life. A book that will reveal who I truly am that people know nothing about. A book that will

reveal the Krisdayanti who is not only an artist, but also a wife, a daughter and a mother. I realize that after I have achieved so much in my career as now, I need to share...

It can be argued that these auto/biographies are expected to function as providing the fans with some glimpse of what the celebrities “really are” compared to their more public selves as celebrities. Thus quite expectedly, they become some space of revelation of intimate details about their lives.

Speaking of the objective of the auto/biography, Yuni Shara does not explicitly outline her intentions in publishing her auto/biography. However, Yuni Shara does make references to her present professional circle and activities. Thus, the publication can still be considered an act of sustaining her celebrity status as well. It enacts as a reminder of her existence in show business. Her auto/biography is published to commemorate her 35th birthday and is entitled *Yuni Shara: 35 Cups of Coffee*.

Tiara Lestari’s auto/biography is an interesting case in this regard because unlike Yuni Shara and Krisdayanti who established careers and status more gradually, Tiara Lestari’s celebrity status only rose as her nude images in Spain’s edition version of *Playboy* Magazines were discovered by Indonesians. The “discovery” created a twirl of controversy and propelled Tiara Lestari to fame and celebrity status. While the newly-claimed celebrity status itself can be regarded as an asset or an achievement, her new fame seemed to require moral justification. The publication of the auto/biography serves this purpose well. She writes in the preface (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: x):

Last and most important for me; I would like to express a million gratitude to all of you who live in Indonesia that I understand that I have the right to make a decision that is not popular and – even when you don’t agree – you still respect my personal choice.

It was only after the waves of controversy following her nude pose in the Spain edition of *Playboy* that she decided to return to Indonesia. As she narrates (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 130):

*I went home because of my mother. She was really disappointed with what I had done. That was a lesson to me. All that a Tiara Lestari has obtained is not comparable if my mother does not give her blessing. Because I really love my mother. The offer to become the cover of *Playboy* in five countries finally I declined. I’m coming home because of my mother.*

In other words, she returned home to repent of her mistakes and to live a “normal” life. Her return to Indonesia can be signified as an attempt for self-transformation from a “wild” woman to a “good” woman, from a “public” to a domestic woman. I will return to this issue later in this paper. Her final reference to her appearance in *Playboy* suggests that it is important for her to justify her decision to pose for the magazine, but at the same time, as the increasingly apologetic tone suggests, the auto/biography functions as a form of image crisis management. Similar functions of image crisis management can be observed in Krisdayanti’s auto/biography as at the time of her publication of the book (November 2003), she needed to manage her image after rumours about her affair with an Indonesian prominent guitar player, Tohpati, surfaced in April 2003 (Ati, 2003; "Krisdayanti Digosipin Pacaran Dengan Tohpati," 2003).

I argue that auto/biography should be taken as an important space to understand how media is used in the construction of celebrity image and representation and that there is need for the inclusion of auto/biographies in media studies in its relation with celebrity culture and gender construction within a certain local and at the same time connecting it to the more global arena. Looking at the narratives and portrayal of the different women's lives in the three auto/biographies, I propose that auto/biographies also function as the potential site of struggles of the different values, particularly those of the local and the more global.

In looking at the auto/biographies of the three female celebrities in their 20s and 30s within the framework of the local and global nexus, I focus on how local femininity is negotiated with the more global femininity and how this negotiations are conducted within the framework of normative femininity and the more particular femininity resulted from such negotiations. In this regards, it is thus necessary to look into the means in which these different values are mediated, which is the auto/biographies of these celebrities. Auto/biographies can be regarded as a form of global mass culture, which according to Hall (1998: 27) is

the modern means of culture production, dominated by the image which crosses and re-crosses linguistic frontiers much more rapidly and more easily, and which speaks across languages in a much more immediate way. It is dominated by all the ways in which the visual and graphic arts have entered directly into the reconstitution of popular life, of entertainment and of leisure. It is dominated by television and by film, and by the image, imagery, and styles of mass advertising

I argue that celebrity auto/biography embraces and provides a space wherein images transcend the containment of locality as well as the boundaries among the different of forms of media in the context of popular culture and the everyday life. Auto/biography is both a form of artistic and mundane products, both literary and popular works, and at the same time neither artistic nor mundane, neither literary nor popular. It is however, placed securely within the domain of celebrity culture and the media. In fact, as I have previously discussed, celebrity auto/biography must be included in media studies and that the less than clear position of the auto/biographies actually enables a position from which even contradicting values can be negotiated and be put in dialogue, among such a point is the issue of the construction of celebrity femininity, which must work around the notion of femininity and celebrity status.

Various scholars have worked on the notion of femininity. Bartky argues that the construct of femininity includes the notion of heterosexuality as a spectacle of heterosexuality with the body as the initial marker (Bartky, 1997). Focusing on the body, scholars have identified that the body is signified as performance, battleground and playground (Bordo, 1995; Butler, 2004; Kuhn, 1997). Not really believing in the fixed construct of femininity, Ussher (1997) argues that a woman can work around the construct of femininity by "being, doing, resisting and subverting girl". By analyzing the three auto/biographies of Indonesian female celebrities, I argue that celebrity femininity is a doubly staged performance intended for desired/desirable effects. The three auto/biographies present portrayals of femininity focusing on relationships, beauty, body and sexuality are both relevant and consistent in the three works, which I elaborate in the next two analysis parts. The table of contents of Krisdayanti's auto/biography (Endah, 2004: 4) reflect these topics nicely. They are:

1. *Me and My Career*
2. *Me and Fashion*
3. *Me and Beauty*
4. *Me and My Family*
5. *Me and Myself*¹

Relationships

As I have outlined, the analysis of the global-local nexus in the portrayal of celebrity femininity will be discussed in two parts, namely relationship in one part, and body, beauty and sexuality in the other. This part dwells on how [intimate] relationships of the three celebrities are portrayed as the key factors of the construct of their femininity. It is clear from these auto/biographies that all forms of femininity are heavily constructed around relationships, particularly heterosexual relationships with their partners

The chapter, “*Me and My Family*” in Krisdayanti’s auto/biography opens with her reflections about the difficulty of not having a conventional family type where the husband is the primary provider. She complains, “*it’s not easy to be a woman who earns most of the family income. But the most difficult thing is to ensure people around her that it is not wrong at all...*” (Endah, 2004: 148-150). The narrative shows the local cultural context in which men are expected to be the bread-winners in the family and women to be the housewives. In this context, “ordinary” women are not the breadwinners of the families and those who are might be accused of having transgressed; as the auto/biographical subject complains it is even often regarded as “wrong”. The assumption underlying this idea is that women who earn more than their husbands pay no respect to their husbands. Money signifies power, thus women with money can be frowned upon mostly because of the assumption that with their money they do not have to obey their husbands. In this context, Krisdayanti is required to manage the role of an ordinary wife, since her circumstances are very different. Despite her money and her not so ordinary life, she has to show a more conventional femininity as expected in the local cultural context. In the utterance below, the auto/biographical subject states that she has always been an ordinary wife. This reflects the attempt to counter the existing assumption that she is not, considering the income that she brings in to the family. The statement highlights another local aspect of femininity, namely that she is not only an ordinary wife but also a good Muslim wife. In the following quotation, there is an invocation of the Islamic values that she claims she observes in her relationship with her husband, that a wife should seek her husband’s approval and consent in everything she does. She writes: (Endah, 2004: 150)

It is difficult to convince people that my life as a wife and mother is just like other people in general. Despite the fact that I earn more than Anang, I am an obedient wife, and I always obtain his consent before I do anything.

The quotation above shows that there is a contradictory aspect in Krisdayanti’s femininity as she is both portrayed as an independent person and as one who has her movements controlled by her husband. Thus, her public life is constantly tied to her private life by having to obtain the consent of her husband first. Likewise, her private life is also publicized as this arrangement is made public.

¹ As the auto/biographies are written mostly in Bahasa Indonesia with rather frequent inclusions of English, to codify the use of language, the translation from Bahasa Indonesia is written in italics.

In their respective works, the three auto/biographical subjects of these celebrity auto/biographies are presented as independent and intelligent as well as having physical appeal. The three auto/biographical subjects are portrayed as equal to their male partners although at the same time they need to acknowledge their positions as wives as framed in the normative Indonesian/Muslim culture. These portrayals are sometimes conflicted: compliance to normative femininity does not always mean complete compliance to idealized femininity. In the case of Krisdayanti, for example, though she maintains her role as a [good] wife and mother, she is also seen as superior to her husband, Anang Hermansyah.² As the bigger star, she earns more and has more influence in popular culture than her husband but in her auto/biography Krisdayanti portrays herself as a submissive wife who enjoys taking care of as well as being taken care of by her husband despite her own fatigue. She states (Endah, 2004: 155):

Maybe many people will not believe it that I am a woman who enjoys the limits set by Anang. I also enjoy my submission to him. I feel it pleasurable to prepare the dinner for him, even though I just arrive home from a shooting and I am really tired. I feel really protected when with his loud and decisive voice, Anang forbids me from doing something. I feel grateful for such feelings. The submissive feeling towards my husband. Because in that way, I feel I have become a true wife.

Her display of her role and identity as a wife and mother before anything else, namely her profession as a singer and model, invokes Bartky's (1997) argument about how femininity is performed in public. Before her shocking divorce in October 2009, Krisdayanti was almost always accompanied by her husband and/or children in her public appearances. She claims: "My children are the source of my energy" (Endah, 2004: 167), thus the perpetual big entourage consisting of her mother, her husband, her two children and the baby sitters on her tours (Endah, 2004). This display can be read as an invocation of traditional family life in exceptional circumstances. Her heterosexuality is demonstrated as natural and ordinary. Being a wife and a mother is not something extraordinary, it is shown as a natural stage a woman has to go through to obtain her full womanhood and femininity.

In Yuni Shara's auto/biography, the auto/biographical subject portrays herself as a Javanese woman with a certain view of her marriage and relationship with her husband. Her particular tips about the role of a wife as a housekeeper, a loving companion, and her acknowledgement of the function of the husband as the head of the family (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007) are particularly local. The role of a wife is significant in the narrative of her auto/biography. This role is performed in a manner of acceptance as well as celebration, particularly reflected in the following utterance, "As a puppet, a pawn, or other metaphors, I exist in accordance with the portion having been assigned to me" (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007:7). What is interesting in her relationship narratives is that while she seems to be a proponent of normative femininity which locates wives as primarily and ideally governed by cultural and religious values, she is also critical of herself for having sacrificed unreservedly, especially in the context of her first marriage (in the chapter *Broken Marriage*). As she narrates (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 3):

Sometimes I have to put aside my feelings and try to understand because I have unavoidably become a part of so many positions. There are too many hearts to take care of and to understand that I no longer have the space to be Yuni, to be myself.

² Anang Hermansyah, Krisdayanti's [previous] husband, is a songwriter, a singer and a music producer. Anang and Krisdayanti used to sing as a duet and their albums sold well. However, Krisdayanti's solo career outshone Anang's.

This contrast suggests that fragmentation is a possible consequence of taking up the various roles as a woman, a wife, a daughter, and a subject of her own right. In her second marriage this submission has somehow changed into a more self-aware positioning. She does not sacrifice blindly, though she still thinks giving in to her husband is a way to establish a happy husband-and-wife relationship. Acts of submission can actually be interpreted as assertions of power too. The tip below she gives about the struggle for remote control, for example, suggests a more relaxed attitude to the power relations between husband and wife. She even makes gentle fun of the whole struggle, “*Let him hold the remote control and change the channel every fifteen seconds*” (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 86). This “advice” gently positions men as irrational and impulsive (changing every fifteen seconds), an attribute usually assigned to women. Yuni Shara has actually positioned women as more “rational”. In this case, instead of showing her as a submissive wife, she appears as a woman in control.

The desire to represent herself as being guided by normative femininity is also shown in Tiara Lestari’s auto/biography. She describes how she decided to put her international career on hold at her career peak³ in 2005 (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007) as she felt she had other feminine desires to pursue, namely to become a wife and mother. She refers to this urge as “choice” and “commitment”. She contends that she would never have been able to be an international model and a good mother at the same time, saying, “it’s just a matter of choice” (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 25). Then, she further elaborates this desire (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 26, emphasis added):

*... I can’t wait for the moment when I say, “Yes, I do” to the man that will spend his time with me till time does us apart....⁴ This is **my commitment** as a woman. To become a wife and mother. This is my choice. I will become the beloved wife to my man. I will be a good wife to my children. I want them to be proud of me. I am sure, my husband and my children will be proud of me.⁵*

Across these three auto/biographies, there is a tendency to glorify being a wife and mother as a demonstration of ultimate femininity. In fact, in Tiara Lestari’s auto/biography Tiara Lestari the auto/biographical subject claims that a career is nothing compared to playing the roles of a good wife and mother. Upon her friend’s withdrawal from her modelling career, she writes (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 120)

One day, she sent me an email telling me that she had found the man of her dream. She told me how much she loves this man and that man is the dream comes true... ... “I decided to leave modelling and live in Croatia. I want [sic] being a wife and mother,”... I can understand her decision. It is obvious, what does career mean compared to finding the man to spend your life with? (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 47)

In her auto/biography, Tiara Lestari contextualizes her decision to marry her husband by putting her religion into the frame. As narrated, she was dating an American man when she was also close with the Indonesian man that was to become her husband. She chose to leave

³ Three of the biggest Asian sites even dub her as “the Most Wanted Model 2005” (Lestari, 2006)

⁴ Indonesians do not have the culture of a man proposing to a woman the way “Western” people do. Proposals should be performed formally in the presence of the family. Islam does not teach that a marriage shall last until death as in Catholic teaching, which in this context seems to be taken just as an English idiom spoken in a very romantic and sentimental situation.

⁵ The Blog version of this part is included in the auto/biography as an illustration (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 24)

the American not because she did not love him, but as she argues (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 78):

“... I have always wanted to marry a man of the same faith. It is impossible for Dave to become a Muslim. I want my husband to be able to guide me in my religion. I want to be a better person.... Besides, my mother also saw that Andy would be more capable to guide me in the religious aspect”

Here Tiara Lestari the auto/biographical subject undertakes a key element of the femininity expected from a Muslim woman, namely to marry a Muslim man and to find a man that can be her guide. Because in Islam, and also reflected in Indonesian/Javanese/Sundanese values, the leader in a marriage is the husband. The same notion is explicitly stated by Krisdayanti, “Anang, *My ship’s captain*” (Endah, 2004: 150).

Body, Beauty and Sexuality

For all three celebrities I discuss in this paper, body, beauty and sexuality are important. Krisdayanti dedicates one chapter to body and beauty. Yuni Shara does not specifically dedicate any chapter to discuss these issues, but she addresses body and beauty in her tips about how to love a husband. Tiara Lestari talks about her body and sexuality sporadically and rather superficially in her auto/biography, mostly in connection with her profession as a model.

In the opening paragraph of the chapter on beauty in Krisdayanti’s auto/biography, *Me and Beauty*, Krisdayanti the auto/biographical subject states: “*Making up makes me happy. Taking care of our beauty is not only the demand for aesthetic, but also a proof of power*” (Endah, 2004: 110). This statement of some kind of “girl power” is continuously endorsed throughout the chapter, not only through her textual narrative but also through the fashion photography that illustrates the text (see Figure 1). She describes herself as a very ‘girlie’ girl who likes to make up and dress up, and that even when she is feeling down, “*making up giving me positive energy. I can feel fresh, beautiful and glowing even when I am having a problem. Making up can be a proof that women do not just get “shattered” when struck by disaster*” (Endah, 2004: 113). Thus attending to her beauty regime is an important part of her sense of being always in control, of being able to handle any situation, and it makes her constantly aware of her look. This invokes what Cahill (2003) argues as a process of beautification that can be considered as feminist practice. As a celebrity who grew up in public, she has transformed throughout her career from a young girl to a mature woman, a wife and a mother. The transformation includes her physical changes that were allegedly due to plastic surgeries, which she had always denied until the “*shocking sensational confession*” of the procedures came in her second auto/biography “*Catatan Hati Krisdayanti: My Life My Secret*” (Endah, 2008). Nevertheless, the photographic chronology demonstrates her consistent attention to her beauty and appearance (Figure 3).



Figure 1: Krisdayanti, Me and Beauty



Figure 2: Krisdayanti, faces 1991-2003

What is also shown in this chronologic images is the remarkable transformation of physiognomy that can be signified as a move towards a more global[ized] body, marked by lighter color of the skin and the sharper nose. In other words, the body and faces of Krisdayanti can be perceived to be the embodiment of how the global is worked on the local. While Krisdayanti portrays herself to be the proponent of beauty as girlpower, her idea of beauty relies very much on the globalized ideal of feminine beauty, namely white (Caucasian) middle class. This is also apparent in the images across the auto/biography whose reference is undeniably those of the images in global media, particularly global women's magazines, such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Vogue*, *Marie Claire*.

At the same time, like any other articles on beauty in women's magazines, in the auto/biography Krisdayanti the auto/biographical subject delineates the various imperfections of her physical appearance and how she conceals the imperfections with the help of beauty experts and everything else in one whole page entitled "*I am not perfect*" (Endah, 2004: 117).

In this part she talks about her imperfect eyebrows, her eyes that are not of the same size, her irregular teeth, her dark and dry skin, and her thin and brittle hair. She also talks about her body and her struggle to lose weight, particularly her baby weight in a separate section entitled “*Fat Fat Fat*”. While she also suggests that a woman needs to “*make peace with her imperfections*” (Endah, 2004: 117), in parts of this chapter she talks about managing her weight and she reveals the various procedures, including botox, that she has undergone to deal with her perceived imperfections. This confession on the one hand shows her honesty about the extent of celebrity femininity as performance and artifice. On the other hand, it shows that there is a deception in regards to her beauty, as she then comments on her staged performance, “*Looking prime on the stage is a long journey*” (Endah, 2004: 133). I argue that by exposing herself as imperfect, she performs her femininity as an ordinary woman with physical problems just like other women; she narrows the gap between her celebrity-status and her audience’s ordinariness. This is evident as at the end of the section on making up, she reveals that her drive to look flawlessly beautiful is toned down by her husband’s remark about her “*natural*” beauty. Her husband, she said, “*loves my dark skin, my natural thin hair, and my face without make up*” (Endah, 2004: 116).

Ironically, towards the end of the text, Krisdayanti provides ten tips on how to look beautiful, including advice on how to maintain healthy skin, lips, fingernails, and how to apply cosmetics. She also encourages women to try various procedures and tricks to obtain the perfect celebrity beauty. In this way, it seems that her natural appearance is seemingly relegated only to her private domain but one of her other tips on managing her appearance suggests that even when one fabricates one’s appearance, one needs to appear natural as well. She proposes, “*It’s true that wig is fake hair, but don’t let people easily find it out*” (Endah, 2004: 140). In this sense culture and fabrication are intertwined with the notion of the natural, which disrupts Krisdayanti’s assertion that she is natural in her private life but is totally made up for her public appearances. Her tip reveals that neither her private nor her public appearances are exclusively private or public as both are intermingled and are presented simultaneously.

Unlike Krisdayanti, whose ideas of beauty are depicted in her auto/biography to be closely connected to her profession, in her auto/biography, Yuni Shara’s concern for her appearance, particularly maintaining weight, is related to her position as a wife. In her tips, Yuni Shara suggests that a wife should always remain attractive to her husband, and maintaining a slender weight is one of the key points. She declares that a woman needs to “*maintain the ideal weight and pay attention to her food intake*” (Geraldine & Triadi, 2007: 86). It can be said that Yuni Shara’s auto/biography presents the idea of beauty as a domestic affair more than a form of capital and investment for professional purposes.

In the other auto/biography, Tiara Lestari does not focus specifically on beauty and body in her auto/biography. But this lack of attention can be read in different ways. First, as she is a model, her beauty and body are to be taken for granted, thus no discussion is necessary as her profession relies on her appealing appearance. Second, it can also be argued that her auto/biography intentionally leaves out the subject because beauty is not the image intended to be created in the auto/biography designed to move her beyond her nude *Playboy* pictures towards a more serious and modest femininity. This argument is supported by the persistent references to beauty/brain as a binary opposition, such as the question the auto/biographical subject constantly asks “*Why do you think people always think models to be brainless?*” (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 27). I argue that in not talking about beauty, which is considered as vanity, the auto/biography of Tiara Lestari presents her auto/biographical subject as the

“brain”, a smart woman rather than a woman or a model with just looks and a perfect body, which are considered inferior to, and in opposition to, intelligence and intellect.

Tiara Lestari the auto/biographical subject does however have concerns about her dark skin, which at certain points in her modelling career she considered to be a drawback. The auto/biography reveals the auto/biographical subject as disappointed with her dark skin: “*Why do I have this dark skin?*” *I complained. I felt sorry that my skin was not as fair as other models*” (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 46). This focus on whiteness is important in the context of the global/local nexus. First, Tiara Lestari is fascinated by the notion of whiteness as revealed by her wish to have lighter skin. Secondly, as I have discussed elsewhere (Prabasmoro, 2004), the desire for whiteness can also be seen as the desire to be global. Her efforts to “change” her physiognomy can also be weighed in that context. She does dye her hair to be lighter and closer to brown than black, again shifting ideals of colour as Indonesians generally have black hair. Following Bhabha, I consider her change of hair colour as a form of mimicking, which nevertheless suggests that she is not white. In Bhabha’s (1994) terms, the auto/biographical subject in Tiara Lestari’s auto/biography is mimicking whiteness in such a way that on one hand she claims the “property” of the white, on the other hand, she acknowledges herself as being not-white. In this particular case, it can also mean an acknowledgement of being not entirely global. In her particular context, as long as non-whiteness is signified as a marketable femininity, especially demanded in global men’s magazines, she will remain an exotic non-white. In fact, she will remain an exotic commodity from Java⁶ as she was promoted in her debut in the Singapore version of *FHM* in 2004



Figure 3: Tiara Lestari, FHM Singapore

Observing her poses in different media, it can be argued that the important notion of Tiara’s body is not merely the fact that her skin is dark but more importantly her body is signified as an exotic commodity, a local Indonesian “product” being sold in the global market, like the label attributed to her as “Java’s hottest export” suggests. Her body is a kind of “exoticised body”, the kind of body that is different but appealing to the global eyes and taste. She continued to pose in a sexual way and continued her performance as an exotic woman in the

⁶ The cover of the FHM Singapore, September 2004 edition, presented her wearing bikinis in a cat position. The magazine tags her image “Forget Coffee, She is Java’s Hottest Export”

following years in various media overseas. However, the awareness of her body and sexuality being perceived as commodity is quite acute in her auto/biography.

Another reference to the body is made in the final pages of the Tiara Lestari's auto/biography. In this piece of narrative she talks about the impact of her decision to quit modelling on her body. As a model, the body is the asset, the commodity that she exchanges. Not being a model implies she is no longer capitalizing her body the way she used to when she was still a model. This has eventually transformed her body as she eases her regime of exercise. She no longer has the flat stomach she used to have as she converses lightly with her co-writer, Windy Ariestanty (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 206):

"I used to have very flat stomach, Win. I used to go to the gym very diligently. Much that I love eating, I limited the portion. Not anymore now."

"Why?" I asked

"I will never be photographed naked, won't I? I will never be photographed in mere bikinis. Why should I [go to the gym]?"

Her statement, which aims for a relaxed and easy tone, implies her acceptance of her transformation, from the extraordinary body to the ordinary [imperfect] body. At the same time, her reference to being naked and wearing bikinis positions her body as extraordinary and worthy of being exposed in public. Her body continues to be in the public sphere, even though she no longer poses naked which she tries to dismiss as the "past" as she is looking forward to the new life as a wife of a man of important stature..

In talking about the body and sexuality, I consider Tiara Lestari as the most interesting site for analysis. Unlike Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara, Tiara Lestari is first of all known for her body and sexuality. After all, she is labelled as the "hottest Java export"⁷. Thus her body becomes the dominant marker of her femininity. This normative femininity is highly connected to her sexuality, but not necessarily in the context of reproduction. As Bartky (1997: 148-149) contends:

Normative femininity is coming more and more to be centered on a woman's body – not its duties and obligations or even its capacity to bear children, but its sexuality, more precisely, its presumed heterosexuality and its appearance.

In an Indonesian social and cultural context, Tiara's sexuality threatens her other expected attributions of femininity, namely being a good wife and mother. In Indonesian culture, implied in this expectation is that the ideal woman is not publicly sexual. Following her naked poses in Playboy, Tiara was the target of various insults from many Indonesians, as she was considered to have transgressed the idea of normative Indonesian femininity, which contains women's sexuality within the private domain and the institution of marriage.⁸ This expectation is linked to notions of guilt, and even sin, and it recurs in the account of her relationship with her future husband. The frequent mentions of a "second chance" (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 92, 98, 180, 191) suggest that she can be purified by her acceptance of an

⁷ Cover of FHM Singapore, September 2004 (Figure 4.23 in this thesis)

⁸ Most of the insults she receives are sexual. Other condemnations are related to her being a shame to Islam as well as to the country and the town where she comes from. See for example the comments on her at: <http://www.sp18.com/2005/09/04/model-indonesia-bugil-di-majalah-playboy>. Some "complimenting" comments are even painfully and sexually degrading. See for example comments at <http://asiapundit.com/2006/01/26/tiara-lestari-on-playboy-indonesia/>

authoritative man. Her husband who comes from a prominent family represents such authority. In this way her marriage to him has provided her with a kind of rebirth. As Andy, Tiara's husband, narrates (Lestari & Ariestanty, 2007: 98):

My mother believes that my meeting with Tiara was already arranged by Allah. "Allah gave you two a second chance", my mother said when were having breakfast in one morning. "And that chance given to you is a gift. Not everybody gets it."... "Tiara, she got a second chance to enter a new life. To be a better person. That's what my mother said. And that is what I believe. Everybody has got the chance to make amends. Even Allah gives that chance. Why is it that people like us are too arrogant to give a chance for somebody to be better?"

In all three auto/biographies discussed in this paper, beauty, body and sexuality are important aspects of femininity. Beauty and body are particularly portrayed through images that actually show their beauty and well-taken care bodies. This is similar across the three auto/biographies. However, the three auto/biographical subjects are portrayed as dedicating their beauty, body and sexuality, as well as their efforts to maintain them, to people or things other than themselves, i.e. to their husbands (for Krisdayanti and Yuni Shara) and/or to the profession (for Krisdayanti and Tiara Lestari). All auto/biographical subjects show that they are subjected to normative femininity but all also show that femininities are forms of display designed to secure acceptance and recognition as a woman that is simultaneously desirable and good.

Conclusion

Having described the various forms of femininity performed by the three celebrities, I have delineated a complex scenario of adherence to traditional values and movements away in the relationships depictions in these texts. I argue that the three auto/biographical subjects are portrayed as negotiating normative and conventional femininity and their own aspirations for freedom and independence. This negotiation entails intricate strategies which can be considered as part of a paradoxical display of submission to, and assertion of, power, and is particularly evident in regards to the auto/biographical subject in Yuni Shara's auto/biography. This intricate display also includes the invocation of Islamic teachings, as frequently referred to in the auto/biographies of Krisdayanti and Tiara Lestari, which locate husbands as the leaders of the family. While it seems that positioning the husbands as leaders will entail the position of the wives as the followers, I argue that it is precisely this positioning that enables the wives to obtain their freedom and independence as they only need to negotiate with their husbands and obtain their consent, which could be a perfect cover for the wives to act out their aspirations and liberation. It is through this consent that these auto/biographical subjects can thus portray themselves as achievers because if the husbands are depicted as having given their consent, then the wives are their husbands' responsibility, which to some extent frees the wives from being solely responsible for their acts. In short, all three auto/biographical subjects perform different complicated forms of femininity that provide them with a space for flexibility and negotiation. While they acknowledge the role of a husband in a marriage, they also suggest that their career and self-projects are important.

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Biography of Author

Aquarini Priyatna is currently teaching at the English Department, Universitas Padjadjaran. She holds a Master's Degree from the Institute for Women's Studies Lancaster University, UK (2002) and another Master's Degree from the Women's Studies Postgraduate Program, Universitas Indonesia (2003). She completed her PhD, which looked at celebrity auto/biographies, at the Center for Women's Studies and Gender Research, Monash University, Australia. She has published two books: *Kajian Budaya Feminis : Tubuh, Sastra dan Budaya Pop* (2006) and *Becoming White: Representasi Ras, Kelas, Femininitas dan Globalitas dalam Iklan Sabun* (2003). Apart from her formal work at the university, she is also involved in various discussions groups such as Forum Studi Kebudayaan FSRD ITB and Studia Humanika Masjid Salman ITB, where she gives presentations and extension courses on gender and feminist studies. She has also written articles in various newspapers and some short stories published in the Jakarta Post.

**MANAGING ISSUES AND THE POWER OF MEDIA
TO BUILD A LOCAL COMMUNITY IN
AN INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC RELATIONS CONTEXT**

“COMMUNICATION, CONTEXT AND COMMUNITY”

ABSTRACT

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The social and cultural professionals need to understand various strategies in managing the issues growing in the international society, which are influenced a local community through the power of media. There are various media practices in conducting the social change to construct a community. Hence, the social construction of reality constructed can maintain a local community and culture, as well as keep the reputation and trust from the international society in conducting synergy with other nations and cultures in various fields.

The roles of media become more complicated, knowing that the role as the information disseminator until the entertainment tend to transform as the show of force between communities in the international public relations context. The power of media become more improved as a facilitator to build the dominant coalition in the global context, such as the publicity by international media site in constructing a certain local community.

Media in this case is the men behind the screen, have probably been set up by the internationally political constellation, or under the pressure of the economical power of interest, that makes media occasionally unfair and narrow-minded in distributing information or opinion about some issues to the international audience.

Therefore, this paper aims to study how are the power of media as the constructing power of local communities in an international public relations context, as well as the bridging instrument of communication and cooperation medium among the countries. Besides, it will also study how to manage the various issues by applying media relations strategy to maintain a local community in a global context.

Keywords : management issues; international public relations context; a local community

I. Introduction

The social and cultural professionals need to understand various strategies in managing the issues growing in the international society. Those issues are influencing a local community through the power of media, which are public media and social media.

Issues about radicalism and terrorism of moslem society spreads in the whole world, then affects the international society's behavior to moslem society. So, every chief of muslim society need to understand about issue management strategy for correcting that wrong and extreme point of view, then can open the international society's mind and developing their positive behavior to moslem society.

Tempramental and angry expression from some people in moslem society, as respons of negative issue about them, are not the effective way to solve it. Because angriness can only develop the negative opinion about them. Different from that way, through issue management, by strategic steps which are using the power if media as well as the power of direct contact between chief of moslem community, will decrease the social chaos step by step, then the conclusion about reality and condition of moslem community will released.

There are still a lot of issues about specific comunity that spreads in chaos of international communication. For example, issue about conflict between Indonesia and Malaysia, that more extreme than the reality, spread by media, then reality construction happens because of the power of media.

Media can be *the man behind the gun*, the power can be positive for community if it managed wisely and if not, it can destroy the identity and role of community in international society.

The study about power of media as local community construction in international public relation context will be explained in this paper. Because, media can develop communication and cooperation between countries. One of way to optimize the role of media is doing relations media strategy, so the negative issue which is destructing can be controlled. Because the negative issue can destroy community reputation and even destroy the cooperation between countries.

II. Problem Identification

Problem that will studied in this paper are about :

“How to manage issues for building a local community in an international public relations context ?”

The problem identification are :

- 1) How to recognize issues for local community's needed in an international public relations context?
- 2) How about the important of recognizing stakeholders in managing issues?
- 3) What is the step in managing issues by using power of media?

III. Framework

3.1 International Public Relations, Dimension, and Context

International communication is one of communication major which is not really developed in this country, actually the international communication is the important thing in cooperation between countries, because the messages related to every countries needed and communicate in international conferency and public media which is across the country line (Shoelhi, 2011 : 2). Combining aspiration of Heinz-Dietrich Fischer, Astrid Soesanto said that international communication is the process for influencing different country which is across the country line (Shoelhi, 2011 : 3).

Public Relations in global scale and in every country, most of are the phenomena after Second World War, which are fast developing as well as increasing of international trading. Most countries now try hard to follow the industry and technology development, and all of government try hard to fix their status and existency in the world society.

International public relations is the planned and organized work from one corporation or government for taking care mutualism relation with society from the other country (Wilcox, 2002 : 105). Development of international public relations activities supported by acceleration of bussiness internationalitation and the power of public relations and advertency, which is becoming the concentration of media having in almost every country, especially it caused by the fast development of satellite system extensively which developed by Rupert Murdoch, Robert Maxwell, and others. Government from almost every country have one department or more which work in communication with other countries. This department operate in several levels and start work from activities of tourist flyer production until communicate the point of view from several countries in international radio in national government, informally and high-technology. They also influence the government policy and the other country's behavior by try to negotiate and give society information (Wilcox, 2011 : 127).

International public relations dimension contain some activities and cooperation between one country and the other country. Aspect which is in its attention are very multidimension, start from bussiness, tourism, culture, politic, through public

diplomation until cooperation in education major through student exchange or scholarship.

3.2 Issue Management

Independent community or organization which think about negative effect of one issue, will try to self prepare and managing issue, before identity crisis happens. Issues that spreads in society and get respons from the public is named issue stage. There are 4 issue which are get respons from public :

- *All Issues publics*, public respons the issues in society actively.
- *Apathetic publics*, public do not react or do not care of issues in society.
- *Single-issue publics*, public only respons one issue which is attend their attention actively.
- *Hot-issue publics*, public always respons the issues that attend their attention and that issue become the main news and center of attention in public media.

Strategically, public relation management have a plan and analysis activities, doing identification, anticipating and responding issues or potential problems which related to internal and external needed.

Related to analysis of 'public and issue' for comunity or organization, in opinion of *Counsellor Public Relations*, W. Howard Chase(1976) which is taken by Grunig (1992:120), there are 5 steps of Public Relations activities in doing issues management :

1. Identificate the main problem of related issues with corporation's attention and needed.
2. Analyse every priority issues which are developed and related to effect from public respons.
3. Give some correct strategic optional for corporation's goals and needed.
4. Do the corporation's communication program and it must have the ability for influencing issues perception which developed in society.
5. Evaluate the program which have chased the corporation's goals.

For the next step, Chasee (1976) said that issue management specificky contains related activities, such as :

- *Anticipate emerging issues*, a process of issue management for anticipating issues which are developing and normally, those issues can be predated or happened between

18 months and until next 3 years, especially related to possibility of organization crisis risk.

- *Identify issues selectively*, especially for identify and select potential issues which related to organization's needed.
- *Deal with opportunity and vulnerability*, related to opportunities and usually followed by treatment that could happen to organization in the future.
- *Plan from the outside in*, planning that attend risk factors of developed issue and sourced from external organization side.
- *Action timetable*, issue management must have schedule and planning of specific action for solving potential issues which developed in society.
- *Dealing from the top management*, activities or work program of issue management from public relation strategic management concept which must have support from the top organization management.

S Culip, Center & Broom (2000:17) said that issue management are; anticipating, analyzing, and interpreting public opinion, attitudes and issues which might impact, for good or ill the operations and plans organizations. This activities need to do by public relation continuity, as well as increasing of convergent media using, in internal and external organization or corporation.

3.3 Ecology Media Theory

Main idea from ecology media is the society influenced by media. There are theories that framed this theory:

1. Media contains every action in society;
2. Media fixes our perception and organize our experience;
3. Media connects the world (West, 2010:14).

First assumption which is underlined the thinking that we cannot runaway from media in our life. Media contains every our existence. We cannot avoid or runaway from media, especially if we believe McLuhan's interpretation which is about media construction. There are a lot of ecology media interpretate media in a word that chased widely. For example, beside look at media in traditional way (for example radio, film, television, and newspaper), McLuhan also looks at affect of numbers, games, or even money to society.

McLuhan (1964:21) thinks that number is mediation. He explains, "In the theatre, in dancing party, in ball games, in prayer room, every people enjoy the other existence there. Happiness in public is happiness in the times of numbers that take longer time than become prejudice in other west society that can read alphabet". McLuhan feels in number, there is

public thinking constructed by elite community in society for making “profile from society”. So, there can be created homogenous population, and it can be influenced.

Media transform our society, from the games we play, radio we listen to, television we watch to. In the same time, media depends on society for “exchange and evolution”. Second assumption from ecology media related to how we influenced by media. This influence has been explained before, it will be explained specifically, how McLuhan think about effect of media in our life. Theoriticus of ecology media sure that media fixes perception and organizes our life. McLuhan said that media strong enough in our view of the world.

The third assumption from ecology media theory has created a popular conversation. Media connects the world, McLuhan uses global village word for describing how media ties the world become a big politic, economy, social, and culture system. However this phrase almost becomes klise, McLuhan almost 40 years ago feels that media can organize the society socially. Media has an ability for connecting culture which never communicate before.

McLuhan (1964:63) think about the effect from this global village is the ability for taking direct information. The effect, we have to start affect to global activities, not only focus on self community. He saw that “globe is not more than just a village” and even we have to feel respect to others. Others now behave in our life, while we behave in the other’s life, because of electronic media (McLuhan & Fiore, 1996:64).

IV. Analysis and Evaluation

4.1 Knowing Issue in International Public Relation Context

Community and organization that act in international, especially which are potential for having an influence globally, will have issues from another rival community for getting the important position in the world. In many ways, many community try hard to get influence by developing their reputation. USA is one of ambitious country that develop reputation internationally. Public media and social media become an important instrument that used by USA for chasing the position through many publicity strategy and issue management. Local community identity often destructed because of negative effect of issues. So, leaders or elite community need to prepare themselves to manage issue, before identity crisis happen.

Issues that spreads in society and get respons from the public is named issue stage. There are 4 issue which are get respons from public :

- *All Issues publics*, public respons the issues in society actively.
- *Apathetic publics*, public do not react or do not care of issues in society.
- *Single-issue publics*, public only respons one issue which is attend their attention actively.

- *Hot-issue publics*, public always responds the issues that attend their attention and that issue become the main news and center of attention in public media.

When doing issue management, public that must be watched out and identified are single-issue publics dan hot-issue publics. This first and second group attend to specific issue that become their main attention. Example of single-issue publics is green community will react actively if there is community that destroy the nature. Community of human rights protector will react actively if there is community that do the human rights infringement, and so on. When specific issue responded by community, the chief of community or public relation of community will do the first step of issue management, do the direct communication and give the actual explanation to the related public.

If the first step do not done correctly, the issue will spread in the surface and expose in public media. This condition can stimulate hot- issue publics, that bigger than single-issue public, to react and make the issue bigger than before. That issue will give benefit if managed correctly, because of the expose, the reputation of comunity developed as their goals. But if not, it will destroy the reputation of that comunity, and moreover in extreme condition will create bad image of the comunity existence.

4.2 The Important of Knowing Stakeholders in Issue Management

Research about strategy of popular oil corporation in Indonesia, manage the issue of damaged pipes in Tempino-Plaju way, (Yuningsih, 2010) , which caused a lot of people became victim because of the explosion of pipes in that way, show that first movement for recognizing and managing stakeholders are important.

In that time, corporation management manage stakeholders specifically, for choosing step and program of issue management staregially. Managing stakeholders can also be the basic reason in creating priority scale, also communication form and strategy which have to do, and also the program that need decrease the destructive issue.

Stakeholders which have been managed and then the program have been planned :

- 1) Local government and related village government, for this stakeholders, used negotiation technique, so they will become a fasilitator and mediator in solving this pipe's problem.
- 2) Public media, coordinated for getting the news from netral sources, and from several proportional community.
- 3) Leader in society, cooperated to choose the suitable help for this problem.

- 4) Victims, did the specific communication persuasion, motivation, and stress management until the problem solved.

Those work are success to get the trust from society and international society. The negative news also decrease.

4.3 The Steps in Issue Management bu Using Power of Media

After studied lot about issue management, direct survey study, and also literature study, there are the strategic step that can done by chief or public relation of community, for managing issue so that issue can give benefit to the community existence in international context. There are the related steps by using power of media.

- 1) Developing careness about issue development in society start from now
- 2) Analysing effect of issue to the community or corporation
- 3) Managing stakeholders
- 4) Creating priority scale program and the goals are stakeholders.
- 5) Choosing and applying communication strategy for doing that program
- 6) Managing public media based on its influence and position related to that issue
- 7) Doing cooperation program with related public media, through pers conference, giving access to sources, and writing release or opinion with the other netral side that give influence to society.

V. Conclusion

- 1) To develop a community and get the good reputation in internatioal, need an issue management. Single-issue publics and hot-issue publics are the main priority in issue management, so it will not caused the bigger effect if it is negative, and if it is positive, the issue will spread same as the community's goals.
- 2) Managing stakeholders specificly is very important in issue management, to choose the step and issue management programa strategically. managing stakeholders become the basic to create scale priority, also communication form and strategy that have to do, the program also done as fast as possible to decrease the negative issue.
- 3) Based on direct survey study, there are strategic steps that have to do by public relations of community in creating identity and reputation, directly and by using power of media.

“Mudik” Communication Network: From Kinship to Kin based-Phone Leadership

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Abstract

“Mudik” is the activity of boro people which is going back to their village. This activity is related to annual tradition to celebrate Eid ul-Fitr (“Lebaran”) after fasting (“Ramadhan”) month. At that time, there is an opportunity to gather with parents, extended families, and neighbours which have also traveled from their village and worked diversely at the migrant regions. Since “Mudik” is important event, nowadays, there is a trend of individuals, groups, communities, companies, and government to ask and encourage boro people at migrant areas to participate in “going back to village together” (“mudik bareng”) program. Most of the ways of program promotion and publication used both conventional media such as poster, pamphlet, (street) banner, including mass media, and new media including facebook and twitter. This study focused on how communication technology tool utilized not only to promote or publicize the program but also to mobilize boro people. This study focused on how one of boro communities from Pule village at Jakarta mobilize their own group members to the program using communication technology of cellular phone. The study used density, centrality, and eigenvalue based-social network analysis (SNA) to depict the communication technology network of cellular phone among the group member of boro community. The density of SNA aimed to identify level of corporation or coordination of community leadership decentralized, and identified the cohesion and integration of network. While, the centrality of SNA had an objective to identify the community leadership of network and to observe the access and control toward the network tool. Futhermore, the eigenvalue of SNA was used to identify the set of network actors which have the same role at the network. This study found that although the communication technology of cellular phone were heavily used among members. The leadership of community was still important part both as a popular and an influential leader to mobilize group member of community in special event such as “Mudik” Program.

Key words: communication network, communication technology, cellular phone, kinship

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Background

“Mudik” is the activity of boro² people which is going back to their village. This activity is related to annual tradition to celebrate Eid ul-Fitr (“Lebaran”) after fasting (“Ramadhan”) month. At that time, there is an opportunity to gather with parents, extended families, and neighbours which have also traveled from their village and worked diversely at the migrant regions. In different countries such as Malay, Singapore, and Brunei the terminology of mudik is called “Balik Kampong”, “Balik Kampung” (return to village)³ which means a massive exodus during festive seasons such as “Hari Raya Aidilfitri” (<http://www.kenleewrites.com>. 2010).

Since “Mudik” is important event, nowadays, there is a trend of individuals⁴, groups, communities, companies, and government asking and encouraging boro people at migrant areas to participate in “going back to village together” or “home coming together” (“mudik bareng”) program. Futhermore, Ministry of Man Power and Transmigration Republic of Indonesia appeals to all companies to facilitate “mudik bareng” for their workers and their families (JPPN.com, 2012). According to Transportation Agency of DKI (*Daerah Khusus Ibukota* - Special Region of Capital) Jakarta, until August 8, 2012, there are 17 organizer of “mudik bareng” which transporting 77.428 passengers carried by 1.493 buses of intercity and interprovince transportation (AKAP – Angkutan Kota dan Provinsi), one train and one ship (Qanit, Bisnis Indonesia, 2012).

Furthermore, “mudik program” was announced via any media both mainstream media and new/online/social media to attract more participants. In mainstream media, the program had been put in mass media such as newspapers, magazine, television, and radio while in the other conventional media, the program had been promoted on posters, phamplets, (street) banners, and billboards. Moreover, not only, with the existence of new media including website (such as news online etc), mailing list, weblog, and social media such as facebook and twitter, but also the other tools of communication technologies such as black berry messenger (BBM), and text messaging (SMS) had been used to spread out the information of “mudik bareng” program.

² *Boro* has a meaning as a “pengemboro” or traveler who is going outside from host region to destination region. In Javanese, *boro* come from word “ngelemboro”, “ngelemboro niku lungo/kesah” which means migrate temporarily or seasonally. Mostly terminology of being a boro person is for any entrepreneur works not an official or government jobs. See further more on “Communication Technology as Extension of Kinship” (Irwansyah, 2010, pp. 192-198).

³ In Philippines, “Balik Kampung” has a slight similarity to Tagalog Language, “balik” also means “going back” but no such term as “Kampung” and the nearest to that is “Kampo” instead which means “Camp”, so there are similarities with that “Going back to one’s village” and “Going back to one’s camp”. In many countries in United States, Canada, or Europe including Brittain, the activities going back or return to family home could be as a part of Thanksgiving and Christmas days. In Japan, it’s always over the new year or during the o-bon period. For Chinese, it’s always during lunar new year. I think we need to consider having further research on this activity around the world.

⁴ Someone “lunra” has developed a thread “Siapa yang mau mudik bareng ane??? (Who want return to village together with me???)” in Kaskus forum on August 7, 2012 to ask other person for mudik bareng on August 16, 2012. His destination is from Karawang (West Java) to Cikokok (Banten). To persuade other person, he posted his experience of “mudik” last year attached with several pictures during his journeys. He got 61 replied from others. See more on <http://www.kaskus.co.id/showthread.php?t=15885711>.

However, this study did not focus on how the promotion, publication, and spreading the information of the program into both mainstream and new media. Some studies found that any media is only for stimulant or catalyst (Bora, 2012; Dahlgren, 1992) or a transaquilizer (Wete, 1988) for the program including social media (Morsi, 2011; PBS.org, 2011; Schaffer, 2011). This study focused on how to mobilize the participants in the program via communication technology especially cellular phone. Cellular phone is now a massive communication technology used by over six billions people or 87% of population (ITU, 2011; Mobithinking.com, 2012). At the same time, cellular phone has been used by non profit organizations to mobilize their community (Lee, 2011). Therefore, this study focuses on the research question: how does communication technology especially cellular phone mobilize the community on “mudik program”?

Literature Review

Several studies found that the successful of program⁵ is based on how community mobilize themselves (Nadeau, 2010; Tedrow, Zelaya, Kennedy, Morin, Khumalo-Sakutukwa, Sweat, & Celentano, 2011) and on any participation of community leaders (BJA.gov, 2012; Argaw, Fanthahun, Berhane, 2007; Layne, Sampson, Mallio, Hibberd, Griffith, Das, Flanagan, Castaneda-Sceppam 2008; Braun, 2008). Since, the community leaders are important part to make any program successful, many organizations and governments develop “community leadership program (CLP)”⁶.

In nowadays, since the advance of information and communication technology (ICT) revolutionary, several studies showed that the important of ICT on mobilizing the community (Lee, 2011; UNESCO, 2005). Some studies also showed the role of ICT on mobilizing the community in politics especially social media in Egyptian revolution (Eltantawy & Wiest, 2011), and its implications (Stepanova, 2011). Especially on cellular phone, several reports show its role on mobilizing the community on health (Dougherty, 2012), on resource mobilizing program (St-Pierre, 2010), and civic engagement in electoral and voter registration campaign (Stein & Verclas, 2012). The importance of cellphone on mobilizing the community increase while there is a report showing two non profit organization use the technology effectively in philanthropy and innovation through all aspect of organization (Lee, 2011). Moreover, World Bank (2012) reported several country case studies of using cellphone such as Sri Lanka, Chile, China, Kenya, South Korea, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Philippines, South Africa, and Morocco, to transform livelihood and develop the community.

Cellular phone (cellphone)⁷ is a part of communication technology tools (Kelly & Minges, 2012). Many studies have shown that the existence of cellphone is now more important to facilitate social relations (Palen, 2002; Ito, 2005; Katz & Akhus, 2002; Ling, 2004; Katz, 1997; Haddon, 2004; Taylor & Harper, 2003), and the existence of the user (Rainie, 2006; Emery, 2004; Srivastava, 2005, Fox, 2006). Moreover, cellphone could be a communication technology tool for micro coordination and hyper-coordination (Ling & Yttri, 2002).

Interestingly, the cellphone also demonstrated the membership of social network and participated in the community (Green, 2003). It also developed group membership and increased the barrier between insider and outsider (Ling & Yttri, 2002; Taylor & Harper, 2003). Other studies also showed that the cellphone could develop, maintain, and strengthen the relation bond in social network (Campbell & Russo, 2003; Campbell & Kelley, 2006). An important finding from other studies is cellphone could develop not only personal

⁵ Successful programs that have been identified due to community mobilization are in education, health, youth, and several public policy areas. Community mobilization can increase the effective implementation of evidence-based practices (EBPs), see more Backer and Guerra (2011) *Mobilizing communities to implement evidence-based practices in youth violence prevention: the state of the art*.

⁶ In searching through google search engine (August, 11, 2012), there are 437,000,000 website (in 0.13 second) offering the information of community leadership program. There is also a website <http://www.communityleadershipprogramme.org/> (top of search rank in google.com) which provide specific information about the program.

⁷ The terminology of cellphone is used in this study since its more popular and use than mobile phone.

relationship but also family and kinship relations (White & White, 2008; Irwansyah, 2010). Cellular phone could be used for anything that related to culture in different countries (Fortunatti, 2006; Licoppe & Heurtin, 2006; Mante, 2006; Puro, 2006; Schejter & Cohen, 2006; Varbanov, 2006).

Therefore, the cellphone could be assume to bridge communities including kin-based community to transform their communication among membership in specified program for themselves.

Methodology

This study choose one boro community that have been used cellphone frequently for several tasks such as health, skill, marriage, natality and mortality (Irwansyah, 2010). This community has also specific “mudik bareng” program as a part of their annual activities (personal communication with Parimin, 2010). This community have 116 members who have been asked about “mudik bareng” program. The main questions asked to the community members are (1) to whom and from whom you ask information about “mudik bareng” program and (2) to whom and from whom you called without using cellphone and with using cellphone to ask information about “mudik bareng” program. The community members will be provided 115 names (excluding his/her name) on the list to make easy on remembering the member’s name. The informants were also asked whether the other persons are biological or psychological kinship⁸

To prove the assumption that cellphone may bridge kin-based community to communicate in spesific “mudik bareng” program, this study used social network analysis (SNA). This study used (1) density, (2) centrality, and (3) equivalence based-social network analysis (SNA) to depict the cellular phone usage among the group member of community.

The density of SNA aimed to identify level of corporation or coordination of community leadership decentralized, and identified the cohesion and integration of network (Turk, 1977; Scott, 2000). This analysis show that the use of cellphone could be identified as a coordination among group member. While, the centrality of SNA had an objective to identify the community leadership of network and to observe the access and control toward the network tool (Mizruchi & Galaskiewicz, 1994; Freeman, 1979). Specifically, the centrality can be identified from access and control toward cellphone use in (1) degree of connection, (2) betweenness, and (3) closeness (Borgatti, Mehar, Brass & Labianca, 2009; Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 1992; Freeman, 1989; Hanneman & Riddle, 2005). Futhermore, the eigenvalue of SNA was used to identify the set of network actors which have the same role at the network (Rogers, 1974; Galaskiewicz, 1979; Galaskiewicz & Krohn, 1984; Knoke, 1983). This analysis can be used to identify actors on network of cellphone which have similar role in one cluster

⁸ Terminology of biological kinship was adapted from Lewis (1998) which also known as kindred (Koentjaraningrat, 1961) or organic membership (Simmel, 1961). While the terminology of psychological kinship was also adapted from Lewis (1988) which also know as neighborhood kinship (Haryono, 1999) or rational membership (Simmel, 1961). See further more on Irwansyah (2010).

Result and Discussion

This part shows the result of density, centrality, eigenvalue of “Mudik” communication network with and without using cellphone. Moreover, the this study shows how the communication technology cellular phone may lead not only kinship leadership but also kin-based phone.

Density of “Mudik Communication Network”: With and Without Using Cellphone

At least 70.69% of total informants developed “mudik” communication network without using cellphone. However, instead of single network as a whole, there are three “mudik” communication networks which developed independently without making a connection among others. The study shows that there are 117 ties with 0.009 of density score (0.9 percentages from total informants). Compare to the network which using cellphone, 100% of total informants developed single network. The network has 185 ties with 0,014 of density (1.4 percentages of total informants). This study shows that “mudik communication network” which using cellphone is more centralized than the network without using cellphone. According to Turk (1977) and Scott (2000) the low number of density may identify the low level of corporation or coordination of community leadership decentralized. Moreover, the high number of density may also indicate the high of the cohesion and integration of network (Turk,1977; Scott, 2000). It means “mudik communication network” which using cellphone may give higher cohesion and integration among the members of boro community.

Centrality of “Mudik Communication Network”: With and Without Using Cellphone

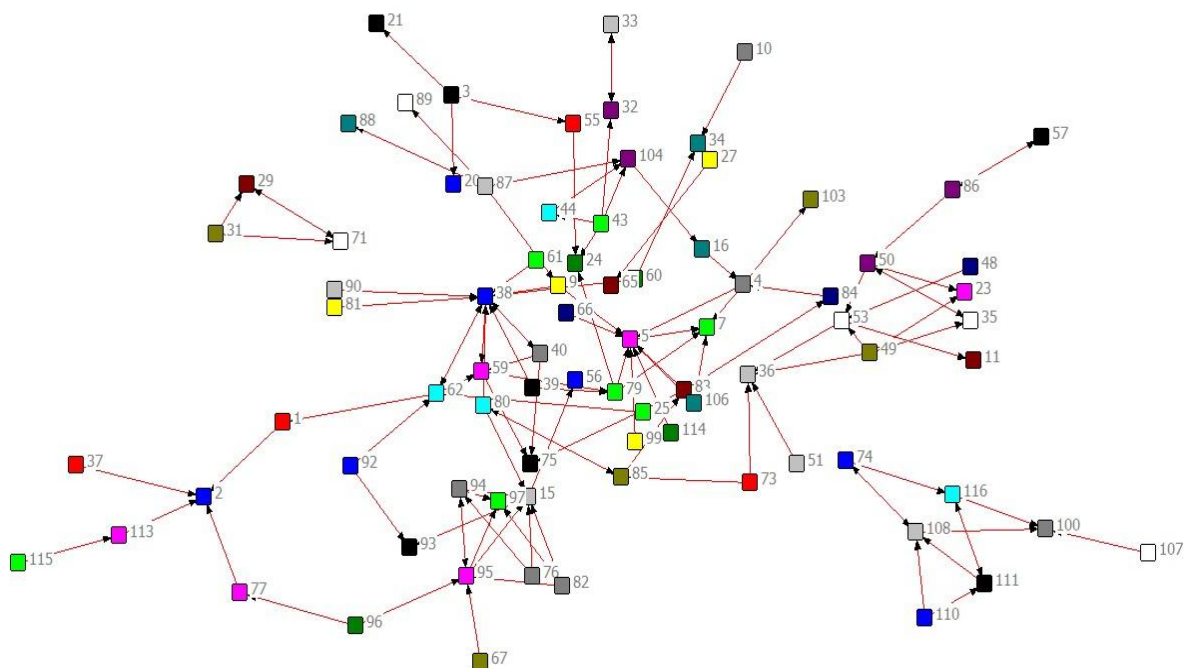
The measurement of centrality based on degree of connection dimension shows that “mudik communication network” without cellphone has 13 connection in one person (#38). The same person has three outdegree and 10 indegree of connection. It shows the person has more popular (indegree) than influencer (outdegree). In addition, the result of betweenness dimension’s calculation shows the person has high value of centrality (94.167, SD = 12.101 and mean = 4.060). Based on the Freeman analysis, the person who has high value of centrality relatively show his power more than other members of community. Unfortunately, the person (#38) shows lower value of closeness dimension (infarness = 11621.000; outfarness = 12201) than the other person (#58) has higher value of closeness (infarness and outfarness = 13340.000) in the network. The person who has low value of closeness means (s)he cannot control and has only a little access to the network (Freeman, 1979).

Comparing to “mudik communication network” using cellphone, the centrality measurement of network has bigger value on degree of connection dimension in two persons (#5 = 23 connections and #38 = 53 connections) than the person in the network without using cellphone. In addition, there is one person (#38) who has 1523.800 of betweenness dimension (SD = 42.991 and mean = 157.735). This value is higher than the value of the betweenness dimension in the network without cellphone. It means the person with higher value of betweenness shows his power higher and share his power to more people in the network

(Freeman, 1979). However, based on closeness dimension of centrality measurement, this study shows that the other person (#73) has higher value (infarness = 13340.000; outfarness = 5492.000) than the person (#38 - infarness = 10359.000; outfarness = 5017.000). In addition, in terms of out-closeness as a dimension of closeness, this study show the same person (#73) has higher radiality in the network using cellphone (2.094) than the network without using cellphone (1.047).

Furthermore, the eigenvalue dimension of mudik communication network without cellphone and the network using cellphone show the same person (#38) has high score. However, the eigenvalue of mudik communication network using cellphone show higher value than the network without cellphone. As Hanneman and Riddle (2005) said that higher scores indicate that actors are "more central" to the main pattern of distances among all of the actors, lower values indicate that actors are more peripheral. Moreover, comparing between two networks, the network using cellphone has fewer person who have similar role than the network without using cellphone. It means in the network using cellphone shows the centralization index (84.39%) higher than the index of network without using cellphone (79.99%).

Graph 1.
Mudik Communication Network Without Using Cellphone



Graph 2
Mudik Communication Network Using Cellphone

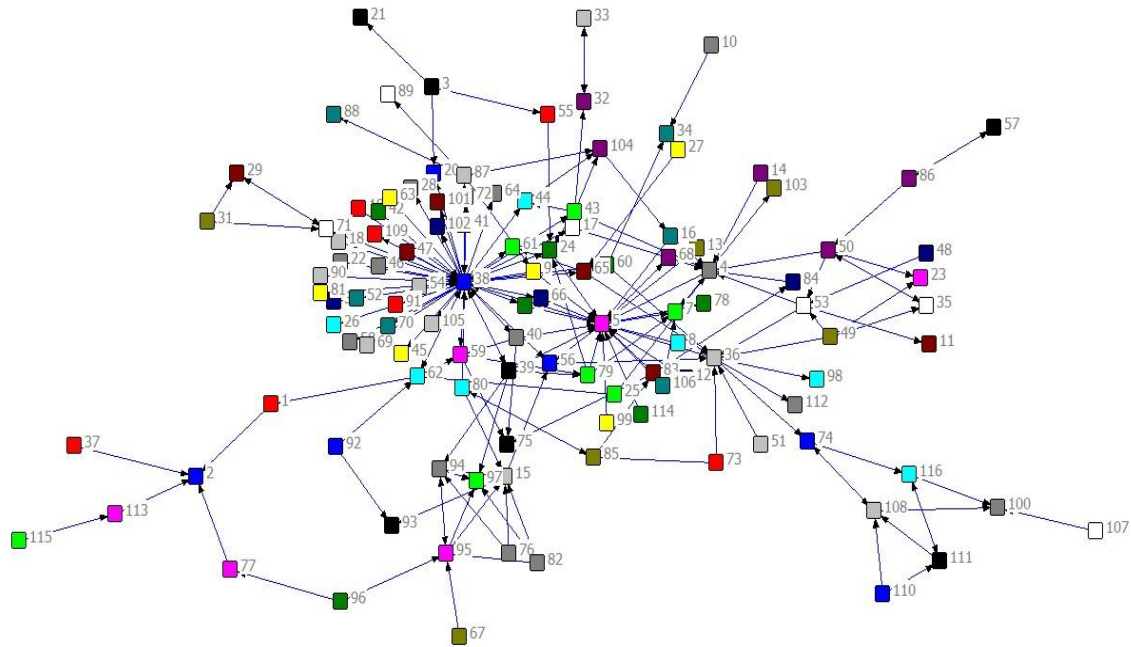


Table 1

The Computation of Mudik Communication Network Using UCINET Version 6

No.	Mudik		Value		Informant	
			Via Cellphone	Without Cellphone	Via Cellphone	Without Cellphone
1	Density	Number of Node	116	82	116	116
		Score	0.014	0.009		
		Ties	185	117		
2	Centrality	Index	11.39%	0.69%		
		Degree of Connection	53	13	#38	#38
		*Mean	1.741	1.534		
		*Outdegree	34	3		
		*Indegree	19	10		
		Betweenness	1523.800	94.167	#38	#38
		*Standard Deviation	42.991	12.101		
		* Mean	157.735	4.060		
		Closeness (Infarness; outfarness)	13340.000; 5492.000	13340.000; 13340.000	#73	#58
		*In-closeness (integration)	2.135	1.144	#100	#7
		*Out-closeness (radiality)	2.094	1.047	#73	#73
3	Eigenvalue	Score	0.597	0.547	#38	#38
		Network centralization Index	84.39%	79.99%		

Kinship vs Kin-Based Phone Leadership

The next discussion focuses how to find the kinship type of the person who has become a central person. As we can see from table 1 on the informant column, in the network without using cellphone, there are four persons who being a central person based on degree of connection (#38), betweenness (#38), closeness (#58), in-closeness (integration, #7), out-closeness (radiality, #73), and eigenvalue (#38). However, the most centralized person is the person (#38) who become a young leader of group community based on the kinship. For example, a person of #38 is a brother of #40, brother in law of #59 and #61, and uncle of #90. Similar to person of #7, he is a nephew of #5 and a niece of #4 while a person of #73 is a brother of #85 and an uncle for #36. In terms of region, persons of #38, #40, #59, #61, and #90 are in one region (Cikarang, West Java), while persons of #7, #5, and #4 are in same region (Daan Mogot, West Jakarta) and persons of #73, #85, #36 in the same region (Bekasi, West Java) too.

In contrast to the mudik communication network using cellphone. Although the person who has the highest degree of connection and the score of betweenness, and eigenvalue is similar to the network without using cellphone; the person (#38) become a central person not only with biological kinship but also psychological kinship. For example. In the network without using cellphone, The person #38 has only four biological and four psychological kinship relations, while in the network with using cellphone, the person #38 has four biological kinship relations and has 49 psychological kinship relations from five different regions (such as Bekasi-West Java, Bogor-West Java Cikarang-West Java, and Daan Mogot-West Jakarta).

Focusing on the person of #38, he got higher score on outdegree of connection than indegree of connection on mudik communication network using cellphone. In terms of leadership, this shows that he has an influential leadership (outdegree = 34) more than a popular leadership (indegree = 19). While in the network without using cellphone, he become a popular leadership (indegree = 10) more than an influential leadership (outdegree = 3). The difference of typical leadership in one person in the networks appears because of two situations. Firstly, the closeness of region. According to the person of #38, he is more easier to approach other persons as part of his group community in one region. He said it is also a part to build the intimation based on face to face approach and to convince other persons about the mudik program. Secondly, the use of cellphone as a means of communication technology. By using the same provider of cellphone service, he informed the program and received many questions about the mudik program easily since other persons are in different places and regions. From group members perspective, he (#38) was also an initiator of mudik program and was actively to inform other group members to involve into the program.

Conclusion

The finding of this study shows (1) there is more psychological kinship than biological kinship in the network; (2) there are more numbers of boro community members in the network using cellphone; (3) there are more number of ties (degree of connection), more centralized (betweenness and closeness), and more eigenvalue in the network which using cellphone; and (4) there is a same person who become a leader in the community either in the network without using cellphone and the network using cellphone but the person has a different type of leadership in different type of network.

This study also found that although the communication technology of cellular phone were heavily used among members; the leadership of community was still important part both as a popular and an influential leader to mobilize group member of community in special event such as “Mudik” Program.

Therefore, this study recommends further research about from and to whom on the kinship network about any issue and the acceptance of group community about the psychological kinship in the network.

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**ORGANIC INTELLECTUAL IN COMMUNITY MEDIA
(CASE STUDY IN COMMUNITY MEDIA BASED CYBERMEDIA
WWW.SUARAKOMUNITAS.NET)¹**

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Abstract:

Not much can be expected from the mainstream media-oriented capital. For example, television is located in Jakarta, which broadcasts on a national scale (Armando, 2011). The information presented in this media type is information in order to get money. Local issues are not accommodated. Issue does not sell, and then the issue would not be aired. People outside Jakarta forced to see the information that occurred in Jakarta.

One way to compensate for the unequal information is to provide counterpoint to the local community through community media. One such community media is Suara Komunitas (www.suarakomunitas.net). Suara Komunitas, based in Jogjakarta, is managed by the community media that spread throughout Indonesia. Suara Komunitas is a news service open to all parties, especially the grassroots, to speak out and shaping public opinion. However, manage a community media is not easy. In order to survive, community media should have a reliable organic intellectuals and willing to sacrifice even though not paid. Without reliable organic intellectuals, the media community will be difficult to compensate for the unequal information. How does an organic intellectual voluntarism Suara Komunitas in maintaining the existence of community media?

Questions will be answered through a qualitative approach with in-depth interviews a number of organic intellectuals Suara Komunitas. Meanwhile, secondary data will be obtained from the literature study and Suara Komunitas document. The findings of this research would enrich the studies of media community based voluntarism.

Key Words: community media, organic intellectual, voluntarism, Suara Komunitas

¹ This paper will be delivered on the 2nd Indonesia International Conference on Communication (IICC), University of Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia (December 5-6, 2012).

² Aryo is a former journalist in the mainstream media. Finally, he chooses to teach and learn about the world of freelance journalists. He is also active in the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) Jakarta as the Coordinator of the Division of Professional Ethics and Journalists Capacity Building. Community media and democratization is one of interest. He was also deeply interested in issues of independence of the media from the perspective of the political economy of the mass media.

Introduction

Citizen journalism, called citizen journalism or public journalism, is a form of journalism that focuses on public or citizens as the main area. During this time, the media often get rid of people in the mainstream media (Santana in Eddyono, 2012:94). Usually, mainstream media prefers stories that can be sold to air so marginalize locality. Residents rarely get the opportunity to obtain the information which he said is important and interesting, let alone are involved in the process of making news. In mainstream journalism, residents placed as an object without being able to participate further. Example-based citizen journalism practices can be seen in the cyber media <http://www.jurnalismewarga.com/>, <http://www.kabarindonesia.com/>, or <http://kayuhbaimbai.org/>. In all three citizen journalism sites, citizen is positioned as journalist. Citizens worked exactly as a journalist in the mainstream media. Editor entitled editing selected because it has a good capacity in journalism. The principle is of, by and for the people. With this pattern, the information is not merely controlled by the mainstream media.

The place where the news come from citizen journalist's activity published is called alternative media. Called the alternative media because is basically a manifestation of public resistance to the mainstream media (Downing in Maryani, 2011:65-67). In terms of content, according to Downing further, alternative media covering news that is not reported or published mainstream media. That way the alternative media can legitimize the lives of ordinary people as a story.

This could be an alternative media community media is present in a particular community, such as community radio, community magazines, media or cyber communities. Community itself a reference to the term community means everyone who lives in a place or a group of people with similar interests. In other words, the community can be formed based on geographical boundaries, common identity and common interests (Sudibyo in Eddyono, 2012:95). One example is Suara Komunitas website (www.suarakomunitas.net) that highlighted in this study. Suara Komunitas is managed by media communities throughout Indonesia. The shape of the news that is open to all parties, especially the grassroots, to speak out and form public opinion. Managers and journalists from various media community radio and other local communities are spread throughout Indonesia. They preach the wide variety of issues going on around them that may never rise in the mainstream media.

Suara Komunitas, according to her profile, like is the news room that open to all parties, especially the grassroots, to speak out and form public opinion. It is they who will spread the news featured on Suara Komunitas community if they do not have internet access to access the Suara Komunitas.

Media cyber community was founded in 2008 as a vehicle for the public voice sounds, especially at the grassroots. Founding spirit is a spirit of resistance, that they (the founder of the Suara Komunitas) see about discrimination the real conditions in the community. The political and economic elite are busy with him and did not look in depth about the actual conditions in the community. On the other hand, the public actually has great potential power to determine the direction of the change. It would require two-way communication between authorized parties with the community at the grass roots.

Suara Komunitas expects more local information that has been rarely covered by the mainstream media. Community is not considered anymore as readers or spectators, but it is time also produce important news and happening around the community. Because the base is highlighted cyber media, it is possible to proclaim the news that not only text-based, but can

be a photo, video, and audio. Presented so that the news can be accounted for journalism, the editor of more than 26 spread throughout Indonesia was chosen to bear the responsibility of journalists to edit the manuscript. So, the news of which can be edited at any time and published / broadcast without having to wait long. Interestingly, all crew unpaid work (Eddyono, 2012:108).

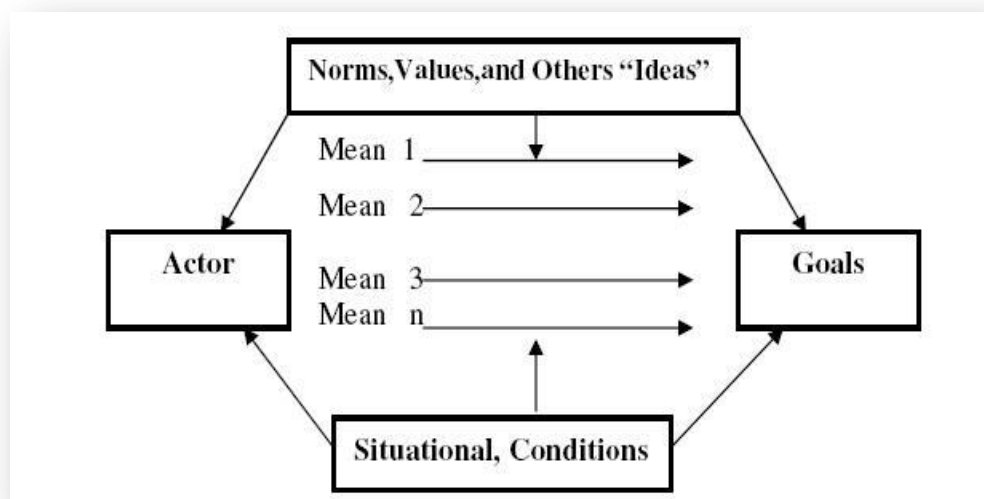
In this paper, the authors will explain: *How voluntarism organic intellectuals in Suara Komunitas maintaining their existence?*

Methodology

Data are categorized into two: primary and secondary (Babbie, 2010:24). The primary is collected from depth-in interviews and the secondary from literature and documents study. The interviews are conducted with informants related significantly with aims of the research. Informants are selected deliberately by certain criteria and considerations (Faisal, 1995:67-68). Data that found from interview and document study are compared into each other in order to find the common patterns. And with Parsonian voluntaristic action analysis, I will draw conclusion.

Before going further, what are 'voluntaristic action' and the 'organic intellectuals'? In social theory, Talcott Parsons especially connected voluntarism with action. Parsons' theory stand that a man's action determined by the reason. The theory is called voluntaristic action. The assumptions of the theory are, first, every man has certain system of values, norms or cultures, and second, the cultures exist because of the society are. The outline of Parsons' theory is explained below (Turner, 1974:32):

Scheme 1
Parsons' Voluntaristic Action Patterns



Source: Turner, 1974:32

Parsons (in Turner 1974:32) explained that this *voluntaristic action* contain some basic elements, which is: there is *actors*; *goals*; any alternatives to reach goals; the actors face to some situational condition variations that affect the choice of means and goal; the actors

restricted by values, norms and cultures in considering to choose the means to reach goals. So in taking choice subjectively to reach goals, the actors aware of the pressure of values, norms and situational conditions in their environments, where they are part of it (Turner, 1974:31). The radio activists as organic intellectuals, in this context, have many considerations when they chose to struggle to keep their radio alive.

So, what are the 'organic intellectuals'? The concept of organic intellectuals, made by Antonio Gramsci, is close to the concept of hegemony. Hegemony is not a situation that easily grasps, but rather simultaneously effort and must be preserved for a long time in order to direct oppositional powers, that always in an antagonistic situation, to be proper of each other. Hegemony is not a circumstance that taken for granted and permanent, but must be fought and struggled (Lull 1998:41-42). Hegemony is a control by a class or a group on other classes or groups into their conscience rather than by force (Simon, 1999:19-20). Hegemony is a consensus organization, a strategy where all groups' interests inside the most powerful group's bowl and each of them get freedom to extend the talents they have. (Iskandar in Arif, 2003:62).

In the civil society, before people made changes and made history, they have to create class consciousness (Fakih, 2004: 23). Civil society, for Gramsci is consisted every transmission apparatus, generally called as "private", such as universities, schools, mass media, churches and others (Sugiono, 1999:34-36; Simon, 1999:99-108). Those apparatus reflected significant roles in shaping society masses' conscience. In civil society, the ability of powerful group to hegemony on other groups depends on the abilities to control those apparatus. Otherwise, in the civil society area, the subordinated groups can do alternative hegemony (counter hegemony).

Gramscian social movements can be read as the efforts by subordinated groups to win their alternative hegemonies. To success, a social movement must have the same goal or can be called as a collective's will that simultaneously articulated. A social movement also needs the intellectuals, which are called by Gramsci as organic intellectuals. The so-called organic intellectuals are the intellectuals who did not only explain social life by scientific principles, but also use cultural languages to express real feelings and experiences which society cannot expressed by itself (Kolakowski, 1978: 240). Through this intellectuals (and involving private apparatus), the subordinated point of views can be changed to approve any expected changes. Briefly, the example of organic intellectuals can be found in the form of community media's activists. In other words, organic intellectuals are agents of change in Suara Komunitas and they are activists.

Findings and Review

Muhammad Syairi has joined to Suara Komunitas since late 2008. Now he serves as editor for the region of East Lombok. As an editor, he was responsible for editing news coming from a journalist before being uploaded to Suara Komunitas site. He also served as chairman of the Radio Primadona FM, a community radio genre was in the village of Karang Bajo, Bayan district, North Lombok. Day-to-day, his activity is very busy with two community media, Suara Komunitas and Radio Primadona FM.



Figure 1 - Muhammad Syairi (Source: Combine)

Syairi has a great commitment on Suara Komunitas since the beginning join. At that time, he had to spend about twelve million dollars since conceded uses the internet. Internet for him is 'new stuff'. To study it takes about 3 months. His wife is angry. Syairi said:

"My wife is angry. I used to not know if there is unlimited internet package. I was just like that. One hour can get a hundred thousand dollars. Unknowingly, already swollen. "
(Interview November 5, 2012)

Despite the hassle of negotiating with the wife, he eventually managed to pay the internet bill. He said to his wife, that what he is doing now would have an impact in the future.

Early met with the Internet began when Syairi invited to Jogjakarta to attend election training for citizen journalist in 2008. The training was facilitated by the Combine, an NGO working in the field of freedom of information on the local community. The Internet is one of the subjects being taught at the time. Syairi addicted studied in depth.

Now, he had produced reaches 2001 news broadcast on Suara Komunitas website. Not to mention plus writings which he edited from a number of other journalist. All he did without pay. Only the cost of Internet credit of one hundred thousand per month rupiahs he received from Suara Komunitas. Syairi revealed:

"I survived because of (what I do) can raise the aspirations of citizen who never was appointed other media, such as the about infrastructure, public services, and so on. No problem unpaid. I am satisfied; especially the news is being addressed by policy makers."
(Interview November 5, 2012)

Then, where Syairi earn money to support his family? Lucky, Syairi have a great wife in cooking and painstaking. Results food stalls and catering businesses that managed the wife becomes a mainstay for families to meet their daily needs. Syairi have other role too. From the ability to write and manage media, there are additional jobs as he can. Two to three million per month he can get. He had enough with what he can at the moment. Syairi:

"Satisfied if the news responded positively by policy makers, many friends and networks, and there are only minor assistance from other activities that can help the revenue" (interview November 5, 2012)

Syairi claims will stop the media from Sound Community if it closes. Her spirit was strong to continue to contribute to the community.

There is also Ibrahim, often called Ibe. Ibe is Suara Komunitas Editor, as well as Syairi. Only Ibe came from Kendari, Southeast Sulawesi. In addition to the Suara Komunitas, he is also involved in Community Radio Network (JRK) Kendari region. Ibe began to join in the Suara Komunitas since 2008. His interest in community media is not without cause. Ibe explained:

"I'm happy with what is voiced in the media because it fits with community that reads the (community). Then, when I was there (Community Voice), I can give you the knowledge I can in college. Finally, the voice is part of my community." (Interview November 5, 2012)

Strong motivation makes it rejected an offer to work in the mainstream media. Many times his friends offered the job. He feels more meaningful in the community who need to strengthen themselves. Let alone, local issues in Southeast Sulawesi have no place to be given by the local media mainstream. In media community news may be served. For him, community media like Suara Komunitas must be maintained.

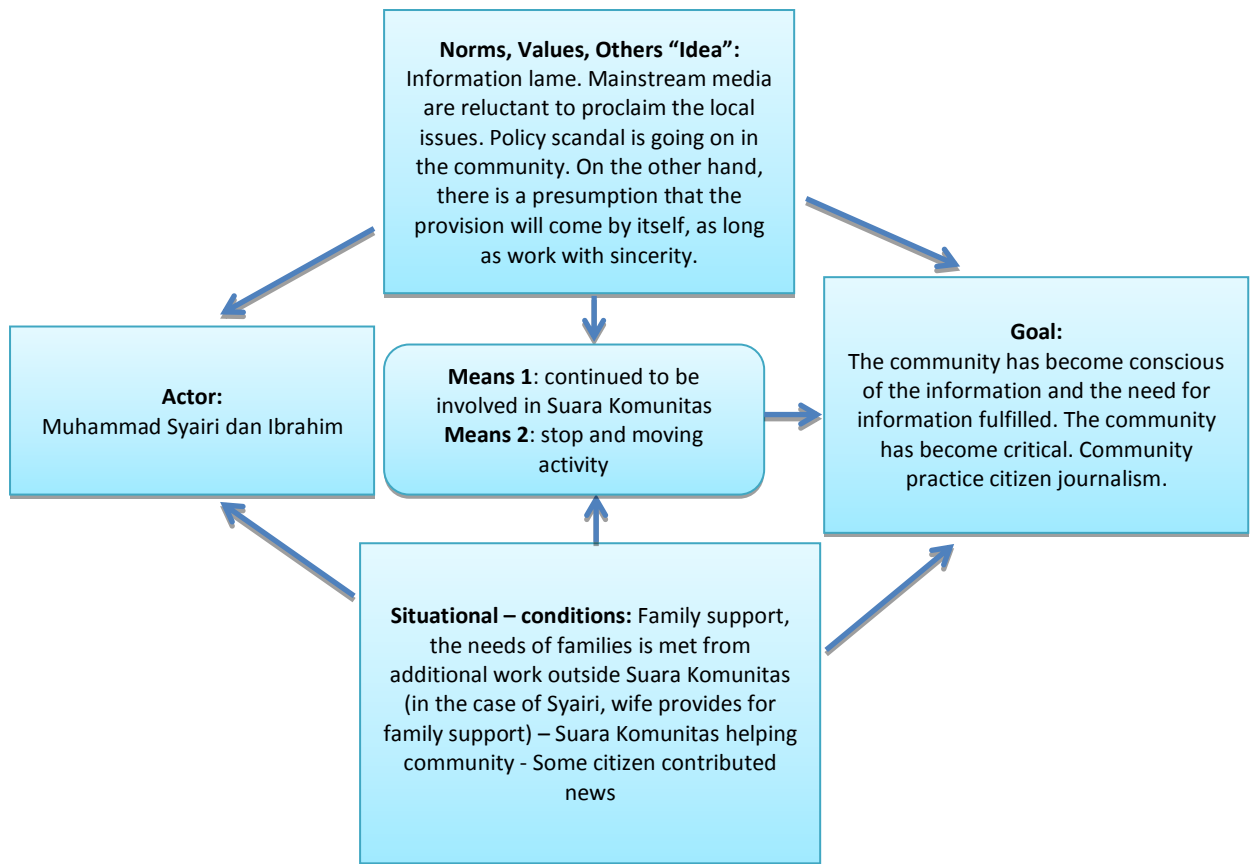
He was very aware that joining Suara Komunitas will not make money to support his family. Ibe married almost two years and have a 5 month old baby. He was confused, but he believes that the provision did not run anywhere. He held fast to the statement of former Chief Editor of Community Voice, Budhi Hermanto, who never gave advice. Ibe recalled:

"Money is not our purpose, but because of what we do today. I utilize my creativity to survive. There's always some way and opportunity." (Interview 5 November 2012)

The wife also always supports what he is currently doing. Ibe Community Voice will continue to build as long as he was able.

The two figures above, Syairi Muhammad and Ibrahim, are organic intellectuals owned Suara Komunitas. Their role is very strong to keep the existence of the Suara Komunitas as medium counter information, and conduct awareness to the community. Without people like them, the Suara Komunitas limps. Both have the same reason to be in Suara Komunitas, though confronted by many options (see chart 1). Their main goal is to help communities to be critical with preaching the local issues that are important to the community through Suara Komunitas. Included also empowers the community to practice citizen journalism.

Chart 1
Mapping Voluntaristic Actions: Muhammad Syairi dan Ibrahim



Source: compiled from results of the research

Conclusion

Every action has a reason, including voluntaristic actions. Money is not everything for both organic intellectual, Muhammad Syairi and Ibrahim. They are willing to take risks to survive in Suara Komunitas that do not provide the materials to them. Family needs problem can be addressed in other work. The satisfaction for they, are able to give the best for their community.

In their hands, the changes will be carrying. Their souls were filled with sincerity and passion to do well for community. Their voluntaristic actions must be appreciated and should be imitated. They are assets and must be maintained. It is one challenge for Suara Komunitas, if you want to exist.

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Passing Judgment: An examination of Journalism, Ethics, and Islam in Indonesia and Malaysia

Janet Steele*

The teachings of Islam contain very strict prohibitions against gossip, libel, and other forms of defamation, all of which can be seen as especially applicable to journalists. In a 2009 text on journalism and Islam, Indonesian intellectual and IAIN Sunan Ampel journalism instructor Faris Khoirul Anam noted that reports of sexual impropriety may not be published until they have been proven in a court of law -- even if a confession has been made in front of a journalist. As Indonesian intellectual, writer, and publisher Haidar Bagir pointed out, it is “completely forbidden” to divulge what passes between a husband and wife in the bedroom. Exposing something shameful about another person is also forbidden, as is backbiting. Article 3 of the Code of Ethics signed by 29 Indonesian press associations on March 14, 2006 states that journalists should always check and recheck, report news in a balanced way, always uphold the principle of the presumption of innocence and never mix facts with opinion that “passes judgment” [menghakimi]. An explanation beneath the article elaborates that “opinion that passes judgment” is the private opinion of the journalist, something different from “interpretive opinion,” which is “the opinion of the journalist based on the facts.” For a public that still has only a vague understanding of press freedom, the idea that the press shouldn’t “menghakimi” -- or literally “judge” someone -- sounds a lot like the Islamic injunction against fitnah (slander) or repeating gossip unless these accusations have been proven in a court of law. The question of when a Muslim journalist can properly divulge something negative about someone else has implications not only for the popular understanding of libel and defamation, but also for the basics of investigative reporting. What are the limits in Indonesia and Malaysia to reporting on charges that have not yet been proven in court? How do journalists understand the nature of investigative reporting, which generally starts with an assumption that either something (or someone) isn’t working in the way it is supposed to? By examining three different cases, two from Malaysia and one from Indonesia, this paper explores the Islamic prohibition against reporting charges that have not yet been proven in court, and considers how these prohibitions might be related both to politics and to popular understanding of laws affecting the press in Indonesia and Malaysia.

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Representation of “Nude Squat” Incident in the English Mainstream Newspaper:

The Star

Padma Pillai*

This research was conducted to examine the media coverage on the Nude Squat (NS) incident by the English mainstream newspaper ‘The Star’ to understand their role better as a gatekeeper of information. It also intends to examine the transition of NS news from the time it was first published until the end of the coverage. The study will focus on how the news coverage portrayed the Royal Malaysian Police (RMP) through representation, identity and relationship. It also examines how communication is used to represent the NS incident and how the media attempts to shape public thought. A total of 55 news articles were selected for analysis in this study. The selected articles were categorized and analysed based on the five stages proposed in Down’s Issues Attention Cycle. In this study, the media was found to have set an agenda about the RMP with the focus on the NS incident. The study recommended that the media should provide the public access to fair and comprehensive information to ensure equal and better understanding by all readers. This is in line with the function of the media to inform and not to judge.

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Should Organization's Spokesperson Be Transparent, Half Transparent or Hide Information During Crisis Management?

Nordiana Zainudin*

Issue or crisis happened in any organization regardless any type of services and products. The most important aspect to be considered is strategy to eliminate or at least reduce the level of damage on organization during issue or crisis management. Three local case studies of issue and crisis management by 3 different organizations in Malaysia were analysed. The level of crisis impact is measured by using Fink Crisis Barometer/Impact Scale. It measure 5 aspects of impact consist of potential intensity, media or governmental scrutiny, impact on agency/organization/community, organization's image and financial impact. This study involved 99 participants with corporate and education background. It analysed the implementation of 7 elements of message appropriateness by organizations' spokespersons, nonequivocal responses and equivocal responses during issue or crisis management. All 3 aspects were examined in relation with impact on organizational corporate credibility. Firstly, 7 elements of message appropriateness were identified. Spokesperson ability to compete in challenging situation is perceived as most important element of message appropriateness to deliver message to Malaysians. Spokesperson's knowledge and expertise to deal with challenge is also known as 'Source competence'. Participants prefer to hear from a competent ($M = 3.35$) and reliable ($M = 3.34$) spokesperson. This study shows that not necessary to have high academic qualification to be the spokesperson as public perceives him as long as he has ability to handle the challenge. However element of 'Source intolerance' ($M = 1.83$) is totally declined by public due to negative attitude of arrogant, pompous and self-importance of spokesperson. No one choose to perceive organization's corporate reputation as good as those who have better positive attitude. The interesting point is the characteristic for trust and credible spokesperson is already underlined and mentioned in Islamic teaching. The importance of considering other feeling is mentioned in Quran by quoting, "Important to have mutual consultation and satisfy information gaps (42:38)". Strategy of imposing any rules, actions and solutions by force will only make situation worse. Secondly, nonequivocal response is defined as straightforward communication while equivocal response is a form of not straightforward communication. Two types of situation are identified for this study which are avoidance situation and approach situation. Avoidance situation refers to organization's declination to not proper respond to public during issue or crisis management. Approach situation refers to organization's acceptance to respond to public. However only approach situation is being analysed in this study as three selected case studies consist of approach elements. Thirdly, measurement of corporate credibility is based on 'Trustworthiness', 'Honesty', 'Experience' and 'Experience'. This study shows that there is a relationship between nonequivocal response and corporate credibility ($r = 0.323$, $p < 0.05$). Yet message appropriateness ($r = 0.091$, $p < 0.05$) and equivocal response ($r = 0.173$, $p < 0.05$) have no impact on corporate credibility. Finding shows that Malaysians prefer if organizations practice nonequivocal response rather than equivocal. However this type of response can only be applied for approach situation, not avoidance situation. Malaysians also not perceived message appropriateness and equivocal response as a contributing factor for better organizational corporate credibility. Furthermore, Malaysians chose to hear explanation from a highly competent spokesperson not a theory-oriented top management. As an active

audience, public opt to archive information from social media. Therefor the organizations should cultivate more positive, down-to-earth and skilful attitude among top management and spokesperson.

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SOCIAL MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY

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Abstract

This paper argues that social media can be used as a media as a practices for democracy. The paper is based on the characteristic of social media such participation, openness, conversation, community and connectedness are a based foundation for democracy. The social movements using social media in Egypt and Tunisia just another example for social media application for democracy life. On the other side, there is a challenges for social media for democracy such as propaganda, censorship, hegemony, slacktivism, digital divide. This paper explores relation between social media and concept of democracy. The paper concludes that there is good practice but also a great challenge for social media and democracy. The paper recommends that we have to maximize the potential social media to nurture social media practices and make a anticipation and curative for other social media and democracy side effect.

Keyword: democracy, social media, practices, challenges.

Introduction

Development of technology that spawned the Internet change the space and time for human life. Information flows a lot faster that gave birth to the knowledge distribution. Recent Developments internet changing nature of the internet which was originally just a one-way (Internet 1.0) into a two-way (2.0). Internet 2.0 is known as a two-way social media allows users to share, comment and collaborate. Today, social media is used as a means for communication media marketing, interpersonal, educational, play and so forth.

Democracy is a system of regulation from the people to the executive power. The purpose of democracy is how the exercise of power can bring prosperity for the people. With these two basic values of justice and equality, democracy will work well when there is active participation of every citizen against every political decision.

Another important aspect of a democratic society is monitoring the implementation of the power. Often there is an abuse of power by the executive adversely impact residents. Previously, this watchdog function was performed by traditional media through a variety of writing and coverage aimed at providing information to the public. With the social media, monitoring functions are also implemented jointly by the people through the exchange of information.

From the description of the above, it appears that social media has the potential as a medium for developing the seeds of democracy. Cases like the revolution in Egypt where social media

Facebook and Twitter serve as a medium for the development of a social movement is a clear sign of the use of social media in a democracy.

Often, technology change giving euphoria that any new technology will be a single answer to every problem. Surely this is seen also in the social media. The application of social media to a variety of fields look the same on the history of the dot com boom in the late 2000s. In those days, everyone is using the internet, but sudden changes in consumer attitudes and behaviors that lead to business internet dot com fall. Is social media going to suffer the same fate?

Comes a question how the practice of using social media as a medium to develop democracy? How strengths and weaknesses of social media when interact with democracy.

This paper aims to look at how the application of social media as a medium to practice democracy. Each practice certainly has its strengths and weaknesses. The author tries to present social media and democracy from two different directions because we often focus more on the positive side of a negative change, regardless of the changes. We become oblivious to anticipate and correct any negative side changes.

Literature Review

Democracy

The word democracy comes from the Greek words *demos*, meaning ‘people’, and *kratos*, meaning ‘power’. Accordingly, democracy is often defined as ‘the rule of the people’: a system of making rules determined by the people who are to obey those rules. The underlying idea is that the people are the driving force and the touchstone of all that happens in the public domain. This basic idea is central to virtually any general definition: some call it ‘responsive rule’ or ‘popular rule’, others ‘popular government’ or ‘popular sovereignty’. In today’s world most people and most countries consider democracy to be the only valid and viable system of government (Council of Europe Forum for the Future of Democracy, 2007; Hendriks, 2010).

The term *democracy* signifies a particular type of society as well as a particular form of government. A democratic society provides the fairest method of governance for most people and the most equality, with the majority of the people playing an active rather than a passive role. It is characterized by a moral imperative to protect and promote the human rights of every individual, every group and every community of society. Because a democratic society is constantly seeking to solve social questions for the benefit of the greatest number of people, these decisions are most likely to be respected by the people.

Democracy exists at the local as well the national level. Democracy works only if citizens are active. A non-democracy is defined as ‘a system in which some individual or sub-group possesses superior power to make binding collective decisions without any formal accountability to citizens. In essence, then, democracy is about (1) popular influence on government and (2) equality in exercising such influence (Council of Europe Forum for the Future of Democracy, 2007; Hendriks, 2010).

A democratic society is more than a democratically elected government and a system of national institutions. Strong and independent local authorities, a developed and active civil society at national and local levels, and a democratic ethos in workplaces and schools are also key manifestations of the democratic society.

Democracy is a practical process that should be nurtured every day and everywhere. Democracy can function more effectively and serve the interests of its citizens better if people formulate demands, exert pressure and monitor government's actions continuously. In modern society, non-governmental organizations and the media serve as the key channels for citizens' control.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) can advocate, educate and mobilize attention around major public issues and monitor the conduct of government or other governing bodies. Through NGOs, citizens can be the driving force and the principal agents of change for a more democratic world.

The media have a very powerful function in democracies, communicating news and opinions of various social actors and serving as a watchdog on behalf of citizens. But this function exists only if the media are free from governmental or corporate interests and influence they value public service and take their role seriously (Council of Europe Forum for the Future of Democracy, June 2007).

Principle of Democracy

Robert Dahl in Tilly (2007), grounding himself on the principle that, in a democracy, there is political equality among the members of the community in deciding community policy. Ideally, this would require the following:

- *Effective participation*: all the members of the political community must have equal and effective opportunities for making their views known; equality in voting: the members must have equal and effective opportunities to vote, and all votes must be counted as equal;
- *Enlightened understanding*: each member must have equal and effective opportunities for learning about the relevant alternative policies and their likely consequences;
- *Final control over the agenda*: members must decide what is on the political agenda; the agenda is never closed;
- *Inclusion of adults*: the aforementioned civil rights must be valid in principle for all adult permanent members of the political community.

The above is a guiding ideal that, according to Dahl, we should continue to pursue, even if we know that this ideal can never be entirely realized in large-scale systems. What can be achieved and sustained is not ideal democracy the government of all – but realistic democracy or polyarchy – the government of many, alternating and correcting one another.

The minimum requirements for such a realistic democracy, sustainable in the long term and on a larger scale, are the following:

- *Elected officials*: government decisions are checked and legitimated by elected representatives; achievable democracy is, to an important extent, indirect and representative;
- *Free, fair, and frequent elections*: at frequent intervals, citizens can express their views freely and voluntarily in reliable elections;
- *Alternative sources of information*: citizens have the right and the possibility to gather their information from alternative sources, including sources other than those within the governmental domain;
- *Freedom of expression*: citizens have the right to express themselves, also in a critical and skeptical sense, on all possible political and administrative matters;

- *Freedom of assembly, associational autonomy*: citizens are free to organize themselves in associations and groups, including independent interest groups and political parties taking part in elections;

The more strongly sustainable democracy is molded and the closer it gets to the democratic ideal, the better it is, Dahl argues. All those who support democracy would agree with the general requirements that Dahl mentions. Out of our six characters in the opening debate – with their often widely diverging opinions – there is not one who would disagree with Dahl’s emphasis on political freedoms and frequent, free elections; where they will start to disagree is over the interpretation and operationalization of the general rights and principles.

What Is Wrong With Democracy?

Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century there is a universal concern today about the status of democracy. In many European democracies political discontent and scepticism are widespread, and people often believe the political elite can afford to disregard the will of the people. Some contradictory developments of democracy such as acute social inequality and corruption cause frustration and anger that can lead to populism supported by the mass media. Citizens often feel powerless and are discouraged from taking a more active role in their society.

Such concerns about the state of democracy are often based on the levels of citizen participation at elections, which has significantly decreased everywhere in Europe in the last fifteen years. This decline, which appears to indicate a lack of interest and involvement on the part of citizens, undermines the democratic process. The turnout of young people at elections is especially low, and there is a growing difference in the participation rate between young people and other age groups. While this discrepancy does not necessarily mean that young people will not vote more actively as they get older, their interests are already less represented at elections. All over the world, young people are becoming increasingly removed from democratic institutions and traditional structures of political life, such as political parties, trade unions or formal youth organizations.

Although these are undoubtedly serious problems, other studies indicate that different forms of participation are actually on the increase within pressure groups, campaigns, ad hoc civic initiatives or consultative organs. Global civil society and Internet activism are flexible new forms of civic participation based on the possibilities provided by technological development. Young people can quickly mobilize around single issues, such as, in the United Kingdom, the war in Iraq or the Orange revolution in the Ukraine.

Political opinion can also be expressed through arts and sport, voicing environmental concerns, women’s rights or consumer boycotts. These forms of participation are just as essential to the effective functioning of democracy as voter turnout at elections. Elections, after all, are a very crude way of ensuring that people’s interests are accurately represented.

Four or five years between elections are a long time to wait to hold governments to account. Everyday participation is key in democracy, and that starts at the local level. Efforts should always be made to improve participation, especially of young people (Council of Europe Forum for the Future of Democracy, June 2007).

SOCIAL MEDIA

Web 2.0 refers to applications that promote user-generated content, sharing of that content, and collaboration to create content. Web 2.0 is the concept coined by O'Reilly in 2005 that promotes interaction and allows users to create Web content. Web sites primarily distribute content (Web 1.0) rather than promote the creation and sharing of content. Web 2.0 was the foundation for social media (Safko, 2010). Usually this labeling device suggests that some traditional activity has now adopted a particular set of new tools. Web 2.0 tools comprise novel applications and services that run in a web browser. By invoking the language of software versioning, '2.0' implies that the technology heralds a step change in what we can now do with the web (Crook, 2008)

The web 2.0 or social media's have a capacity to enable people to connect, share, and collaborate has made its use increasingly common in the personal, business, and educational domains. Social media enables people to reconnect with former classmates and coworkers and rekindle past relationships. People share photos, videos, and provide others with frequent updates related to their lives. Further, social media facilitates collaboration for school projects, church gatherings, and community events (Safko, 2010).

The concept of Web 2.0 is an interactive, hyper-connected, immersive, virtual, digital online ecosystem or mega-platform where users create and share knowledge (e.g. Wikipedia, Delicious), innovate and collaborate together (e.g. InnoCentive), have fun and entertainment (e.g. Zango, Second Life), interact, network or connect with each other (e.g. LinkedIn, Facebook, Skype, or Twitter), design new products or buy and sell merchandise (e.g. Ebay, Craigslist, or Amazon), connect and communicate globally with mobile devices (e.g. iPhone, Blackberry), write reflection blogs (e.g. blogger), share their photos (e.g. flickr), podcast their presentations or make creative films (e.g. YouTube), develop projects (e.g. wikis or Google docs), and express themselves to the world (Karakas, 2009).

With social media, our instinctual needs can be fulfilling. As human, we have instinctual needs have to connect with other humans. We have been doing that in one form or another since our species began. We have a need to be around and included in groups of similar like-minded people with whom we can feel at home and comfortable sharing our thoughts, ideas, and experiences. Media functions as intermediaries with which we make those connections with other humans. Whether they are drums, bells, the written word, the telegraph, the telephone, radio, television, e-mail, web sites, photographs, audio, video, mobile phones, or text messaging, media are the technologies we use to make those connections (Evans, 2010).

Social media is a collection of online communication channels and tools that share five common characteristics:

- (1) Participation: social media encourages contributions and feedback from everyone who is interested. It blurs the line between media and audience,
- (2) Openness: most social media services are open to feedback and participation. They encourage voting, comments and the sharing of information. There are rarely any barriers to accessing and making use of content – password-protected content is frowned on,
- (3) Conversation: whereas traditional media is about “broadcast” (content transmitted or distributed to an audience) social media is better seen as a two-way conversation,
- (4) Community: social media allows communities to form quickly and communicate effectively. Communities share common interests, such as a love of photography, a political issue or a favorite television show,

- (5) Connectedness: most kinds of social media thrive on their connectedness, making use of links to other sites, resources and people (Evans, 2010).

Social Media and Democracy Practices

With used of the theoretical concept about democracy from Dahl, the author tried to describe the connection between social media and democracy from various researcher as below:

Effective participation: all the members of the political community must have equal and effective opportunities for making their views known; equality in voting: the members must have equal and effective opportunities to vote, and all votes must be counted as equal.

According to Michels (2011) in Ndavula & Mberia (2012) participatory democratic theory regards citizen participation as vital to democracy. This notion derives from Rousseau, whose view that the participation of each citizen in political decision-making is vitally important to the functioning of the state.

According to Holmes (2005) in Ndavula & Mberia (2012), this theory moves beyond the process model and explores the ends of the chain of communication events. It addresses the question of who is speaking, the nature of the medium and the effects of communication events for the participant. The theory sees computer mediated communication (CMC) as generating a form of socially produced space. This space is said to be comparable to a kind of electronic *agora*.

The *agora*, dating from post-Homeric Greece, refers to an open space in which goods and information are exchanged. In the agora, information is typically relayed by word of mouth or by messages posted on walls. Habermas (1989) in Ndavula & Mberia (2012), notes that this idea is realized in European life in the form of the cosmopolitan coffee house or cafes. The café is attributed with the status of the bedrock of the civil society. Jordan (1999) s in Ndavula & Mberia (2012), tates that CMC is inherently anti-hierarchichal because identity in cyberspace is seldom identified with off-line hierarchies. He further notes that differentiation based on status is very difficult. In addition the many-to-many capacity of the internet creates a much more inclusive and participatory environment (Holmes, 2005). This therefore implies that SNS are more inclusive and offer a more participatory environment.

The concept of participation is based of non-institutionalized participation and the institutionalized participation and non-institutionalized participation. Barnes and Kaase (1979) stated that institutionalized participation is closely tied to the political system and the electoral process. Institutionalized participation may include activities that influence the political system such as party membership, voting and contacting politicians. Li and Marsh (2008) by contrast non-institutionalized participation is not tied to the political system. It tries to have an indirect impact on the political decision making. Citizens may refrain from participating in formal political institutions (Ndavula & Mberia, 2012).

Bang and Sørensen (2001) in Ndavula & Mberia (2012) content that non-insitutionalized participation involves integrating elements of political deliberation in citizens everyday lifestyle decisions while at the same time. This form of participation is considered less demanding regarding of time, commitment, risk and energy. This happened because the participation is sporadic and opting out is easy without consequence. Internet is make non-instituonalized participation works because internet is a media for public voice and participation in contemporary democracies. For example, the social networking sites

application such as Facebook and Twitter allows user to connect with other. This applications can be used to organize people for politics, advocacy, or community awareness (Ndavula & Mberia, 2012).

Enlightened understanding: each member must have equal and effective opportunities for learning about the relevant alternative policies and their likely consequences;

Social learning is what it sounds like—learning with and from others. It has been around for a long time and naturally occurs at conferences, in groups, and among old friends in a café as easily as it does in classroom exercises or among colleagues online who have never met in person. While social media is technology used to engage three or more people and social learning is participating with others to make sense of new ideas, what's new is how powerfully they work together.

The new social learning reframes social media from a marketing strategy to a strategy that encourages knowledge transfer and connects people in a way consistent with how we naturally interact. It is not a delivery system analogous to classroom training, mobile learning, or e-learning. Instead it's a powerful approach to sharing and discovering a whole array of options—some of which we may not even know we need—leading to more informed decision making and a more intimate, expansive, and dynamic understanding of the culture and context in which we work. The new social learning provides people at every level, in every nook of the organization, and every corner of the globe, a way to reclaim their natural capacity to learn non-stop.

For a long time, many of us have known learning could transform our life. We longed for tools to catch up with that potential. Only recently have changes in corporate culture and technology allowed this eventuality to unfold. At its most basic level, new social learning can result in people becoming more informed, gaining a wider perspective, and being able to make better decisions by engaging with others. It acknowledges that learning happens with and through other people, as a matter of participating in a community, not just by acquiring knowledge. Social learning happens using social media tools and through extended access and conversations with all our connections in our workplaces, our communities, and online. It happens when we keep the conversation going on a blog rich with comments, through coaching and mentoring, or even during a workout at the gym (Bingham and Conner, 2010).

Final control over the agenda: members must decide what is on the political agenda; the agenda is never closed;

According to Tuzzi (2007) in Haider (2009), the decision making in controlling discussion agenda about political issues is based on control and equality. In other words, every member has rights to control the agenda through virtual exchange. Different than traditional mass media when the topics is decided based on chief of editor decision making, the agenda on social media is decided by the members. As long the topics still have interest for the members, the topics will stay on the surface on the disucssion forum. The topics will enhanced with coherence of social bonds through conversation between each others.

Inclusion of adults: the fore mentioned civil rights must be valid in principle for all adult permanent members of the political community.

According to Sassi (2001), recognition of the civil rights of man is in the world thanks to social media. Everyone who has an interest to exchange ideas about political ideas through conversation became very in thanks to social media. Anyone can be in and out of a political association on the Internet. There is no entrance fee for membership, or unique competencies required to enter into a political association. All the people were able to connect and feel a sense of recognition as a member of the group and be able to express what he felt in the group on the internet.

The above is a guiding ideal that, according to Dahl, we should continue to pursue, even if we know that this ideal can never be entirely realized in large-scale systems. What can be achieved and sustained is not ideal democracy the government of all – but realistic democracy or polyarchy – the government of many, alternating and correcting one another.

The minimum requirements for such a realistic democracy, sustainable in the long term and on a larger scale, are the following:

Elected officials: government decisions are checked and legitimated by elected representatives; achievable democracy is, to an important extent, indirect and representative;

With the social media, government officials take advantage of social media as a medium to communicate with people directly and quickly. Learning the case of Obama's political campaign with digital media proves that social media can be used as a means of communication between the government officials. Not just during the campaign, but some countries have political communication using digital media to the people. In Germany, the digital media used to disseminate information to the community legislation. This announcement will raise awareness about the law to society. In addition to the awareness, the public can perform the function of oversight of public policy to elected officials. In this era of transparency, public officials who commit abuses of public trust are particularly vulnerable to exposure to digital media. Anyone who does abuse of power will instantly appear on social media quickly (Haider, 2009).

Free, fair, and frequent elections: at frequent intervals, citizens can express their views freely and voluntarily in reliable elections;

According to Poster (1997) in his essay about cyberdemocracy, man's relationship with technology to change the pattern of human communication. It comes a renewed identity that keeps recurring in people through the exchange of messages on electronic media. Internet does not change people, but through the Internet, people do change their identity. By the nature of social media is very centered on the user, the human being has an autonomous identity, has power over himself. With the communal nature of social media, relationships, and the absence of social class, race and gender, making it have the freedom to express his views on any subject related to politics (Hall, 2008).

Alternative sources of information: citizens have the right and the possibility to gather their information from alternative sources, including sources other than those within the governmental domain;

Authoritarian regimes generally subject “big” media (press, radio, television) to mechanisms of state control and censorship of varying strictness. In exchange, “small” media (leaflets, cassettes, CDs) develop into essential communication channels for the political opposition

and dissidents. In Eastern Europe, for example, small print publications for censored literature (samizdat) became a forum for political discussions. In Iran prior to the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the ideas of Khomeini were propagated through audio-cassettes. In environments where the free circulation of information is restricted, these flexible media open up alternative spheres for the exchange of news and opinions, permitting the dissemination of new political ideas and strategies for collective action. As such, alternative media strengthen the capability of subaltern groups to challenge dominant power structures (Michaelsen, 2011).

On the other hand, the internet allows for a quasi instantaneous transmission of information at low cost and free from the typical barriers that confine access to the traditional media. The evolution of the new media during the last decade has made it easy to transmit messages in different formats (text, sound, and image). Furthermore, online communication transcends geographical borders permitting the formation of transnational communities based on shared language, culture, or interests.

Due to its network-like and non-hierarchical structure, the internet has been considered as the ideal means of communication for social movements and subaltern groups challenging established power structures. In Western democracies, it was expected to eradicate the democratic deficits of corporate-dominated media systems, influenced by consumer-culture and intertwined with powerful elites. As for authoritarian systems, the World Wide Web promised not only to undermine the state's control on information circulation but also to open up new communication channels for suppressed opposition groups and dissidents (Michaelsen, 2011).

Freedom of expression: citizens have the right to express themselves, also in a critical and skeptical sense, on all possible political and administrative matters;

According to Habermas, there is a public sphere is an area either physically or mediated in which humans can come together to debate, discuss, and reach consensus on issues of public policy. Public sphere is the basis for true democracy. With the internet, there is a radical change in the form of the emergence of a alternative public sphere. This alternative public sphere should not longer have a physical presence requirement for voice expression. Their physical presence should not be fixated on the location, but space and time are no longer a barrier to social and political communication. Humans exist to exist (Harlow, 2012; Boller, 2012).

Freedom of expression is a old human habit practice. With the social media, freedom of expression is increasingly accommodated. The internet traffic information is rapid and large increase the amount of information shared mutually between Internet users (Boller, 2012).

With the forum to share opinions, users can only voice their thoughts and feelings without fear of a particular party, independent and autonomous. For the marginal, this freedom can be used to voice their interests where this will strengthen freedom of expression (Harlow, 2012).

Freedom of assembly, associational autonomy: citizens are free to organize themselves in associations and groups, including independent interest groups and political parties taking;

With the spirit of togetherness in social media, a charismatic figure leaders and organizations such as political parties suddenly no longer needed to build a social mobilization. Social media enables citizens to mobilize for a collective action.

When a diversion and abuse of power led to political and social crisis will be a trigger social and political mobilization as in the case of Egypt and Tunisia. Social media enables communication takes place, coordination and sharing that will give birth to a social movement. Social movement aims to seek the support of the users as well as to put pressure on policy makers. Internet is also seen as a means of democratization and the development of democracy and hope to form a political decision (Michaelsen, 2011, Haider, 2009).

Challenges Of Social Media And Democracy

According to some researchers, there are several challenges in the implementation of social media and democracy as follows:

Information Gap

There is a phenomenon called information gap. Information gap is a gap in the dissemination of information to citizens who do not have the purchasing power and access to information. Society became divided into two, namely the information rich and the information poor. Information rich society is a society that can afford to buy the digital information so that they have access to information.

This information gap caused by economic inequality in each community. This can be seen in sectors like infrastructure ownership is very expensive, the high price of each computer and gadget, unequal levels of education and media literacy (Harlow, 2012). Further effects of the information gap is the gap of economic, political and cultural divide.

If we plug the gaps in the political participation of the high level of political participation appears to have access to the information. With advantages in economic and educational status, they have access to information so that they have more information and have a positive attitude towards political participation (Harlow, 2012).

Public Discussion Chaos

Internet allows users to design a virtual identity where identity is totally different from the real-world identity. With this virtual identity concept, users discuss and share a variety of information relevant about public policy on the internet.

Unfortunately, the practice of this discussion has the side effect that the loss of focus of discussion. Discussion to be widened everywhere and obscure the core issues discussed. Which background, the problem, the solution becomes diffuse and even each other. Discussion to be full of rhetoric and sophist. It is abetted by certain parties who are trying to send a message by interest behind it.

The chaos of public discussion is due whether or not the tradition for discussion in a healthy and open discussion by the rules that exist. Lots of users do not understand what the meaning of the discussion forums and how the rules of a good discussion.

The other thing is our education system does not teach us to do the formulation of ideas that are relevant to the issues being discussed. Often the comments that appear highly deviated from the issue. Another issue is the differences are often treated as something great that

developed into a war of opinions. Discussion is no longer a brainstorming event but a force of opinion between camps were found.

Another causative factor is where the user's virtual identity has led to the assumption that the identity of the anonymity it can provide opinions and attitudes without consequences that caused him to have to get a penalty when creating a mess in our discussion forums.

Discussion moderator functions as the manager can make a better quality of discussion. Moderators can remind users of discussion rules, rewards and punishments, which meet the rules of opinion as to whether the quality of the discussion.

Disorders implementation of a public discussion forum must be one of the contributing factors low political participation. When a user has a passion for a discussion forum but in fact the discussion screwed cause he would lose motivation to participation.

Slacktivism Participation

One indicator of the success of democracy is high voter during elections. The problem is the decline in voter turnout in the general election. This decrease is an indication of lack of interest and involvement, discomfort, there are skeptics and many more. This is due to a mismatch between the expectations of politics and political reality.

If this is not correct and in anticipation and this disengagement will destroy democracy in the long run. The low turnout especially in young children as the next generation will keep them away from democratic institutions ranging from the political parties, the trade association through youth organizations (Councils Of Europe Forum, 2007).

In the internet, maybe political participation look very large in number of digits. Like and support on issues of public policy at Facebook could be a reference but this does not correlate to political participation in the real world. Often the numbers up high but inversely when it took participation in the real world. This phenomenon is called *slacktivism*. The reason is that when on the Internet, it is easy to just do the participation with a mouse click without having to sweat and effort. It's easy to voice their opinions and provide support when it is on the internet. Ease of virtual participation combined with the lack of real political participation slacktivism spawned this phenomenon (Dahlgren, 2010; Ndavula & Mberia, 2012; Councils Of Europe Forum, 2007).

Propaganda, Surveillance, Censorship And Hegemony

Just as in the 16th century, when the production of printed books and the effort to read codex type required a fundamental shift of perspective, so today a new mental effort is required to make sense of how democracies are being shaped by the new tools and rhetoric of communication, and why our very thinking about democracy must also change (Morozov, 2011).

Evgeny Morozov's *Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom* is a sceptical corrective to much of the hyperbole surrounding the democratic potential of the Internet. His main argument is that repressive governments, or even the liberal democratic governments of the West, are in a better position to organize information networks than are the masses that might spontaneously take to the streets.

The Internet can be used by governments to infiltrate democracy networks and feed their own propaganda or misinformation. And in regimes where the government has no credibility with its people, the Internet can serve as an important source of truth—a truth that their governments are easily able to manipulate. Morozov believes that technology can promote democracy (a difficult proposition to argue against), but cautions that there is no silver bullet that could destroy authoritarianism (Morozov, 2011).

The Tunisian blogger Sami Ben Gharbia points out that the sudden interest in digital activism, the politicisation of cyberspace, and the proliferation of funding affect the independence, autonomy, and authenticity that have characterised online initiatives in the Arab world so far. Moreover, due to the involvement of giant private companies like Google and Facebook he considers the “Internet Freedom Agenda” a new strategy for advancing the geopolitical and economic interests of the West (Michaelsen, 2011).

As one component in a democracy, the government is running the leadership of a country. With the social media, the government can use it as a medium to communicate to its citizens. On the other hand, the public can ask questions, complaints, suggestions and input on various issues surrounding government and public policy.

Appear possibility when the government chose not to answer the messages given by society, but they chose to answer the questions according to their interests. Government to manage the flow of communication in the hope that the messages that are delivered both in quantity and quality will be a means to maintain dominance in the community as well as forming imaging (Boler, 2010).

Public debate on a similar concept, thought or discussion of something new would be something that is very rare. Internet has been used as a means of multiplying the messages that are aimed at maintaining the hegemony of the government (Michaelsen, 2011).

Social Movement

Social media allows the dissemination of information in low cost and barrier-free than traditional media. With no hierarchical nature and inter-connected, social media becomes an ideal medium to form a social movement that aims to fight the government in defiance. Cases such as the use of social media in Egypt and Tunisia to mobilization is evidence that social media can be used as a medium for social movements.

The problem is a social movement must have very strong roots to gather, unite and move. The roots of the abuse of power that is just very chronic and very detrimental to society. If the issue is an issue of social movements are still not considered to be very important then the issue may be sold on the Internet but will not have a strong correlation with political participation in the real world.

Another problem in the social movement is a social movement is a complex process. It takes some preparations, communication and coordination, time, energy and others to build a social movement. A face to face interaction in meeting is a must when we planning for social movements (Michaelsen, 2011).

Conclusion

Ideally, democracy is a set of mechanisms that regulate the devolution of power given to the government is implementing. The implementation of democracy is supported on two values of justice and equality. Good democracy will benefit all parties, especially the community.

With the development of Internet through space and time, allowing people to connect with one another effectively and efficiently. Social media capabilities allow various fields such as personal, business, technology, economics to politics to be growing rapidly.

The use of internet and social media in the field of democracy spawned numerous positive phenomenon of democracy. Cases such as Egypt and Tunisia is an example of how social media can be a means to share opinions and even the means to carry out mobilization for a social movement.

On the other hand, social media can also be used by those in power to media propaganda. They can do the censorship and surveillance of opposition voices and impose their opinions that aim to protect and strengthen the hegemony in society.

Problems on the user side are the *slacktivism* phenomenon in which high levels of political participation in social media does not have a relationship with political participation in the real world. Another problem users are often involved with the opinion war in the forum discussions, information gaps caused by economic inequality, and so forth.

Social media Utopia often make social media as if a media that has great potential as a political media. Let us dare to consider that social media is just a gathering place human beings with all the strengths and advantages. A more realistic expectation is how to use social media as a medium to support the implementation of democracy so that people can enjoy the democracy that provides welfare to the people.

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Social Media Usage and Enhancing Social Relations and Solidarity in Indonesia

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This paper aims to investigate how social media usage affects social relations and sense of community in Indonesia. Since their appearance, social media features have facilitated and accelerated modes of people's interactions and relationships with others. As new communication technologies and as "tools for public communication" (Boyd, 2011: 44), social media have affordances that can potentially facilitate and improve social relationships among people. Social networking sites are used for various purposes; however, they are mostly appreciated by users for the affordances that contribute them to maintain the networked interpersonal relationships (Ledbetter et al, 2011). On one side, social media have become very popular in Indonesia in recent years. With more than 43 million Facebook users, this country is now the fourth largest source of users of the site after USA, Brazil and India (Socialbakers, 2012). On the other side, "sociability and maintaining friendly relationships with everyone" is the prominent characteristics of Indonesian people (Geertz 1961, as cited by Noesjirwan, 1678: 307). These characteristics of Indonesians situated this country among the nations that have high level of collectivism. Moreover, togetherness is an important social value in this country. Conducting twenty in-depth interviews with Indonesian journalists, social media activists and media scholars this paper investigates how social media usage affects social relations and sense of community in Indonesia. The results of the study suggest that social media enhances social relationships in Indonesia in three different ways: 1) by facilitating and maintaining social relations with the offline network of friends and families, 2) by extending the offline network and finding new friends in online world and finally 3) by building the spirit of togetherness and solidarity/sympathy. The third theme will be elaborated by explaining the movement of "koin keadilan untuk Prita Mulyasari" as case study.

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SUPPORTING LOCAL TRAVEL THROUGH ONLINE TRAVEL COMMUNITIES

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Abstract

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries in the world and its significance for the global community rise with the increasing mobility and ICT development. Despite the many criticisms surrounding the industry, tourism is also seen as one of the most powerful tools to alleviate poverty, mainly through the economic gain brought about from the tourism activities. In many cases, the larger portion of the tourism travel is conducted in the traveller's own region which indicates the increasing power of residents in developing countries to travel. This is also to do with the trend of backpacking travel which offers low cost travel with many authentic travel experiences.

Among today's global community, it has become a trend for those in the productive age range to conduct backpacking travel as part of their lifestyle. The challenges posed by the lack of infrastructure and formal information of many potential tourism destinations are no longer drawbacks in today's travel communities which are highly informed through online information sharing. Travellers would share their own experiences through blogs, mailing lists, wikis, vlogs, photo sharing, just to name a few. Web 2.0 is increasingly becoming influential as a means of information exchange among travellers.

The increasing awareness of the beauty of local destinations that are being shared by travellers may have contributed to the rising interest in local travel. Like-minded travellers would share their stories and experiences within and outside their established or non-established travel communities, boosting the interest to visit those destinations. In many cases, due to the lack of infrastructure and information, it is more appealing for the travellers to set up travel in groups, enhancing their social capital and travel information and consequently heightened their interest to conduct further travel. This paper seeks to understand how online travel communities play a major role in supporting local travels by looking into a case of an online travel community in Indonesia.

Keyword: online travel communities, domestic travel, travel and tourism, ICT

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I. INTRODUCTION

Advancement in communication technological positively correlates to the development of the global travel industry. UNWTO states the critical role ICTs played for the for the tourism industry by increasing the competitiveness of tourism destinations as well as tourism organization (2001). The fast dissemination and extensive virtual space offered is encouraging new creative forms of promotion such as animations and interactivity. A recent research by Chiou *et. al*, in comparing traditional advertising brochures and online promotion found that the latter generates more impact (2007).

Technological advancement improves travelling experience due to its ability to contribute to the higher traveller satisfaction by placing customizing to the different needs and motivation of travellers. In particular the Internet, technological advancement empowers travellers to be more knowledgeable and give them more ability to seek value for money and time (Buhalis and Law, 2008).

Buhalis and Law identified contemporary travellers as those who are less interested in following the crowds and much more keen in pursuing their own schedules (2008). This can be seen by the increasing trend of backpacking adopted worldwide which emphasizes on independence of travelling by making their own itinerary in the attempt to create a more authentic travel experience. This independence is heavily reliant on the availability of information whether from recommendations from fellow travellers, travel guides, travel brochures, among many others.

The development of the Internet has surpasses even the highest expectations of the extensive size of the information that are pooled and made easily available for those who are connected to it. Due to this, more and more people are going online to search for information related to travel. Electronic transactions are conducted in booking flights, reserve accommodation, and conducting other travel-related purchases independently.

This empowerment for travellers has also created a new trend for travellers to communicate and sharing information with each other. They are able to disseminate their travel experiences through blogs, wikis, photos, vlogs, check-ins, and many others. These user-generated contents serve as travel diaries recounting travel experiences including itinerary, budgeting as well as recommendations that can be publically accessed.

Travellers use sites dedicated for travel recommendation to publish their opinions and travel stories as well as publishing it through their individual social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, Instagram, Youtube, Wordpress. These sites accommodate the different ways they can recount their travel experience depending on their preferences, whether through narratives, photo stories, or even video documentation. These sites can be linked to one another, adding to the creativity of the content publication as well as expanding their exposure to the public.

Virtual communities are formed through these travel-related interactions, pooling extensive information on travel to be shared among travellers. Many commercial sites have tapped into this and set up online travel communities in the attempt to harvest these user-generated contents. Tripadvisor.com and Thorn Tree Forum of Lonelyplanet.com are among some commercial sites providing space for travellers interact and give recommendations based on their travelling experience.

More and more of the contents are produced as the number of the Internet population increases. Interactions are getting more extensive due to the high social media engagement. This worldwide trend is lead by Asia, particularly the emerging economies of Southeast Asia. The Philippines, Indonesia, and Malaysia has shown a high level of social engagement,

exceeding the global average time used on social networking and leading to more content production (Kim, *et. al*, 2011). In fact, in the case of Indonesia, social media use is at the forefront of the Internet usage where 83% of the country's Internet users use social media, higher than the global average of 62% (Ipsos, 2012). By November 2012, the number of blogs tallied have reached a staggering 5,334,904 (Saling Silang, 2012).

The majority of social media contents in Indonesia are written in Bahasa Indonesia. In Wordpress.com, Bahasa Indonesia ranks fourth as the most used language in the site (Wordpress, 2012). English is also used by Indonesian social media users, but largely for the purpose of reaching international audience (Udem, 2009). This means that contents in social media are largely written by and for local audience, including travel-related contents. Due to the vast content creation that is disseminated on the internet, it is not surprising that domestic travels are rising in Indonesia.

This paper is based on a research on an online travel community in Indonesia with the aim to understand how the sharing of information and interaction within the members of the community helps to support local travels in Indonesia.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The Internet and domestic tourism in Indonesia

The tourism industry's role in advancing the economy is becoming more significant. The World Travel and Tourism Council estimated tourism industry's growth worldwide to be about 4% annually between the year 2011 and 2021, more than the expected growth of other industries including retail, finance and business services (WTTC, 2012a). It managed to overcome numerous financial and economic crises worldwide in 2012 with exponential number of travel conducted and the amount of cash generated reaching new heights in the same year (Breaking Travel News, 2012). This growth is largely driven by the emerging economies, particularly those in Asia (WTTC, 2012a) and may have to do with the integration of travel as part of the lifestyle of the global population (Buck in Breaking Travel News, 2012).

Indonesia is one of the countries leading with strong performance in its tourism industry. In 2012, the tourism industry's growth in the country is expected to be 7.6%, almost double the global average growth (WTTC, 2012b). Indonesians are travelling more than ever to international and domestic destinations.

The contribution of domestic travellers to the local tourism industry is exponential where they are seen as prominent cash cows. The number of domestic travels conducted in 2011 reaches over 236 million trips with an estimated spending of 156.89 billion IDR (BPS in Taqiyyah, 2012). The Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy of Indonesia refers to the domestic tourists as walking factories, creating employment and businesses that produce money to sustain the local communities (Kompas, 2012a). In 2012, the estimated spending in domestic tourism is predicted to double the spending of international visitors in Indonesia (BPS in Taqiyyah, 2012).

While financial and economic crises in regions across the world proves a setback to the tourism industry, this is not the case in Indonesia where the average expenditure of domestic tourist increases 17% in 2012 in comparison to 2011 (Faried in Dori, 2012). Moreover, The Directorate of Domestic Tourism of Indonesia observed that the number of local tourists is never short despite the difficulties in the travels which may include the lack of infrastructure (Kompas, 2012a).

The increase of domestic tourism in Indonesia between 2011 and 2012 is thought to derived from several factors, including the high number of long weekends in both years, the growth of low-cost carriers, the growing number of middle class population, the growth of new airlines and new routes, the growth of new tourism destinations and incentives from the government (Taqiyyah, 2012). The Internet is arguably contributing to this growth by enabling for more ways for tourism operators to promote their products and services, providing more peer-recommendations through various social media sites and giving better access for potential travellers to make travel-related purchases.

The use of the Internet by travellers is an area that has been researched widely in the recent years. Some areas include information search by tourists (Fodness and Murray, 1997); the Internet adoption by small tourism enterprises (Karanasios and Burgess, 2008); tourism promotion (Hanna and Millar, 1997); and online travel community (Qu and Le, 2011). This is not a surprise considering the increasing role that the Internet plays in the society's travel activities.

New innovations in technology promote tourism activities. The fast advancement of Web 2.0 with its interactive ability as well as its versatility to integrate various applications has enabled the creativity in tourism promotion to flourish (Sellitto *et. al*, 2010). Social media has brought about changes in information search for travellers that is increasingly reliant on peer recommendation (Xiang and Gretzel, 2009). Innovations in hardware technology also accelerates tourism promotion as can be seen with the increasing use of smartphones by travellers. World Travel Monitors estimates that about 40% of international travellers owns a smartphone. From this number, about 40% access information about travel destinations from their gadget, while about 34% of business travellers and 26% of leisure travellers use them to make booking changes during their trip (in IPK International, 2010).

Indonesia emerge among the top social media users in the world and this has the potential to promote tourism. Putra suggest that the popularity may be due to the nation's collective nature as well as the tendency to keep up with the current trend (Putra, 2011). The top 10 sites accessed by Indonesians consists mostly of social media sites, including Facebook, Blogspot, Youtube, Wordpress, Kaskus and Twitter (Alexa, 2012). As seen in Figure 1, Indonesia topped the list in 2010 in comparison to other Asian countries where the nation's Internet users is the highest in terms of using social media networks.

Internet users in Asia using social media networks

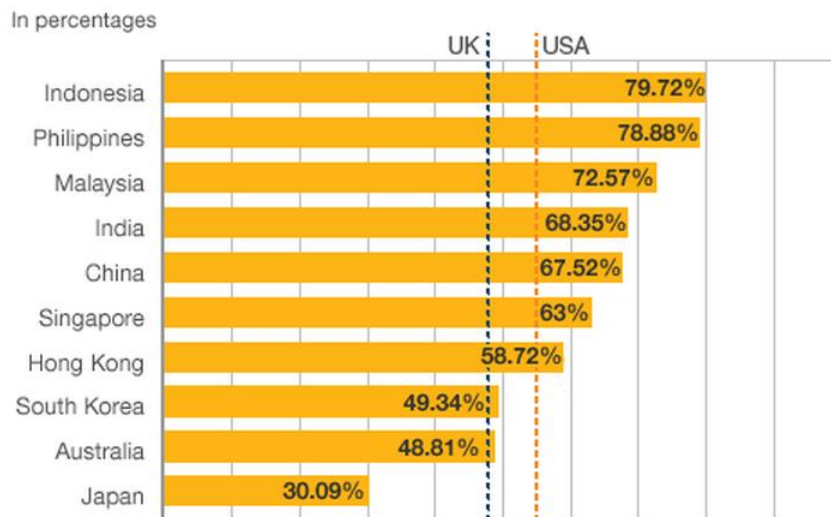


Figure 1 Internet users in Asia using social media network. From GlobalWebIndexSurvey 2010 cited from Vaswani, 2012.

Although the formal channels in Indonesia's tourism industry are still weak in developing online marketing strategy (Sirait, 2011) the industry is highly supported through informal channels such as peer-recommendations and electronic word-of-mouth promotion. Social networking activities in and around the networks potentially increases travellers' interest to visit (Sari, 2012). The Indonesian government sees the vast impact of social media that invitations to bloggers to cover travel destinations is starting to be integrated to its promotional effort (Kompas, 2012b).

The high number of travel contents produced has to do with the travellers' 'bragging rights' that one acquire after visiting a destination. Bragging rights are thoroughly used, through the many creative outputs provided by the new media such as through blog writing, photo posting, tagging, slide shows, and video documentation. The top 5 online check-ins in Facebook as seen from Figure 2 where all are major airports, shows the high interest for the Indonesian social media population to 'brag' about their travel experiences, whether departing or arriving from a holiday.

TOP 5

#	Place	Likes	Checkins
1	Soekarno-Hatta International Airport	11 160	237 328
2	Juanda International Airport	4 695	87 636
3	Ngurah Rai International Airport	4 152	59 376
4	Terminal 1A Soekarno Hatta International Airport Jakarta	3 860	50 931
5	Ngurah Rai International Airport	1 593	49 447

Figure 2 Top 5 places of check-in on Facebook in Indonesia (Social Bakers, 2012)

A study conducted by Roger March found that one of the characteristics of Indonesian

travellers is the tendency for group travel rather than individual travel (1997). They are found to be following seasonality of the holiday calendars and conduct holiday in the form of visiting friends and relatives (1997). The study also identifies that Indonesian travellers tend to follow the current trend in travelling such as visiting currently popular destinations (March, 1997). Trending in destinations that is made popular by publications through social media therefore plays an even bigger role in determining the selections for travels by Indonesians.

Backpacking tourism, online travel community and the increasing trend for local travel

The backpacking travel phenomenon is a travel trend that is catching up worldwide. It is associated with budget travel to exotic and often the not-well-trodden-path. This trend is arguably increasing in Indonesia with many local travellers who are mostly from the youth generation conducting trips to exotic places with just carrying just their backpack (Solo Pos, 2012). Khodiyat argues that although the size is not very significant but it shows potential and that it keeps the economy moving by contributing to the local economy (Solo Pos, 2012). The aim of backpacking travel may include getting experiences and photo opportunities in places that have not been visited before to be later posted on their social network (Solo Pos, 2012).

The pillars of backpacker ideology which includes: to travel on low budget, to meet different people, to be free, to be independent and open-minded, to organize journeys individually and independently, and to travel as long as possible (Paris, 2009) appeals to travellers who most likely be seeking the challenges and experience offered. Information is crucial for this type of travel whether it be from recommendations from other travellers or from other media.

Some of the important problems facing Indonesia's tourism development is to do with the lack of infrastructure to facilitate travellers (Kompas, 2012a) and low access to tourism destinations (Berita Satu, 2012a). The lack of direct routes to some destinations contributes to the high cost of flying which disadvantage local travellers to explore their own country (Lubis in *Tribun News*, 2012). Public transportations are poorly maintained and schedules for buses and trains are not regular (Berita Satu, 2012a). These reasons are argued to contribute as to why Indonesia's tourism is lagging behind its neighbours (Suara Pembaruan, 2012). The high cost occurred for local travel proves a setback for domestic tourists to explore the country (*Tribun News*, 2012) and in many cases, travels to neighbouring countries may prove to be cheaper than travels to remote destinations within the country (Rahim in Hernasari, 2012).

The lack of sufficient information about the destinations is also seen as a major setback. Local governments and local tourism boards are lagging in terms of providing information needed by travellers to explore the destinations. At times even the locals are not aware of the existence of tourism destinations or festivals in their area (*Equator News*, 2012). Promotions for domestic destinations is minimum due to the small promotion budget allocated by the state in comparison to other Asian countries. Furthermore, promotion is usually concentrated only to places that are already well known such as Bali (Taqiyah, 2012). The Balinese success story is arguably due to its high accessibility, high promotion and well-supporting infrastructure (Rudiana in Taqiyah, 2012). Imperative actions are therefore required including publishing accommodation guides and introducing information technology platforms such as multilingual sites for domestic tourists (Kompas, 2012a).

The trend for backpacker travel and the advancement of communication technologies with its virtual interactions within the travel communities may prove to reduce the difficulties

of these setbacks. The lack of five star comfort offered such as in well-facilitated destinations is less of an issue for backpackers who may seek the experience the living like the locals. Backpacker tourism in less developed tourism sites benefits the local community by having less demand for imported goods and services while the benefitting local tourism facilitators who provides services such as accommodation and transportation (Hampton, 2003).

The conventional source of information for backpackers are travel guidebooks. They serve as authorities on the destinations, providing necessary information for travellers. Yet, these information may be limited, lacking in details and are not updated. There are also cases involving the trustability of the guidebooks where some writers compiled their information from secondary sources rather than actually experiencing the destinations (Siddique, 2008). Online peer recommendation serves as an alternative to the conventional travel guidebooks. Pre-trip information searches over the Internet is found to be more important than obtaining the information through guidebooks (Paris, 2009).

The global phenomenon of backpacking travel is argued to stem from the development of technology. A study conclude that the convergence of backpacking ideology and the advancement in communication technologies, particularly online communities has created social structure supporting the mainstream backpacking culture (Paris, 2009). Different age groups subscribing to the culture are found to be using the online systems differently but all maintains their connection through social media (Paris, 2009). Memberships within these communities are considered important to maintain their connections to the backpacker culture and to maintain their online reputation, much like 'road status' of traditional backpackers.

Wang *et. al* state that more and more travellers are turning to online travel communities to fulfil their related tasks. This includes seeking travel information and tips, making travel transactions, maintaining relationship among travellers that are distance apart, finding travel companions or to play games (Wang *et. al*, 2002). Stepchenkova *et. al*, similarly state that online travel community makes it easier for people to obtain information, to maintain connections, to develop relationships, and to eventually make travel-related decisions (Stepchenkova *et. al*, 2007). Peer recommendations or electronic Word-of-Mouth influence travel decisions including accommodation choice, food and beverage recommendations, transport options, safety of the destinations, monetary issues, destination information, and itinerary refinements (Arsal, 2008). Their similar interest in travel and the chance to meet other travellers with similar attitudes, interests and way of life fuelled the interactions within the community (Wang *et. al*, 2002).

Online travel communities have received commercial interest for its potential to reach travellers. It is arguable that online virtual community may be one of the most effective business models in the technological era (Armstrong and Hagel, 1996). Travel companies such as virtualtourists.com and lonelyplanet.com achieved more traffic by adding online virtual travel community features as their business model (Wang, 2002). Wang discuss the communities' ability enhance existing travel products and to create new divisions and capabilities (Wang, 2002). It was found that there is a correlation between the sense of online virtual community with customer loyalty and travel product purchases (Kim, *et. al*, 2011). Thus better understanding of these communities' behaviour and motivation can improve the industry by assisting practitioners and policy makers to establish, operate and maintain these communities, as well as engaging the already present online travel communities, in a more efficient way.

III. METHODOLOGY

This research utilizes in-depth interviews to six active members of an online virtual travel community in Indonesia called Share Traveller. Each member were interviewed individually during the month of November 2012 to give their opinion and sharing of their experience as a member of the community.

IV. LIMITATIONS

This research could not be generalized to be applicable to all online virtual communities due to the different aim and approach each community have in interacting with its members.

V. FINDINGS

The online travel community researched here is *Share Traveller* with their motto “Share, Enjoy, Preserve”. It is a backpacking community which began with a few travel-aspired people who were aiming to reduce the cost of travel by sharing expenses. The trips became a regular and on 30 March 2010, the group was formally set up (Arum, 2012).



Caption 1 Share Traveller's Facebook page. Accessed 3 December 2012 from <http://www.facebook.com/groups/103978259673106/>

The initial interactions within the group were only through mailing lists where members plan trips by sharing ideas, itineraries and estimated cost for travel. The group set up their online domain that is currently inactive due to the lack of interactivity offered. Later it was advised to set up a Facebook account to make it easier for others to join in (Respondent

4). Caption 1 shows the layout of their Facebook page where by December 2012, the total number of members have reached 965.

Share Traveller is an open group, and describes itself in the Facebook page as “*Backpacking travel enthusiasts with the concept of sharing cost. Open for all who wants to join in. Let’s enjoy and introduce Indonesia to the world*”. Their concept sets them apart from other online travel communities in Indonesia where their primary focus is to conduct budget travel through cost sharing. Profit making by members who are organizing travels is not allowed or any commercial ventures. All promotional sales are banned from their Facebook page (Respondent 5).

Most of the interactions are conducted virtually including offering trips for others to join, posting up photos and stories of the community travels, linking to travel-related sites for travel ideas, posting up information about festivals and events, ticket promotions, among many others. Their offline interactions focus on the group travel to destinations around Indonesia. As the community grew, their interactions expanded to organizing social or charity events, group sports and karaoke, taking part in online communities gathering and organizing regular annual gathering for members.

From the interviews, it was found that the majority join other online travelling communities such as *Indobackpacker, Kaki Gatel, Liburan Lokal, Kaskus, Backpacker Indonesia, Tukang Jalan, P24, Sergap Indonesia*, and many others. Their memberships to the different online travel communities serve the different needs that they have for travel related activities. Some travel online communities focus solely in promoting information about local destinations, such as *Liburan Lokal*, while some who are similar serves as an alternative from one another, as explained by Respondent 5 where, “*if in the case there is no trip offered in Share Traveller, then I can join their trip*”.

Supporting Local Travels

Travel to local destinations within Indonesia could provide challenging. Several reasons were thought to contribute to the difficulties, including the high cost incurred for local travel, the lack of infrastructure and transportation, as well as the lack of promotion particularly by the local government in promoting their area (Tribun News, 2012; Kompas, 2012a; Taqiyyah, 2012). It is also found for Indonesian travellers that travelling in groups are more preferable than individual travel (March, 1997) and that the travelling companion is one of the most important factor in determining the decision to travel. Online travel communities were able to somewhat overcome these four challenges by 1) finding alternatives to overcome the high cost for local travel, 2) finding alternatives to overcome the lack of infrastructure and transportation, 3) overcoming the lack of information, 4) providing the means to find travelling partners.

a. Overcoming the high cost for local travel

Sharing cost for travel is the main priority in setting up this community and it is what attracted others to join. Respondent 5 explain that “*the concept of online travel communities like Share Traveller, Kaki Gatel or IBP is basically the same: to share cost.*”. Pre-packaged trips from tour operators charged high prices while community travels do not aim to gain profit (Respondent 3). Members who are organizing do not take profit from the trips and the cost saved could expand their travelling coverage (Respondent 3).

The respondents proposed several ways that the savings can be made, including the

sharing of accommodation and transportation cost, and dissemination of promotional ticket offers. Members who have gained each other's trust can also offer to cover pre-travel expenses, provided that it will be paid later (Respondent 3). There are also instances where the chances of saving up is greater members can find free lodging for the group (Respondent 3).

The travel community accommodates many interests related to trips. Buhalis and Law identified that the new generations living with the increasing demand of hectic life have short period to relax and to engage their favourite activities. This consequently lead to the what is left of their time to be used for "edutainment" such as seeking personal interests for both their personal and professional development (Buhalis and Law, 2008). Respondent 5 argue that travelling in a group can accommodate all these need by making a comprehensively customized trip with minimum budget.

b. Finding alternatives to overcome the lack of infrastructure and transportation

The tourism infrastructure of Indonesia is still behind in comparison to its neighbours. Even within the capital Jakarta, its coastal islands have just recently had 24 hour electricity service (Berita Jakarta, 2012). Proper tourist accommodation and public transport may not be available. These challenges can be overcome by using alternative means which may be more expensive such as renting whole houses and chartering vehicles.

The lack of infrastructure provides an opportunity for non-regular agents to provide the services needed by travellers. Regular homes are converted into homestays and passenger or non-passenger transportations are converted to temporary chartered vehicles. However, due to the seasonal nature of these non-regular services, their existence as travel service providers may not be as reliable. Updates on the existence of these informal services are needed for future visitors' references. Online travel communities accommodate this by continuous updates from other members of the community who travels to the destinations. This sharing of information enriches the knowledge and experience of the destinations. Those who travel during different times may experience different things and this consequently accumulates to the group's knowledge as references for others who may want to visit the destinations (Respondent 3).

c. Overcoming the lack of information

The lack of information about destinations or about travelling posed a large obstacle for people to visit the destinations. Respondent 1 explained, "*I always want to do it [travel], but don't know how. In my mind, travelling seems difficult and expensive*". Travel information shared within the community may be the main reason for others to join in. Respondent 6 claims that the reason for joining is "*to find out information. Travel communities usually have trip offerings or braggings about trips*". Information on specific destinations are often requested on the community's page and answered by members through comments and links to related contents.

New information is constantly being shared including information on new destinations. The majority of the respondents contribute to this by creating their own blogs, posting up information including photos on social media pages and linking information to the community page. The desire to share information is increased after joining communities due to the positive response from others (Respondent 1). Respondent 3 explains that if a new destination is introduced to the travel communities, it would spread like fire. This spirit in

sharing information is crucial in increasing the interest to visit local destinations.

Respondent 6 pointed out to the increasing number of domestic travellers who took the extra mile to explore the country to spread the travel ‘virus’ to others. This has to do with the challenge that local travel offers including the lack of travel-related information and the lack of infrastructure. Respondent 2 argue that it is more challenging to do local travel than overseas travel since the latter would have abundance of information, particularly those that are provided by the tourism boards of regional government.

d. Providing the means to find travelling partners.

Indonesian travellers tend to do group travel rather than individual travel (March, 1997). The travel online community enabled like-minded people to gather virtually and share ideas. Trips and other activities can be easily organized when the members have similar interests to travel.

Respondent 1 point out that prior to joining the communities she was not able to channel her interest due to the lack of travelling partners. Similarly, Respondent 5 admits that her primary offline environments do not have many people who share the same interest in travel. The ease of being a member in an online travel community where connections can be made without being physically present enabled travel planning despite the geographical dispersion of the members. Respondent 6 provide the following statement:

“Because my budget is limited, I want to find friends who want to save up but also fun to be with. Everyone wants to save but not everyone wants to travel in a less-comfortable way, and the later is difficult to find. So if I managed to find that kind of people, we ended up becoming friends because we’re the same type.”
(Respondent 6).

VI. CONCLUSION

The Internet, particularly the online travel communities provide greater means for people to plan their travel. Information and ideas are shared while group travel planning is made possible through virtual interactions. In the case of local travel in Indonesia, the main considerations include finding available information, finding alternative means for transportation and accommodation particularly in underdeveloped areas, finding like-minded travelling partners, and reducing the high cost that is attached to local travels. These challenges can all be somewhat overcome through the interactions in the online travel communities.

The rapidly increasing interest in local travel has resulted to the set up of many online travel communities accommodating like-minded travellers. This research has shown a small aspect of the communities’ great potential in promoting local tourism. Further studies on the role of these communities are needed in order to understand and harness their ability to promote local or domestic travel.

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The Development and Testing Advertising Literacy Instrument

By

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This is an exploratory research based on quantitative approach. The purpose is to develop scale or instrument to measure teenager's (16-18 years old) ability to understanding advertising (advertising literacy). There are some steps to develop instrument such as: literature review, expert review, questionnaire trial and testing the instrument. The population of this research is Senior High School in Yogyakarta City. The questionnaire trial is involving 185 respondents who determine using quota random sampling. The testing questionnaire stage is using stratified random sampling technique. From about 560 students who ask to fill questionnaires, it's about 410 respondents who fill questionnaire completely.

Based on Malmelin (2010) theoretical framework, there are four dimensions of advertising literacy: aesthetic, rhetoric, information and promotion literacy. The survey find out that media that frequently accessed by teenagers is television and internet. It's revealed that from 410 respondents, about 111 or 26,9% of them has low advertising literacy. Most of respondents or 50.1% (207) get middle advertising literacy and the rest of respondent 23% (92 respondents) have high score. Most of respondents have high aesthetic and promotion literacy. It's mean they able to recognize some of visual manipulation techniques. The rhetoric literacy is middle level that indicates sometimes the students can't understand advertising language that use for seduce or persuade consumer. Meanwhile the level of information literacy is quite high. It's intended that the respondents already know that there are some information source that can use to choose product instead of advertising.

Key words: literacy, advertising, advertising literacy, teenagers

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I. Introduction

The advertising is a part of our daily life. It popped in various mass media, below the line media, even in our personal communication channel such as mobile phone and e-mail. The advertising attack is inextricably linked with production boom of consumption product in last few decades. By producers an advertisement is designed to apply some functions, which are: reminder, informing, persuasive and added value (Shimp, 2002).

On the other hand, when make decision purchase consumers faced a complex situation. Purchasing decisions can be made based on previous habits, emotional encouragement and rational considerations. In such situations, advertising contributes directly or indirectly. Directly, advertising acts as a provider of information and as a party to persuade consumers to buy the product.

Teens are an important customer. In addition to the amount that is pretty much the purchasing power better than children, they can also serve as influencers (influencers) for parents (Quartz, 2009). On the other hand, they are young consumers who do not have much experience making consumption decisions independently.

When considering advertising information and persuasion, the ability of adolescents to understand, parse and evaluate advertising becomes important. Advertising literacy is associated with mastery as a consumer to obtain the product as desired, was not mistaken and inedible seduction.

The study of media literacy began to be discussed in Indonesia in the last period. But not many people managed to make an instrument to measure media literacy. Therefore, it needs to be made to determine the size of one's ability in the face of media messages. So the study was designed to define the instrument or gauge the level of advertising literacy.

II. Literature Review

a. Literacy

Obviously, not much research has been done on advertising literacy (O'Donahoe and Tynan, 1998; Malmelin, 2010; Eagle, 2007, and Ritson, 1995). Among these, only few research have been conducted, each of them having different basic literacy concepts. However, those research concepts are important to consider as the basic concepts of this research.

This section will start from the theoretical concept of 'literacy'. Literacy can be defined as 'literate', in the strict sense refers to the ability to read and comprehend text

(O'Donahoe and Tynan, 1998: 2). Literacy can also be understood as the ability to generate, understand, and use the text in a manner appropriate to the culture. O'Donahoe and Tynan add another definition of literacy, which is a set of skills and competencies, which lead to the consideration of its role in social practice. This definition is a simplification of previous notions about literacy. One last note delivered O'Donahoe and Tynan is that literacy is not neutral; it can't be separated from the social and cultural context specific, or about ideology and power.

Other understanding offered by Ritson (1995), intellectual debates among many researchers agree that literacy is an individual skill to be 'literate'. Literacy study grew out of the need to define and develop a model based on interactive social phenomena reception. Literacy study was developed from reception analysis model that is used to see how media consumers receive information through advertising and news. Therefore, the study of literacy is inseparably connected with audiences who develop their knowledge based on collective interaction and information reception from media (television) in order to define their own understanding. Finally, Ritson said that literacy is not just the ability to read text, but also to initiate and participate in any particular social interaction (Ritson, 1995). In other words, advertising literacy is an interaction between social context and advertising text. For example: a group of people who understand the advertising message that joking about the role of the Javanese Genie in a cigarettes advertising as a satirical memo that represent corruption and bribery rampant in Indonesia.

Malmelin (2010) formulated traditional literacy, as the ability to read and understand the meanings of written or printed words. In wider understanding, according to Malmelin, literacy has also been used to refer to the skills of producing the text, sometimes used for arithmetic skills or cultural proficiency. In a theoretical perspective, literacy is a basic concept that consists of various forms of reading and interpretation. Malmelin also added that in practice, literacy is the ability of private individuals to understand the different types of signs and symbol systems, and on the other hand is the ability to understand the different types of messages by using the symbol system.

Among the various concepts about literacy described before, this study chose Malmelin's concept as theoretical basis, which is formulate a limited conception of advertising literacy as well as fully explain the elements of advertising literacy. Malmelin (2010) proposed her concept but never been tested them empirically. This research contribution is to examine whether the concept and sub concepts that -defined by Malmelin is interconnected.

b. Advertising

The second key concept is advertising. In this research, advertising defines as a commercial message in order to promote a product for teenagers in media (television, magazines, internet). The reference product in research related to teenagers product such as food, beauty products, or cigarettes).

There are some advertising definitions that proposed by scholars. O'Donahoe and Tynan suggest that advertisement is a '*literature of consumption*' (O'Donahoe dan Tynan, 1998: 2). They limit the definition of advertising as the text-based ads. Meanwhile, Malmelin (2010) states that advertising is a typical communication form. The interpretation and understanding of advertising requires special literacy skills that is different from those needed in the production and reading of symbolic forms of communication (Malmelin, 2010: 4).

Much more simple but having complex meaning compared with previous definitions, Richards and Curran (2002), defines advertising as "marketing communications". Their definition is expands ads to the media and outside media sphere. Advertising not only an , communications effort that aims to "sell", but also the communication which aims to "make a good impression." Last Malmelin (2010: 4) also proposed the term "promotion" to replace the term "advertising ", which can be understood in its most common and widespread. It is generally agreed that the basic characteristic of advertising is a form of communication with the purpose of public persuasion to buy, or at least give a good impression, a particular product.

c. Advertising literacy

Other keyword is advertising literacy. There are many different conceptions about advertising literacy according the researcher who examine advertising and consumer advertising. Advertising researcher argue that advertising literacy as consumer awareness about various advertisement type, production aspects, and techniques (O'Donahoe and Tynan, 1998). Meanwhile the consumer-advertising researcher suggest that advertising literacy's purpose is to understanding advertisement convention, it mean that consumers are able to understand advertisement model in their daily life. Furthermore, the consumers are competent to acknowledge the advertisement purpose. In the other word, consumers are capable to understand advertisement message, comprehend their agreement/disagreement to the message itself.

Advertising literacy as large can define as a skill to recognize, evaluate and comprehend advertisement or other commercial message (Malmelin, 2010: 2). Idea of advertising literacy is an extension of media literacy that refers to an ability to read and critically analyze any media representation form and tools (Malmelin, 2010: 3).

Lynne Eagle (2007: 1) proposed some concepts dealing with media literacy. She said that literacy is a skill to access, analyze and communicate messages in many form. Moreover Eagle recommend that advertising literacy is ability to understanding the persuasive purpose of advertisement.

Although Mark Ritson (1995) didn't blatantly define advertising literacy but he gave his view to comprehend advertising literacy. Ritson convey that a capability to read an advertisement not only based on the understanding of advertisement message itself but also proficiency to connected the message with social context. Examples can be seen on one of Djarum cigarette ads with the theme "Ghost who could be bribed". Advertising cigarettes deliver our shared understanding of the socio Indonesia emerging-rampant with corruption and bribery. Indeed, The Ghost utterance "Wani pira? (How much you will pay?) " is a straightforward statement that can make the audience laugh ironic. Speech is both a tangible manifestation of his understanding or comprehension of what is advertised, although not related to Djarum cigarette itself

d. Remaja

The last concept that needs to comprehend is teenager. This study will use Ritson (1995) definition about teenagers. He proposes that teenager is a young adult people who are 16-18 years old. Ritson pointed out why so attractive advertising literacy among teenagers is due to increased awareness of youth culture and they are active recipients ads.

II. Metode Penelitian

This is an exploratory research base on quantitative approach. The purpose is to develop scale or instrument to measure teenager's ability to understanding advertising (advertising literacy). There are some steps to develop instrument such as: literature review, expert review, questionnaire trial and testing the instrument

Respondent answer was analyzed using factor analysis. Factor analysis is a multivariate technique that aims to find some structure among the variables analyzed (Hair et al., 2010: 93). Data analysis stages are as below (Hair *et al.* 2010).

1. Data Description: All data collected is entered into a data table, using SPSS 18.0

searchable average and standard deviation to measure the data spread.

2. Interdependency Test: This was done to test whether one variable is related to other variables. If there are certain variables that have the correlation with other variables, it will be excluded from the analysis. Tests carried out through observation of sampling adequacy measure, the correlation matrix, determinant value, the value of KMO and Bartlett test results.
3. Factor Extraction: This method is used to get the results that can maximize the presentation of variants that can be explained by the model. The extraction results is the amount of factors from the extracted variables. At this stage a number of factors that will be found acceptable or feasible represent a set of variables. The loading factor standard that used in this study is ≥ 0.5 . Loading factor is corellation between question items with the measured construct.
4. Factor Rotation: This method is carried out if the initial model obtained from the matrix of factors prior to rotation can not explain a simple data structure making it difficult to be interpreted.

III. Result and Discussion

a. Questionnaire Development and Expert Review

Malmelin (2010) says there are four dimensions in advertising literacy variables: information, rhetoric, aesthetics and promotions. Each construct has the following indicators.

- i. Information literacy is the ability to use a variety of information and assess the accuracy of the information. The ability to use multiple sources of information related to the ability to find information concerning the ability to assess the gap between advertising sring appear on television with reality. There are two indicators related to information literacy is the accuracy of the information and multiple sources of information.
- ii. Aesthetic Literacy means understanding of many expression form, images style, stories and references used in the advertisement. Sound and images aspects are related to coloring, lighting, contrasting, song, sound effect etc. While style is a general pattern that includes several elements of aesthetic image quality, such as bright lighting, camera movements and fast editing to create a cheerful atmosphere. The story is an event setting that shows cause-effect relationships in the ad. The advertisement reference is an

advertisement replication for other media, such as advertising that using the characters in the film.

- iii. Rhetoric Literacy means understanding the strategies, objectives, targets of an advertising marketing. How advertising strategy to persuade a potential buyer, by pointing out the benefits of the product or make sense to impress? What is the purpose of the use of characters with a specific attribute? Who is the intended target by the way of speech and image style / sound of the advertisement?
- iv. Promotion Literacy associated to product placement, media content containing brand, sponsorship and publicity events. The logic related to the placement of ads in a specific event, a specific time, a specific section in the print media. Fill a medium containing the brand is sometimes difficult to recognize, such as the deliberate mention of brand appearances in movies or pictures / background. Sponsorship and publicity is sometimes not appears as an advertisement but as a logo or a particular product in a variety of media advertisements similar aim.

Based on Malmelin opinion (2010) developed a set of questionnaire consisting of 46 questions. The questionnaire was submitted to have expert review. Two experts advise related grammar, adding and reducing item questionnaire. Based on input from experts is composed of a set of questionnaire consisting of 50 items of questions.

b. Questionnaire Testing

1. Respondents Characteristic

Questionnaire that has been review by experts was distributed to 235 senior high school students. The school was chosen randomly using SPSS 18.0 software base on database from official website of Education Bureau in Yogyakarta City (www.yogyakarta.dapodik.org).

From about 235 questionnaires distributed, 185 questionnaires were completed and can be processed. The response rate in the pilot stage was 78.7%. Characteristics of respondents in this trial are as follows. There are 109 male respondents (58.9%), and 75 (40.5%) female respondents. There was one respondent who did not answer this question. In terms of age, 4 (2.2%) aged 14 years, 30 people (30%), aged 15 years, 107 respondents (57.8%) aged 16 years, 32 respondents (17.3%) aged 17 years, 11 respondents (5,9%), aged 18 years, the remaining 1 respondent was 19 years old.

In terms of grade, there are 8 respondents did not answer this question. Respondents were sitting in 10 grade by 37 (20%), 113 (61.1%) respondents are 11 grade students while the remaining 27 people or 14.6% were 12 grade students.

Based on this trial can be seen questionnaire habit media respondents. The data on this is shown in the following table.

Table 1
Respondent Media Habit on Trial Stage

Duration of Media Consumption (Hour/Day)	Television		Internet		Magazine		Newspaper		Movie Theater	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
0	5	2,7	14	7,6	85	45,9	87	47	84	45,4
<1	23	12,4	40	21,6	75	40,5	80	43,2	57	30,8
1-2	52	28,1	53	28,6	20	10,8	13	7	37	20
>2-3	47	25,4	37	20	3	1,6	5	2,7	5	2,7
>3	58	31,4	41	22,2	2	1,1	0	0	2	1,1

The survey also revealed monthly students allowance and expenses as describe in the table below.

Table 2
Monthly Students Allowance and Expenses
(In IDR)

Category	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Mean
Allowance	20.000	300.000	298.000	294.575,97
Expenses	5.000	150.000	149.500	211.005,41

2. Data Analysis

In the first rotation, formed 10 factors. Under the terms loading factors above there were 4 indicators abolished the item question no 2, 18, 20, and 22. After removing the indicators, the rotation was conducted again. At the second rotation about 9 factors were formulated. After all, three items should be deleted which were question number 1, 10, and 31. Next, the third rotation performed, formulated eight factors. The question items that didn't qualified are the number 14, 15,43,48, 49. Later the fourth rotation then about 8 factors composed. There were four indicators that erased the numbers 20, 24, 28 and 34. Afterward the fifth rotation that was formed 7 factors. Three indicators were erased numbers 12, 21 and 30. Rotation sixth form 7 factors, there were two indicators that erased number 17 and 33. Seventh rotation, two factors were removed number 11 and 35. The rest

form the 7 factors. In the rotation to eight, arrayed 6 factors. All indicators meet the criteria of loading factors. Value of KMO Bartlett on the eighth rotation is 0.924 with a significance level of 0000. That is very good category (Hair, 2010).

The next step is face validity. Based on the statistical tests result was known that about six factors. After the test face validity of the research team concluded formed 4 factors. Four factors are to follow the distribution of advertising literacy dimensions do Malmelin (2010). There are 27 items formulated questions. Questionnaire reliability value (cronbach alfa score) is 0.875.

c. Questionnaire Testing

1. Sampling Method

At the trial stage, the sample method is random sampling based on schools. Meanwhile, in the testing stage, the researcher was use stratified random sampling because this method is the most efficient method sampling. Sample frame that was use is Senior High School student name list in Yogyakarta City according to official website of Education Bureau Yogyakarta City www.yogyakarta.dapodik.org at September, 1 2011.

Originally targeted number of respondents was 560 respondents to obtain the consideration amount exceed 20 times item questionnaire questions (Hair, 2010) but completed questionnaires only 410 so all of them were analyzed. The response rate in the testing stage was 73.2%.

2. Respondent Characteristics

Respondent's characteristics in the testing stage are about 214 (52,2%) male respondents and 196 (47,8%) female respondents. Based on their age, 4 (1%) 14 years old respondent, 54 (13,2%) 15 years old, 131 (32%) 16 years old, 171 (41,7%) 17 years old, 48 (11,7%) 18 years old, and only 2 respondents are 19 years old. According to their grade, about 66 (16,1%) are 10 grades students, meanwhile 152 (37,1%) respondents are 11 grades students and the rest for about 194 46,8% are the 12 grades. Those respondents have media habit as below.

Table 3
Respondents Media Habit on Testing Stage

Duration of Media Consumption (Hour/Day)	Television		Internet		Magazine		Newspaper		Movie Theater	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
0	20	4,9	24	5,9	131	32	104	25,4	181	44,1
<1	62	15,1	130	31,7	146	35,6	222	54,1	99	24,1
1-2	114	27,8	134	32,7	95	23,2	76	18,5	101	24,6
>2-3	107	26,1	65	15,9	36	8,8	5	1,2	24	5,9
>3	107	26,1	57	13,9	2	0,5	3	0,7	5	1,2

The survey also revealed monthly students allowance and expenses as describe in the table below.

Table 4
Monthly Students Allowance and Expenses
(In IDR)

Category	Minimum	Maximum	Range	Mean
Allowance	25.000	1.300.000	1.275.000	226.907,32
Expense	10.000	1.000.000	990.000	175.556,10

3. Data Analysis

The first rotation was revealed 4 factors. According to loading factor rule of thumb as described before there was 2 questions that should be dismissed which are question number 10 and 15. Afterward the second rotation was conducted, statistical result found 4 factors and no question that should degrade. The KMO Bartlett's score was 0,955 and the significance level was 0.000. At the same time the questionnaire reliability that is measured using was 0,885. It's mean the questionnaire is valid and reliable.

Based on the advertising literacy questionnaire that has been successfully developed, the researchers measured the ability of the respondents. As a result, there were 111 (26.9%) respondents have a high advertising literacy. The majority of respondents, 50.1% (207) have moderate ability. While the remaining 92 (22.3)% respondents are lower level.

If traced on each dimension, in the rhetoric for about 116 respondents (28.1%) had low literacy, 170 (41.2%) at moderate level and 124 respondents (30%) have high level. For the aesthetic dimensions of literacy, there are 127 (30.8%) students had a low, 81 (19.6%) respondents were at moderate and 202 (48.9%) have high ability. Furthermore, the promotion

dimension most of the respondents or 220 (53.3%) have high literacy skill, 99 (24%) at moderate level and 91 (22%) got low score. Finally, the dimensions of information literacy, 22 (5.3%) of the respondents had low literacy, 191 (46.2%) have moderate capability and 197 (47.7%) at high level.

Table 5
Advertising Literacy Level

Category/Dimension	Advertising Literacy		Rhetoric Literacy		Aesthetic Literacy		Promotion Literacy		Information Literacy	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
High	111	26,9	124	30	202	48,9	220	53,3	197	47,7
Middle	207	50,1	170	41,2	81	19,6	99	24	191	46,2
Low	92	22,3	116	28,1	127	30,8	91	22	101	5,3

Most respondent have high aesthetic and promotion literacy it's mean that they are able to recognize some visual manipulation techniques and any promotion method that used by product marketers. Meantime, the rhetoric literacy skill is moderate, in other word the students some time can't understand the advertisement plot manipulation that aim to seduce and persuade consumer. Concurrently, the level of information literacy tend to high, it's indicate that consumer revealed some credible information source instead of advertisement only to make purchase decision.

IV. Recommendation

This research already success to develop advertising literacy instrument that used to measure an individual ability to understanding, analyzing, and criticizing advertisement in mass and interactive media. Statistical evidence found that the instrument is valid and reliable. Future studies should use these instruments for different respondents with the same characteristics, namely teenage students. Replication is needed to strengthen the findings of this study. It also encouraged to applying this instrument with other instruments with a variety of statistical methods such as correlation and regression. It's Necessary to formulate more detailed information about the determinant and consequence variables of advertising literacy. Therefore it's can find theoretical parsimony models to explain the advertising literacy.

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Advertising Literacy Questionnaire

I. Please The Blank Below :

1.	Name	
2.	Sex	() Male () Female
3.	Age	
4.	Grade	
5.	Monthly allowance	
6.	Monthly expenses	
7.	How many hours watch television for a day?	() 0 () < 1 () 1-2 () > 2 3 () > 3
8.	How many hours internet access for a day?	() 0 () < 1 () 1-2 () > 2 3 () > 3
9.	How many hours read newspaper for a day?	() 0 () < 1 () 1-2 () > 2 3 () > 3
10.	How many hours read magazine for a day?	() 0 () < 1 () 1-2 () > 2 3 () > 3
11.	How many times watch movie theater in a month?	() 0 () < 1 () 1-2 () > 2-3 () > 3

* give cross (x) for appropriate answer

II. Give cross (x) to the most possible answer according to your knowledge and experience.

SA : Strongly Agree

A : Agree

D : Disagree

SD : Strongly Disagree

Statement		Answer Alternative			
		SA	A	D	SD
1	Demonstration in advertising is a reality, not a dramatization				
2	How the product works exactly the same as the visualization in advertising				
3	Consumers testimony about the benefits of a product in an ad is always right				
4	Consumer opinions in the media about a product on the reader letter can be used as a source of information				
5	If I want to find information about a advertised product, I could find from other media				
6	I know other information sources about a particular product instead than advertising only				
7	I used to compare information from various media about a				

	product before making purchase decision.				
8	The Photo of a girl's clean face in the facial cleanser ads mean that the face is trully clean not as the result of makeup				
9	For intense masculinity, ad using a heavey male voice				
10	The sound effects are aiming to make the more interesting picture				
11	The words are spoken repeatedly in ads intend to make a product memorable easily				
12	In television ads with bright colors and merry songs used followed by a rapid image displacement				
13	Some ads are created similar to the endorser's video clip in order to be memorable easily				
14	Ads are made to be continued like the movie series to create a spectator curiosity				
16	Advertising is like a very short story				
17	Ads are made to seduce consumer by exhibit the product excellence				
18	Ads are made to persuade consumer by connected product with positive feelings such as popularity, prestige and friendship solidarity				
19	Ads underlines balance value, namely by stating opinions like the product and do not like the product				
20	In a ads, the fear feeling (ex: body odor) can be overcome by product usage				
21	One purpose of advertising is to make consumers prefer a particular brand				
22	Ultimately the purpose of advertising is to persuade consumers to buy the product				
23	The ads endorser who wearing laboratorium costum are appeared in order to convince the audience that the product product has been tested				
24	Ordinary people who are interviewed in advertisements to show that in fact the product being advertised is preferred				
25	Logo of a product can appear on various television shows rather than advertisements only				
26	Characters in the film can be used as toys and dolls for sale				
27	The scene that shows a use of the products are brand sponsorship				

Acknowledge to the Rumah Sinema's Team:

Researcher

1. Dyna Herlina Suwanto
2. Kurniawan Adi Saputro
3. Prastowo Ragawi
4. Nurkusuma Hidayati

Enumerator

1. Annisa Wanerda
2. Adelia Rahmawati
3. Onesya Rema D
4. Septiana Puji Lestari
5. Nonik Rusmiati
6. Eling Monika Sari
7. Landung Dewandoko
8. Farida Noveiti
9. Sabtya Suka Arwachyntia
10. Hermin Kusumajati
11. Paramitha Fajarin Nova
12. Bramantyo Cipto Adi
13. Annisa Nilam Cahya
14. Arifah

Donors

1. Nanang Chalid
2. Timbaktu Harsana
3. Widiarsa
4. Novi Kristianti

The Representation of Chinese and Chinese-ness in Contemporary Indonesian Media

Ezmieralda Melissa*

With the rapid developments of communication and transportation technologies of the past few decades, this era of globalisation has seemed to accelerate the process of cultural hybridity. On the one hand, this condition encourages people to know and learn more about other cultures existing in our modern societies. On the other hand, this condition also creates some critical issues, especially those regarding minority groups as often they are faced with misunderstanding and discrimination from the majority of the population. Furthermore, it has been claimed that Indonesia has seen a more democratic atmosphere following the fall of the Soeharto's regime in 1998. Many suppressed groups, including the Chinese, have emerged to let themselves being heard in the nation new democratic era. It is reported that with these changes the condition for Indonesian Chinese has greatly improved, with new government regulations that allow the practice of Chinese cultures without prior limitations and efforts to improve race relationships. The Chinese culture is starting to be embraced by the popular media, widely covering Chinese New Year celebrations, Chinese drama and even news programmes in Mandarin. Based on that, this research aims to investigate the meaning of nation and nationhood amongst Indonesian Chinese and further examine the influences of media in communicating their ideas of homeland and nationality. The methods used in analysing the data will be discourse analysis on media texts focusing on the Indonesian Chinese communities.

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The Role of Media in International Public Relations: A Case in Malaysia

Zulhamri Abdullah, Syed Agil Alsagoff, Md Salleh Hassan*

This study examines the role of media in public relations in improving better mutual understanding between organization and its publics. Specifically, media plays a big role in influencing a society in a particular country such as Malaysia. The paper discloses some evidences of media roles, demographic media, and media freedom in a construction of reality as functional context in a social system. Although many studies in Asia focuses on the functional context of media content with regard to how the messages were conveyed to, and being influenced the society, some imperatives elements of social system have been neglected. Posing the evidences of media in Malaysia, this paper conceptualizes the Malaysian media can be observed using Weischenberg's heuristic working model to accelerate and advance a social system, towards developing a new framework of Media Malaysianization.

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Towards an Integrated Framework Measuring Community Engagement: The Case of Public Radio in Flanders

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Abstract

Various models and definitions of community media seem to share a number of organisational and structural predispositions whose roots can mostly be traced back to the broad research field of political economy. Given the deep restructuring ongoing in the media field, we believe a number of these predispositions should be called into question as they inadequately delineate the playing field for community-grounded media activity, both from a conceptual and an operational point of view. This article suggests another framework that moves the focus away from community media and toward community engagement, enabling us to assess in more detail community engagement within the broader field of public service media, including all actors providing audio-visual services in the public interest. By way of illustration, this framework is briefly applied to two Flemish public service radio stations.

Against a background of economic crisis and technological shifts in the media landscape, the 'public interest' or 'public service' roles and orientations of the media are changing and need re-affirming. This deep and double—both economic and technological—crisis could have severe consequences for the media's main public-oriented roles : public service broadcasting, professional journalism, and community service. Consequently, this raises the question of what needs to be done to safeguard the public interest at the national, regional and local levels—by combining the mission statements of an institutionalized public broadcasting service on the one hand and community media on the other hand, in combination with journalistic activity at the hyper-local, local and community levels. In other words, we see added value in 'unlocking' a number of relevant actors in cultural and creative industries which provide content in the public interest.

This unlocking approach also provides theoretical added value. By analysing a public service broadcaster in terms of community engagement, one can see a theoretical overlap in the literature on both public value and community media. When recent research and practice on public value state that focusing on key target groups in society is a task for public service broadcasters, the implied action and values are community engagement. We therefore suggest that synergies between both bodies of research will uncover great similarities, ultimately resulting in a plea for more theoretical frugality and paving the way for a more inclusive legal framework.

In this presentation we propose a matrix for media community engagement, which allows us to look beyond organisational and structural characteristics and assess the form and intensity of community engagement by any given media brand. Recent European competition policies and jurisdiction make it imperative to formulate the public remit much more explicitly and to make public funding much more transparent and proportional in order to create a level playing field for both public and commercial broadcasters.

‘We Have Voices, Too’: Identity, Community Empowerment, and Indonesian Domestic Workers’ Digital Literacy Practices

*Pratiwi Retnaningdyah*¹

Abstract

Migrant domestic workers are arguably one of the most exploited and subordinated groups of women in the labour division under global capitalism. However, foreign domestic workers (FDWs) actively engage in activities to negotiate the prevailing structures of power in transnational labour market. This paper will examine how and why digital literacy is central to the activism of Indonesian Domestic Workers (IDWs). I argue that IDWs actively exercise individual and collective ‘reverse discourse’ on the value and legitimacy of IDWs by engaging the blogosphere. As attempts to reconstruct their identity and empower their community, IDWs’ blogosphere is therefore produced, represented, consumed, and regulated.

Keywords: blogging, strategies of resistance, reception

Introduction

In the past ten years, Indonesian literature has witnessed the emergence of *Sastra BMI* (Indonesian migrant workers’ literature). This term refers to creative writing by Indonesian Domestic Workers (IDWs) who work overseas in some Asian countries such as Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore. Mega Vristian, an IDW-cum-writer in Hong Kong, makes her claim that IDWs are not to be underestimated only by their professions. In defending Indonesian migrant literature as a newly existing genre, she speaks both for herself and her fellow IDWs to be given more space to fulfill their potentials (Iswandono, 2010).

The increasing number of IDWs who turn to writing clearly indicates that they are active subjects in negotiating the power structures of transnational labour migration. While foreign domestic workers (FDWs) are arguably one of the most exploited and subordinated groups of women in the labour division under global capitalism, they actively engage in activities to negotiate the prevailing structures of power in transnational labour market. The activisms are carried out individually and collectively and take on different forms, including engagement in literacy practices. IDWs’ enthusiasm in creative writing can be traced not only in the form of publications of novels, anthologies, articles in the media, but also in the virtual world such as blogs and the social media.

What is special about IDWs’ literacy practices in the virtual world? In this paper, I argue that IDWs use the blogosphere as an attempt to contest and negotiate the meaning of being an IDW. This cultural politics of blogging is conducted to challenge the negative stereotypes of IDWs, which frequently represent them as dumb, submissive and passive maids. In spite of overtime working

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hours and seemingly never-ending house chores which confine most IDWs in terms of time and space, many IDWs have found digital technology a productive way of space negotiation. In the spirit of breaking negative stereotypes, tech-savvy IDWs have spoken their own voices through their digital literacy practices, with an intention to show to the world that they have lives other than those of domestic workers. Using the framework of figured world by Dorothy Holland et al., I propose that blogging serves as a cultural practice in a new figured world of migrant workers, that of smart, tech-savvy, and opinionated women. This enables them to claim more powerful positional identities not only in front of their masters, but also before a wider audience. Furthermore, as collective activism, IDWs' engagement in the blogosphere is also a powerful means of community empowerment.

I will begin this paper by providing a brief theoretical framework of figured world and literacy as developed by Bartlett and Holland, to show how this theory fits into IDWs' digital literacy practices. I will then move on to a brief discussion of previous studies on IDWs, to show how those studies shed light to IDWs' positional identities. The second half of this paper will present my analysis of two blogs by IDWs, *Babu Ngeblog* (A Maid Going Blogging) authored by Rie rie and *Lika-liku Babu Hong Kong* (The Intricacies of a Hong Kong Maid) by Yany Wijaya Kusuma, to illustrate their attempts to create a new figured world of smart IDWs, and also discusses the audience reception of Rie rie's blog. I will particularly discuss self-reflexive blog entries that reveal the two IDW bloggers' motivations in blogging. All entries will be presented in their English translation.

Theorising Indonesian Domestic Workers' Blogosphere

A number of studies on IDWs overseas have shown that IDWs are subject to subordination due to their imagined lack of English, which is linguistic capital (Lan, 2006; Loveband, 2006). This clearly indicates the close connection between language and identity. The correct use of language in a social context refers to saying and doing the right thing, as it expresses the correct values and manners that conform to a particular social identity (Gee, 1990). Just as language is interwoven with identity, so is literacy closely connected to identity. Gee's concept of Discourse can be used to reframe the relationship between literacy and identity. "A Discourse is a sort of 'identity kit' which comes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk and often to write, so as to take on a particular social role that others will recognise." By Discourse (with a capital 'D'), Gee (1990) refers to the means we use to identify ourselves with members of a particular social community or network. Those means include "words, actions, values and beliefs."

From a sociocultural perspective, one's identity is formed not only by one's self-making, but also by others' perceptions of one's self. We identify ourselves with the world we live in and the groups in which we are members, and we continually construct our identities on the basis of sameness and differences within the society and culture we belong to (Barker, 2004). This understanding is parallel to the concept of positional identity, which refers to the way one identifies oneself in relation to "power, deference and entitlement, social affiliation and distance—with the social-interactional, social-relational structures of the lived world...and is inextricably linked to power, status, and rank" (Holland, Jr., Skinner, & Cain, 1998).

However, one's identities also involve figured elements that are culture-related. In Holland et al.'s words, "figurative identities are about signs that evoke storylines or plots among generic

characters” (Holland, et al., 1998) Positional identities may place an individual in a disadvantaged positioning, yet he/she can employ “the space of authoring,” that is, using the figured elements of their identities, in order to negotiate the positional identities and gain a more influential social positioning (Holland, et al., 1998).

Positional and figurative identities are coined as identities in practice, and are part of a bigger concept of figured world, itself part of Holland et al.’s theory of self and identity. Figured worlds can be defined as a space in which people attribute meaning to their experiences and interpret relationships between people, acts, and goals (Holland, et al., 1998). Activities related to figured worlds are characterised by familiar social types, and participants produce their understanding of who they are through cultural artefacts. Therefore, people are distributed or recruited in particular figured worlds on the basis of who they are and their personal social history. Holland et al. further suggest that we may or may not enter some figured worlds because of social status, or even deny outsiders to enter the figured worlds we belong to. Figured worlds are enacted and contested through cultural artefacts, activities, and identities in practice.

Bartlett and Holland extend the concepts of figured world, cultural artefacts, and identities in practice in theorising the space of literacy practices. Literacy, which includes creative writing, is also a figured world, and may differentiate good readers from bad readers, literate people from illiterate ones (Bartlett & Holland, 2002). In the figured world of literacy, cultural artefacts may refer to material things like books and pens and/or conceptual aspects like language ability and digital capital. Cultural artefacts’ functions are two-fold. They are collectively constructed by human activity and are used as signifiers in the figured world, and in turn, also serve as tools in the processes of cultural production.

The growing use of the Internet in our everyday lives has shifted the trend from ‘read-only’ to read-write literacy (Hartley, 2009). While the traditional meaning of literacy placed reading before writing, the development of the Internet has given way to writing as the focal point. This is also true with the tremendous growth of blogging. In the blogosphere, bloggers must possess the capacity to write to be able for their posts to be read by their audience (Hartley, 2009). Furthermore, digital literacy also offers a potential to present multiple identities to the users. Cheryl McLean uses MySpace and Facebook as examples of social networking sites in which users are engaged in multimodal consumption and production of various texts comprising images, videos, and symbols (2010). Drawing from the digital accounts of a teenage immigrant from Trinidad-Tobago, McLean poses attempts to reveal the way an immigrant adolescent employs literacy practices to construct her diasporic identity, and argues that digital literacy practices help people maintain their old identities in relation to their home countries, and at the same time, displays a new identity in relation to the new country they live in (2010).

In the light of Paul du Gay et al.’s (1997) circuit-of-culture framework, Bartlett and Holland’s concept of cultural artefacts as both representing and shaping one’s social identities in relation to power that characterise the figured world provides an excellent framework to explain how IDWs’ digital literacy is produced, represented, consumed, and regulated. Their positional identities as domestic helpers overseas tend to put them in disadvantaged position in terms of power, status, and rank. Therefore, they use blogs as cultural artefacts and practices to create a new figured world of smart, tech-savvy, and outspoken IDWs to challenge the prevailing figured world of dumb and submissive IDWs.

Indonesian Migrant Workers in the context of Transnational Migration: Setting up IDWs' Positional Identity

Scholars from various disciplines of sociology, migration studies, and cultural studies have produced literature on a number of issues concerning FDWs. Researches on the migration of female domestic workers frequently indicate the connection between domestic economic condition and inequalities in the global world (Blunt, 2007). In the Indonesian context, domestic helpers have been an important part of most households, and they are predominantly females, from rural areas, with a low-educational background (Elmhirst, 1999). In the transnational context, domestic helpers are always females from countries with lower income per capita (Momsen, 1999). The flow of transnational domestic labour migration runs from the economically disadvantaged countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia, Bangladesh and Pakistan to the more economically privileged ones such as Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Japan, Taiwan and South Korea. These economic inequalities place FDWs in subordinate position before their employers (Lan, 2006), maid agents (Loveband, 2006), and even fellow FDWs from other countries (Lan, 2006; Loveband, 2006).

The increasing attention to the various IDWs-related issues given by the media is related to resistance to global capitalism that tends to lead to commodification of women's labour and body (Budianta, 2005), as represented by the prevailing negative stereotypes of IDWs. Anne Loveband's (2006) ethnographic study of IDWs in Taiwan examines the connection between workers' ethnicity and the labour market, and confirms that the stereotypes of IDWs as being more loyal, obedient, submissive, but less civilised have been manipulated to position the product, the workers, in the labour market. Indonesian workers are usually considered more suited for elderly and patient care, in comparison to the so-called more intelligent, educated, and civilised, yet more aggressive Filipina workers, who are assumed to fit better for child care.

While Loveband's study shows that Indonesian maids are preferred to their fellow Filipinos, due to their loyalty, submissiveness, hard work and quality of caring (2006, p. 84), Pei Chia Lan's study (2006) extends Loveband's with regard to the Taiwanese preference between Filipino and Indonesian workers, by arguing that this preference also reflects ethnic and class boundaries, as a result of educational level. Many Filipina maids are college graduates and proficient in English, as compared to Indonesian maids who are mostly high school graduates. This puts the Filipinas higher than not only their fellow Indonesian maids, but also their Taiwanese employers. As a result, racialised othering occurs between Filipina and Indonesian maids, with the Filipinas labelling the Indonesians as stupid, and the Indonesians calling the Filipinas arrogant. This difference in cultural capital is also the reason why some Taiwanese employers prefer Filipina maids for childcare, and Indonesian maids for aged care.

To borrow Holland's term, Loveband's and Lan's studies indicate that FDWs carry a particular positional identity, in which they are subordinated in terms of social status, educational background, and ethnicity. Furthermore, Loveband's and Lan's findings pose an intriguing question of to what extent IDWs' positional identity in the form of constructed stereotypes is the actual representation of their identity, and, even more urgently for this paper, how domestic workers represent themselves. This takes us to IDWs' attempt to create a new figured world by means of the blogosphere as their cultural artefact.

Creating a New Figured World: IDWs' Figurative Identity

A number of studies have indicated that internet users take advantage of technology to present certain aspects of the self. In the blogosphere, blog titles can serve to represent bloggers' virtual identity (Subrahmanyam & Smahel, 2011; Walsh-Haines, 2012). Rie rie, an IDW in Hong Kong, uses her blog title, *Babu ngeblog* (A maid going blogging) and her blog profile, "not so ordinary *babu*, with not so ordinary thought," for her self-presentation in the online world. Rie rie's blog, with the URL, <http://babungeblog.blogspot.com> is probably the best starting point if we want to know more about blogging community among IDWs in Hong Kong. The home page of her blog serves as a portal that lists links to 14 new and productive bloggers among IDWs' community in Hong Kong. The oldest blog is Rie rie's blog itself, created in September 2007, while about three blogs have just started since August 2012. This does not include 27 dormant blogs, also authored by IDWs, not to mention around 30 *Kompasiana* accounts owned by IDWs.

Rie rie's blog has held more than 150 entries ever since it was created. Her blog is followed by 185 members, and the traffic shows real-time view from readers all over the world. Rie rie wrote a wide range of posts in the form of journals, short stories, news, poems, and a series of humorous, comical stories about the lives of IDWs. Her posts include texts and videos of her daily life. She wrote not only in Indonesian, but also her regional dialect of Javanese, and English, and sometimes mixes code with Cantonese. As of 12 September 2012, her profile has been viewed 8,955 times.

Another blog authored by Yany Wijaya Kusuma, also an IDW in Hong Kong, is titled *Lika-liku babu Hong Kong*, and adds a phrase *Keluh-kesah harian Babu Hong Kong* (The daily laments of a Hong Kong maid), with the URL, <http://likalikulakonku.blogspot.com>. Created in August 2010, Yany's blog profile has been viewed 900 times as of 12 September 2012. Her blog is simpler in terms of design, putting only texts and photos that correspond to the entries she posted. While not as productive as Rie rie, Yany has also produced similar writings, ranging from observation of IDWs' events, short stories, and journals of her life.

It is interesting to see how Rie Rie and Yany present themselves in the blogosphere. Both use the term *babu* in their blog titles. The choice of this term can be considered intentional as it carries a particular meaning in Javanese language. Synonymous with the word 'maid' or domestic helper, the term *babu* carries a pejorative connotation. In Javanese context, calling someone a *babu* signifies a degrading, subordinate position in the employer-maid relation. Some characteristics attached to a *babu* are loyal, dumb, passive, and submissive. Rie rie created a provoking title by juxtaposing the word *babu* and *ngeblog* in her blog title. In contrast to the pejorative meaning of the term *babu*, *ngeblog* (blogging) implies a particular intellectual level and digital literacy that not everyone owns. Juxtaposing these two terms, Rie rie deconstructs the figure of a dumb maid into a smart, tech-savvy one. This interpretation is strengthened by Rie rie's blog profile, "*Not so ordinary 'babu' with not so ordinary thought.*"

Meanwhile, Yany's blog title, *Lika-liku Babu Ngeblog. Keluh-kesah Harian Babu Hong Kong* reflects the daily struggles of a domestic worker, and implies that such a life is filled more with a bitter taste of bile rather than sweet honey. Accordingly, most of Yany's entries speak about never-ending hard work and fight. In a different sense, Yany also intends to show that a domestic worker like herself is not figured as a dumb and passive maid, but a strong-willed, fighting, and creative woman.

Why do they intentionally use that term? The choice of the term *babu* is not without criticism. When used as self-reference, it is seen as problematic by some people. In her entry titled *What's wrong with babu ngeblog?*, Rie rie recalls the various kinds of critical comments she received from her friends, fellow IDWs in Hong Kong, either directly through online chats. In general, those comments consider the inappropriate use of the word. Some say that the term *babu* is rude and sarcastic, while others even see Rie rie's arrogance in the title. Rie rie herself intentionally uses this blog title not only as an attempt to deconstruct the meaning, but also to release herself from such labelling. In the entry, she asserts:

I'm a *babu*, who is filled with curiosity, and this curiosity is my capital to develop, to think and to have a little wider horizon than just (holding) a hand towel and a broom. And is it wrong if I express it in writing, a blog? So, what's wrong with *Babu Ngeblog?* (Rie rie, 2008b).

Rie rie's use of '*kain lap dan gagang sapu* in the original entry, 'a hand towel and a broom,' is a strong signifier of domestic work, confirming the positional identity of a domestic helper as being subordinate in social status as she says 'I'm a *babu*.' In defending her choice of the blog title, she questions her audience's doubt at the possibility of integrating an intellectual activity such as blogging into a helper's life. More importantly, she clearly reflects an intentional move to contest the positional identity of a domestic worker, with a towel and a broom as accompanying cultural artefacts, and creates a figurative identity in a new figured world as symbolised by a new cultural artefact, a blog. Also, Rie rie has no intention to put away the towel and broom as cultural artefacts of the figured world of domestic workers, but rather, make good use of them in her narratives in her new cultural artefact, her blog. It is the combination of these artefacts, towel, broom, and blog, which enables her to create the new figured world of smart and creative IDWs.

Rie rie perceives her profession as more respectable in terms of financial independence, and compares it to a government employee, a profession she represents as being held by unproductive people who nevertheless receive 'blind' monthly salary out of their status. Furthermore, her professional pride, manifested in blogging, should not be seen as arrogance. She writes:

I'm proud to say that I do not let myself become a beggar under my parents's armpits or someone else's, I'm proud that I'm not a civil servant who eats up a blind salary. I'm proud that I can survive my own life, my family with my own sweat. And for this I have to thank my profession as a *babu*. And if I show my self-pride and gratitude to my profession in this blog, is it an evidence of my arrogance? (Rie rie, 2008b).

Viviane Serfaty's study (2004) on online diary writing suggests that blogging is not a mere narcissistic act. Through self-reflexive entries, diarists feel the need to justify their engagement in online diary writing, to enable them to write about their motivation to write, as well as to distance themselves from their writing. To Serfaty, this is an essential step in constructing the significance of digital literacy they are engaged in. In this light, Rie rie admits the instrumental effects she gains from blogging. She perceives blogging like a falling-in-love experience. It is also about sharing, enlightening, and flying, an activity that makes her want to finish her chores as soon as possible, and to spend her whole day-off staying at the public library.

I felt like I wanted to finish all my chores as soon as possible so that I could sit in front of the laptop to find out about blogging...That whole day off I used to find out about blogging. From 10 am to 5 pm when my tummy started protesting against not being fed since morning (Rie rie, 2007c) .

The employer-employee relationship may play a significant role in shaping an FDW's engagement with digital technology. Lan (2006) discusses how IDWs in Taiwan make use of technology as an attempt to negotiate public/private space. Confined in their masters' homes as their workplace, IDWs use mobile phones to facilitate communication with their community and family back home. Exchange of information through calls and text messages have helped IDWs enjoy their back stage and to fight boredom and loneliness. While employers may encourage their workers to own mobile phones, this is done to exercise control. Mobile phones can help employers avoid the possibility of being overcharged by landline phone use for international calls, or practice surveillance over their maids by calling them on their days off. This, according to Lan (2006), implies that the front/backstage divides are subject to contestation and resistance.

The employers in Lan's study may have seen mobile phones as a means of control. However, some employers may perceive digital literacy as a way to empower their workers. In the case of Rie rie, it was actually her boss, as she usually addresses him in her blog posts, who introduced her to the laptop and the internet.

"You can use this," said Mr. Wong while handing a grey laptop, DELL Latitude/D610 to me. It was early June 2007, two weeks before I signed my second contract. I was stunned. Between belief and disbelief over that statement.

"But I don't know how to use it yet," I replied honestly

"Enter the internet, search there. You can learn a lot of things from there," he replied (Rie rie, 2007b).

IDWs in Hong Kong and Taiwan are commonly perceived as lacking English capability. This drawback of linguistic capital is quite common, given that most IDWs are high school graduates (Lan, 2006; Loveband, 2006), and is one of the reasons why many IDWs in Hong Kong and Taiwan experience stratified othering. However, by looking at the above blog entry, it is apparent that Rie rie differs from many of her fellow IDWs, in that she also uses English as a medium of communication with her employer, in addition to Cantonese, which is a more common means of communication between IDWs and their employers. Rie rie's linguistic capability may have been the explanation why she enjoys a good relationship based on respect with her employer, and has apparently given her more bargaining power, as exemplified by the laptop and the brief course on the internet by her employer.

Even so, when an IDW is able to speak and even write in good English, this is likely to invite suspicion from her own community. In Rie rie's case, English as a linguistic capital has given her quite a good relationship with her employer, yet subjects her to intraracial othering from her own community. This can be traced in Rie rie's blog entries that were written in English. Questions regarding originality came from her fellow IDWs who doubt that an IDW can have such a capacity. To respond to this suspicion, she writes:

I'm proud to say that they are all my original work. Not copy paste, because I'm not a plagiarist...Doubt it? Maybe you think that maids know nothing about foreign languages, other than her own mother tongue and her employer's language, but it's all wrong. Maids learn too. Too bad that this kind of comment came from groups of maids (Rie rie, 2007a).

The above entry implies that stereotypes of uneducated and stupid IDWs are deeply entrenched to many IDWs' mind, in spite of the fact that many have shown familiarity with computers and the internet. In her entry, *Bila babu ngenet* (When maids go online), Rie rie (2008a) talks about a range of online activities her friends do on their days-off. On Sundays, it is no longer strange to see maids sitting down in front of laptops in public places like Victoria Park or using computers in public libraries. IDWs' excitement about the internet takes them to various activities such browsing, chatting and online dating, which satisfy their need for private space they do not enjoy in their workspace. Realising the importance of educating her fellow IDWs about productive uses of the internet, Rie rie moves from self-empowerment to community building, as shown in her endless attempt to encourage her fellow IDWs to take the benefit of digital technology. Her first enquiry whenever she sees a fellow IDW looking at a turned-on computer is to ask whether she has a blog, and then Rie rie would share her knowledge about blogging (Rie rie, 2009).

Rie rie's attempt to empower her IDW community through blogging is parallel to Oreoluwa Somolu's (2007) finding about African women's blogging activities to promote women's equality and empowerment. While Somolu's study looks at those women who use their blog contents to speak out for social change, Rie rie goes further by combining the online and offline world in spreading the virus of blogging. Her consistency in writing and introducing blogging as a productive online activity has actually won her a reputation as a senior blogger among IDWs community. Writing about IDWs' blogging community in her entry, *Bertemu Blogger dan Calon Blogger TKW* (Meeting IDW Bloggers and Bloggers-to-be in Victoria Park), Rie rie (2012a) emphasizes the importance of patience, perseverance, and creativity in blogging. She sensed her friends' excitement about how to attract a lot of audience as she has done with her blog. Rie, however, sees blog contents as more important than its cover, and a lot of writing practice will shape bloggers' ability. Furthermore, Rie rie expresses her hope that new IDW bloggers in Hong Kong will develop and eventually realise the importance of blogging to share information and support each other.

The growing interest in blogging among IDWs indicates that digital literacy helps them negotiate private/public sphere. Their mobility may be limited to their employers' homes as the workspace, but blogs offer them possibilities to go public. Moreover, Rie rie speaks more strongly about blogging as a cultural politic, as a vehicle to blur social boundaries. She claims, "I just want to say that maids can write, too. Not only those furrow-browed literary authors can do that" (2007a). To Rie rie, writing is not a domain exclusively populated by literary people, and the world of writing, including blogs, actually blurs the boundary of silenced maids/voiced literary people.

So far we have seen how Rie rie intentionally plays with the term *babu ngeblog* to be virtually visible, for self-expression, to educate herself, and later, to educate others. Having various purposes of blogging, Rie rie clearly voices her intention to create a new figured world of smart and creative IDW. Meanwhile, in the second blog under study, *Lika-liku babu Hong Kong*, Yany Wijaya Kusuma explicitly states her intention to use the term *Babu Hong Kong*. Yany actually changed the title from the previous one, *Anak negeri yang terbuang* (A banished child of the

nation), in September 2012. In her blog entry, *Mengapa saya mengganti alamat blog* (Why I changed the blog address), Yany expresses her concern over the negative images of IDWs in Hong Kong. Whenever she uses the phrase *Babu Hong Kong* as keywords to search on the internet, the links would take her to some photos and videos that illustrate sensual images. Yany perceives these links as potential in negatively stereotyping IDWs in Hong Kong in general. She then decided to adopt the phrase for a different purpose.

I do not attempt to erase the bad image of IDWs in Hong Kong, but I want to provide a balanced picture with a positive image of IDWs. I want to explore the phrase *babu Hong Kong* with anything positive. Will all activities that so far have not been widely noticed. Not many people really know about the positive activities of IDWs in Hong Kong (Kusuma, 2012b).

Yany's intention to use the phrase *Babu Hong Kong* is parallel to Rie rie's choice of *Babu Ngeblog*. While both Yany and Rie rie recognise the degrading meaning of *babu* in various social contexts, they actually perceive the word as empowering too, when refunctioned for a justified purpose. Reflecting a Foucauldian resistance in the form of reverse discourse (Foucault, 1976), Both Yany and Rie rie reverse the word's meaning to indicate their attempts to change the negative stereotypes of passive, uneducated, sexy, free-sex loving maids to more positive ones, thus creating a new figured word of smart, creative, and hardworking IDWs.

As shown earlier, Rie rie goes blogging to show that maids can write, and that the world of literature does not belong exclusively to literary people. Yany highlights IDWs' enthusiasm in the world of creative writing in another entry, *Sastra di Kalangan BMI* (Literature in IDWs' community). Mentioning a number of published books by her fellow IDWs and the literary festival held by IDWs in Hong Kong, Yany voices her protest against the subordination and marginalisation of IDWs by Indonesian society and the government (Kusuma, 2011).

Yany also supports Rie rie's opinion that domestic workers can also produce literature, but admits the cynicism received by her circle. While Rie rie speaks out against the exclusiveness of writing in the hands of furrow-browed literary people, Yany humbly accepts that IDWs' writings as works of novices that need guidance rather than cynical comments from literary people.

Granted, some people even consider IDWs' works as works by "kindergarten kids." Those IDWs do not belong to the circle of well-educated people like them. But is that the way to respond to a novice's work? Wouldn't it be better for them to share their knowledge. They should actually guide those kindergarten kids to become high-quality college students. This is only IDWs' expectation (Kusuma, 2011).

Furthermore, Yany asserts that IDW writers, like online diarists in Servaty's study, write not out of narcissism. Wisely, she sees cynical comments on IDWs' creative work as:

a drive to keep learning...to prove that *babu* can also do creative work...These strong women do creative work not for admiration, but more because they really love literature. And they want to make literature alive in IDWs' community and not make a living from literature (Kusuma, 2011).

Who are You really?: Reception of Rie rie's Blog

The blogosphere often enables bloggers to create a virtual identity which is different from the real one. Rie rie's friend's suspicion over originality in some posts written in English indicates that Rie rie's virtual identity is different from the one her friend knows through direct interaction. Rie rie's posts may have revealed other parts of her identity that are concealed otherwise in the offline world. Likewise, Rie rie's identity in the virtual world invited various responses through comments posted by her readers in her blog. Judging from the writing quality, a reader from Malaysia expresses his doubt at Rie rie's real identity as a domestic worker. He also questions the reason why Rie has to hide behind the label of IDW. The following is the comment from the reader:

Mbak Rie-rie...are you really just a housemaid working in Hong Kong...I don't buy that at all...I have read nearly 15 posts of yours...from here I'm sure that you're not one...You only used the stories of domestic workers in Hong Kong and other stories. When I observed the story plots, writing style, word arrangements in the various topics you wrote about...finally I'm convinced that you're not a domestic worker. Why?...Why do you have to hide behind the label of a domestic worker, why didn't you just show who you really are (Muhammad, 2012).

Another reader sees that digital literacy helps uplift someone to a more respectable level. Eko Wuriyanto, an English teacher from East Java, saluted Rie rie's blog and showed his reception in his own blog entry, *Yang Saya Hormati Babu Ngeblog* (to the Honorable Babu Ngeblog). In this post, Eko recalls his student, smart in English class, yet who could not afford to continue to high school. She then worked as a housemaid in Jakarta. A twist of fate occurred when her boss learned that his daughter spoke in English. Upon knowing that it was the maid who taught her child, the boss sent the maid to school, hoping that his child would continue learning good things. The last thing Eko heard of her ex-student was that she was already in college. Eko related this story to Rie-rie's blog, and asserts the importance of intellectual capabilities, as represented by linguistic ability and digital literacy for a social recognition.

And this is a story of an IDW in Hong Kong. I found her blog this early morning. This IDW is blogging!!! Her writings are good and she writes regularly in her blog. She writes short stories, poems, and experiences while working in Hong Kong, all the good and painful ones. And did you know why she is not ashamed of her profession, and even names her blog with the word BABU? She is not ashamed because she has got a brain (Wuriyanto, 2009).

Conclusion

In other entries not discussed here, both Rie rie and Yani speak a lot about their day-to-day lives as IDWs. They perceive their profession as one that nobody dreams of doing. It is a profession done out of necessity, to fulfill financial needs. Blog entries such as *Aku bukan ATM* (I'm not an ATM) (Kusuma, 2012a), *Siapa bilang jadi TKW itu nak* (Who says being an IDW is enjoyable) (Kusuma, 2012c), *Nekawe sampai tua, oh tidaakk*, (Being an IDW till you grow old, oh no) (Rie rie, 2012b), and *Privasi untuk pembantu, tak perlukah?* (Privacy for maids, isn't it necessary?) (Rie rie, 2012c), are sufficient in illustrating the prevailing images that being a domestic work entails hard work, pains, limited privacy, and discrimination. This indicates their perception of their positional identity as a domestic helper, which is subordinate in terms of rank, educational background, and social status. However, they also see that this positioning can be destabilised. To do this, Rie rie and Yani use their blogs as cultural artefacts to create their new figured world of tech-savvy and creative

domestic workers. This is not without challenge, as the figured world of writing they attempt to enter is usually associated with a small minority of literary elites. They respond to this challenge by stating that everybody has a right to voice their thoughts through writing, and *babu* can write, too. However, while their blogs help them reconstruct their identity, as cultural artefacts, the blog entries are also received in various ways by the audience. Nevertheless, it is evident that IDW bloggers have succeeded in using their blogs as a means of cultural politics, in which the meaning of digital literacy is contested by IDW bloggers as producers, and in turn, either confirmed or challenged by the audience.

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Wikinews: a participatory resource for journalism education

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This paper highlights the benefits of introducing Wikinews to tertiary institutions as a part of assessable curriculum. The introduction of Wikinews at the University of Wollongong was effective in enhancing undergraduate journalistic training. Deploying Wikinews as an educational resource provided the opportunity for students to put academic theory into practice whilst meeting curriculum objectives.

Wikinews is a participatory open network site that produces news articles through user-generated contributions. The site functions as a platform for users to publish their own work in a global, trusted and context relevant arena. Wikinews complements tertiary training establishing online dialogue with volunteer professional journalists through the site's peer reviewing. This process of mentoring develops user's writing proficiency and improves quality, whilst teaching students the imperative of exercising accountability. Wikinews awards users with skills applicable in a changing journalism environment, where technological literacy is essential. Students reflect on real-world problems and issues of the journalism profession. Wikinews develops students writing and communication skills, journalistic aptitude, experience and confidence.

‘WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION’ IN MESSAGE PRODUCTION AND MANAGEMENT OF COMMUNITY RADIO

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Abstract

This article starts the discussion of women’s participation in community radio (CR) with firstly comprehending the term “community”, “participation”, and “women’s participation” (WP) as it can guide the mapping of women’s participation in community radio into some paradigmatic tendencies of participations: positivistic, transitional and constructivist participations. Having based on the typology, the research explores a community radio station in Yogyakarta by conducting some interviews in order to examine the existence and kind of women’s participation in two realms: message production and management of community radio through exploratory research on Radio Sadewo of Bantul District. This paper concludes that women’s participation in Radio Sadewo of Bantul District had been involving women and some programs were dedicated to women’s interest. Although there is awareness of the importance of women’s participation in Radio activities, the efforts taken by the Radio and community in order to widely involve women and balance gender representations have been very low. Women’s programs were tended to be personalized in female presenters and mostly relied on the external initiatives.

Keywords: community radio, women’s participation

HAVING women to participate in community radio sector is important. Community radio (CR) is a relatively new movement born out to express needs for ‘equality for the voiceless’ derived from imbalances among social classes and groups in accessing and represented in commercial media (Naughton, 1996:12; van Vuuren, 2006; Wanyeki, 2001). As part of societies, women have rights in accessing and participating in all forms of communication and media, included CR (Malik and Pavarala, 2007).

Gender issues in CR also shares similar concern with women’s independent radio production such as how patriarchal norms are maintained by the media (Kamal, 2007:399). Instead of providing alternative spaces for women’s voices, CR can be a new means for broaden patriarchal perspectives as expressed by Naughton (*ibid*) who observed CR’s phenomenon in South Africa that CR sector seems to be colonised by men quickly and easily. Of course, the proportion of women’s participation in CR might not be positively correlated with gender sensitive representations in the radio messages, but women can stand up and speak through their own mouths, about and for themselves, same with men who do not need women to speak for them.

In addition, the importance of women’s participation in CR is seen through the enforcement of Women’s International Network (WIN) AMARC (2008) towards Gender

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Policy for CR. Conference proceeding of WIN-AMARC (2008) underlines that the role of media in promoting the women's equality is vital and community radio should be at the forefront of achieving these objectives (2008:2). WIN-AMARC (2008) suggests applying gender policy for community radio. Gender policy will serve as a tool to implement gender equality in stations and should be part of station by-laws and ethical policies. The recommended policy includes six sections: women's access to airwaves; women's representation on air; the special needs of minority women; women's representation at all levels of station management; the use of appropriate technology; and funding and capacity-building for women's radio. All sections of gender policy do not assume that equal proportion of women in the station will lead to gender parity within the station nor allow in accommodating women's perspectives. However, it is still more meaningful to have women participating in all levels of station management at least 30% in proportion to men, to produce programme allotted for women, to give the microphones to women experts in various fields, to prioritise minority women in the airtime, and not to confine women broadcasters to women's programs.

How about women's participation in Indonesia's CR? What are the contemporary realities of WP in Indonesia's CR? What kind of participation is emerged in Indonesia's CR activities especially in message production and management?

Following the phenomenon in other countries, the number of CR in Indonesia has been mushrooming especially since 1998, the year of the outburst of Reformasi (*reformation*) Era. Since then, responding to the impacts of CR in many communities, Indonesian CR are mostly researched within the context of cultural expressions of their communities (Suryadi, 2005; Sujoko, 2011), their contributions in guiding social change (Nugroho, 2011) and in supporting grass-roots democracy (Hollander, 2008; Birowo, 2006). Nevertheless, the perspectives used in analysing the existence of CR in most of the research are not focused to gender relations or women's representation, access, and participation. According to his research in CR of Yogyakarta (Special Region of Yogyakarta/DIY) and Bandung (West Java), Masduki (2005:155) mentioned men still become the majority of CR's activists. Recent work that include gender dimension of CR which belongs to Maryani (2011) might be the most contemporary study in the field.

Special Region of Yogyakarta Province (DIY) is one of provinces in Indonesia where community radio's establishment has been phenomenon after the Reformation. Many community radios are initiated by communities in the Province, proved by the number of CR stations that reach 50 in the city (Indonesian Broadcasting Commission DIY Year 2010/KPI Chapter Yogyakarta Report). Looking to the fact, one might expect that the embeddedness of radio within community will have an immense potential to strategically promote agendas that advance the status of women in society and support women's empowerment (Pavarala and Malik, 2007: 217). However, the work of Maryani (2011) presents WP realities although some women had realized their participation in CR were motivated by consciousness of "becoming other than 'ordinary women'", their involvement in CR unfortunately did not affect much to the CR's messages production and thus it might be difficult to imagine a further structural change in gender relations within the community (Maryani, 2011:183).

This article tries to fill in the lack of empirical portraits of women's participation in CR of Indonesia especially in the context of DIY. The portrait tries to clarify the claims saying that women are still underrepresented in CR especially in Yogyakarta context in the year 2012. There might be transformation of WP in the future therefore this paper is able to

present a factual phenomenon that are based on field research. Although this paper examines WP in CR, it does not leave to examine what kind of participation of men in CR since actually examinations of both participation has given understanding of their understanding of WP in CR. It also argues that women's participation in CR does not always refer to the same meaning. In order to convey this, this paper tried to map tendencies of WP in CR in the sense of feminism. Literature review helps to formulate the typology of women's participation in CR. Case studies are conducted as the scope of the study is "contemporary phenomenon, within its real-life context, and when the boundaries between the phenomena and context are not clearly evident". (Yin, 2003:13-14).

Radio Sadewo was chosen as it is located in a village that was announced by the government as a village that "loves the mothers" (*Kecamatan Sayang Ibu*) in 2012, has cooperated with the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection to conduct talkshows since 2010, and recently has sent their staffs to attend training in gender sensitive broadcasting and reporting. Based on its achievements, this paper assumes that WP in *Radio Sadewo* is relatively intensive (high hours of female activists spent in the Radio activities) and extensive (high numbers of female activists). This paper realized its positivist tendencies on its starting point in examining *Radio Sadewo* but open to possibilities that the Radio might be in further development. Because, in these way researchers could see to what extent the managers understand the involvement of women in the radio activities.

Positivistic, Constructivist, and Transitional Participation

Community participation in political terms entails a common promise: "giving people who have been excluded from decision making an influential voice about issues that affect their lives" (Lasker and Goudry, 2009:6). As community radio (CR) is initiated by community in order to voice the community aspirations into the airwaves, "community participation" itself then is the core element of CR's conception and existence. AMARC Africa (Mtimde, 1998) mentions other elements that characterize the community media which are non-profit goal, and community ownership and control. Those two elements will need community participation in making them manifested. Community participation in community media is the living proof that the media is born and developed *by* and *within* community not *by* and *in the outside* of community. To put another way, there will be no CR if the members of the media do not participate in initiating, developing and sustaining the media even when the settlement of the media is mentored by NGOs. Shortly, community participation in this context then means the collective and voluntary engagement of a group of citizens in the production of media output and in the decision making of radio organization and thus influence the life of CR.

Competing perspectives on defining women's participation (WP) in community radio (CR) might repeat the old debate of positivistic and post-structuralism/constructivist tendencies in understanding women and gender in development. The phrase "women's participation itself imply positivist tendency as in the experience of Women in Development (WID). Positivistic approach on understanding women is simply 'putting women' in development programs and ignores the larger cultural context and social processes that affect women's lives and their reproductive roles (Akerkar, 2001). Gender and Development (GAD) tries to overcome the rigid roles of men and women based on biological differences underlying WID by shifting from focusing on women to thinking about relations *between* women and men, and how masculinities and femininities have been constructed (Akerkar, *ibid*).

In other context, Peterson (2006)'s critique on feminist political economy might resemble the competing perspectives on women and gender in development. She claims that

Types	Paradigmatic	Women 'Participation Dimensions	Goal Orientations
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most feminist scholars applied positivistic gender analyses in political economy and left the constructivist paradigm behind. She sees that 'adding women' should have paradigmatic impact to existing paradigms which is on how the conceptual structures themselves presuppose masculine experiences and perspectives. Further, Peterson (2006:85) puts as this: "gender is understood as a governing code and its inclusion in political economy analyses entails a questioning of orthodox methods and foundational inquiries in so far as these rely on gendered assumptions and biases." In other words, feminist political economy analyses must be epistemologically and ontologically aware of what feminisms and masculine actually are as they do not essentially and simply mean female and male, women and men.

Riano (1994) actually has offered typology of WP in communication that has clearly mapped the possibilities of its participation in different communication contexts. It places WP in broad communication types and processes (development, participatory, alternative, and feminist) but it does not stress the usage of media that might involve women. In addition, the communication types and processes in Riano's model do not always involve CR. While, as previous paragraphs have explained, this paper examines WP in community communication *through* CR therefore it needs another model that can work best to see its forms in more detailed manner and more contextual to CR than Riano's model. Moreover, the starting point in this paper is that women is already seen in the context of grassroots media movement which its ambition –flourishing diversity of ownerships and content and thus treating gender, class, race, and other factors of social diversity equally—is inherently embedded in its concept and emergence.

Thus, this paper considers two perspectives in order to assess the WP in the CR, is it traditional (positivistic) or already gender sensitive (constructivist)? The criticism is realised in the voices and policy making in the organization of CR. The following table will demonstrate both ideas and 'transitional' paradigm that bridge the development of positivistic to constructivist paradigm.

		Message-Production	Control and Ownerships	
I	Positivistic 'Traditional' role of women (and men).	Women are dominated through men's domination in production.	Women are the background of men's ownerships.	Patriarchal/gender bias community interests; Maintaining status quo in society.
II	'Transitional' Replicate/reinforce 'traditional role' of gender.	Occasionally women hold positions in message production but the perspective is traditional gender role.	Occasionally women hold positions in managing the radio but in traditional ones.	Patriarchal/gender bias community interests; Accommodating women's related issues.
III	Constructivist Realizing gender roles and relations are culturally constructed.	Women become news sources, producers, reporters, broadcasters of the radio together with men and realize the diversity of women's roles and its relations with men.	Women have equity in control, donate, fundraise, manage, and evaluate the radio with men.	Accommodating gender mainstreaming in community interests; Consolidating women's perspectives and solidarity.

Table 1. Women's participation dimensions within the continuum of paradigmatic tendencies of practices and goal orientations of CR.

Table one describes WP dimensions which are moving in continuum started from positivistic paradigm and arrived into constructivist paradigm since there might be transformation of gender relations in CR following the transformation in the community or endorsed by gender sensitivity internalization.

'Transitional' type considers that the WP in a CR might shift from traditional gender role of women into a more equal to men but there might be limited to certain working areas as cultural and social constraints might abandon them to enhance their participations in CR in a more constructivist fashion, and even more to transform existing gender relations in the community. Women might involve in message production and in the control and ownerships (management), but their participation are irregular as they might have been burdened with domestic chores or other cultural constraints. On the other hand, women might involve in all dimensions of participation but the goal orientations might maintain status quo and traditional gender relations and it might impact to the radio programme. The radio programme has involved women's issues but the perspectives are still traditional. For example, when they discuss about women's related programme, they might end in creating family health programme and children education. However, transitional phase might be not really transitional as the CR might not move further in WP enhancement. Although it might be 'transitional', there will be many CR that is already located in 'transitional' or constructivist paradigm of practices since its initiation and remains in their positions and does not transform to other kind of WP.

Positivistic paradigm can be understood through prior expectations of Pavarala and Malik (2007) towards CR in India as they state that "...the gender dimension in the CR projects in India is not limited to identifying the gender of the participants or simply including women-related issues in communicative interaction" (Pavarala and Malik, 2007:240.) It means that at first they acknowledged a kind of WP in CR would be is limited to essentialist view: women as sex differentiation from men. Positivistic or essentialist view does not care whether the women's participation in the radio manifests in another form of subordinations. Instead supporting gender relations transformation, women's involvement in CR only maintains the existing status quo. In other words, women's involvement in CR

meant nothing for their own development. In addition, CR emergence did not give any benefit for female members in the community. In an extreme condition, the activists of the radio even may not realize and recognize the needs to voice women's perspectives.

On the other hand, constructivist WP might lead to further social change but the principal idea is that the activists of the radio acknowledge the cultural construction of gender roles and relations. This kind of WP was found in Pavarala and Malik's works (2007). Based on the empirical evidence, Pavarala and Malik (2007:240) conclude that the gender dimension in Indian CR projects is not limited to identifying the gender of the participants or simply including women-related issues in communicative interaction. Women also influence the nature of message production (*ibid*)—which is named in this paper is constructivist WP. Pavarala and Malik (*ibid*) note that WP in message production, message consumption and structure of organization of CR is leading to further mobilization and participation of other women in the community and stimulating social change in the community at end as they underline “as women create, control and consume the information presented by the CR, they are seeking, despite the odds, to correct these imbalances.”

This paper classifies WP in CR into two dimensions: participation in message production, and participation in control and ownerships (management). Message production is the core activity of any mass media as message is their primary ‘product’ and ‘attraction’ either to audience and sponsors. Specifically to radio, despite its dependency on technology as the hardware—which is actually relatively cheap to afford—(Coyer, *et.al.*, 2007:267), any radio is about the sound of the station or programs such as music, news, and public affairs (Dominick, *et.al.*, 2004:99). This rule is also applied to CR. As ‘sound’ is representing the existence of CR station, message production of CR becomes a central station's activity that must accommodate the voices within the community and its diversity. Message production here entails two realms of participation: women's representation in editorial policy making or programming and women's representation on air.

Control and ownerships deal with any activities and projects which are directly related to sustaining the existence and underlying principles of the radio. The existence of CR will involve the interrelations of parts in CR's organisation and relations between CR and its supporting community. The principles are the basic values and rules that shape CR identity. Control and ownerships are best seen in the management aspect of the radio. In this dimension, positivist paradigm support the existence of women have to be meaningfully represented at all levels of control and ownerships. AMARC WIN 2008 recommends to settle quotas of at least 30% women's representation that should be set in the interim. In order to achieve the quotas and gender parity, AMARC WIN suggests to invest in women's skills, to institute leadership and management training. External factors that should be considered in achieving the quotas are “ensuring child-care, flexible working hours and broadcast schedules, adequate lighting and security at the station during meeting and broadcast times, or secure transport for women who have travel to and from the station.” Both dimensions of participation are influencing each other and can not be strictly divided in the analysis.

Radio Sadewo: Taking for Granted the Men's Domination



Picture 1. A slippery road heading to Wonolelo Village.

Radio Sadewo is located in Pogog Street Km 12, Wonolelo. Wonolelo Village is a backwood located about 20 Km to the east of the city of Bantul. Most of the people is living in the slopes of the mountainsⁱ that prone to landslidesⁱⁱ. Wonolelo backwood is one of areas of Bantul District that is set lawfully for protected forest.ⁱⁱⁱ Dryland agriculture is the main livelihood of Wonolelo's villagers as most of the villagers are farmers and farmworkers^{iv}. According to 2007 monography of the village, the number of illiteracy is in the second place after Dlingo Subdistrict of Bantul. The illiteracy rate of the backwood shows the low of education level of the inhabitants. Despite the low education rate, Wonolelo is led by a Headwoman. In the survey conducted by Central Bureu of Statistics (Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS) in 2010, Wonolelo Village is one of sixteen villages of Bantul that is categorized as underdeveloped village. Despite its geographical barriers, the locals of Wonolelo are always enthusiastic in village's activities. Wonolelo has got appreciation on its success in Subdistrict Loves Mom (Kecamatan Sayang Ibu/KSI) Program in 2012.^v As any other village in Bantul District, the closeness among the community members of Wonolelo is also high.

In 2007, the youths of Wonolelo sensed the needs of quality broadcasting media as they realized the existing commercial media is lack of education values in its content. The initiation of the radio was mentored by several NGOs such as Combine, LP3Y, Plan Indonesia and supported by Village Board of Wonolelo and Wonolelo community themselves. In August 8, 2008, *Radio Sadewo*, the abbreviaton for Wonolelo Village's Voices (*suara desa Wonolelo*) was officially established, aired on 107.7 FM, and put "media that unites and educates citiens" as its slogan.



Picture 2. A decent ‘basecamp’ of *Radio Sadewo* station.

The discussions of WP in *Radio Sadewo* have been based on the dimensions and indicators of WP as seen in the table two.

Dimensions	Message Production	Management
Indicators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women as announcers, producers, and sources - Availability of women’s programs - Availability of programs on gender issues - Availability of female presenters in ‘general programs’ - Availability of male presenters in ‘women’s program’ - Women’s ability in using broadcasting technology 	Affirmative action and policy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 30 % minimum of women representatives in management board - Availability of mechanism recruiting female presenters - Availability of mechanism of generating opinions from women - Availability of training for gender issues for female and male activists - Availability of mechanism allowing women to go to the station at any time - Availability of finance allocation for training the activists and affirmative action for the women

Table 2. Dimensions and indicators of women’s participation in community radio

In the dimension of management, there is still low number of participating women compared to men in the radio station. In the early of establishment, 30% of 30 activists of *Sadewo* were female.^{vi} During the process, the number was shrunk into only five women. Lutfi Amani (a man), the secretary of the Radio, the low number of WP was caused by the low number of female teenagers or young adult women compared to men. The statement implies that WP is culturally ‘restricted’ to young women who are unmarried as not much enthusiasm comes from the married one, yet many newlywed female activist decline their activism in the Radio and moved out with their husbands.^{vii} These fact is an irony regarding to the reality that 50% of Wonolelo’s inhabitants are women whose adults are also peasants. There was also no affirmative action taken by the station in order to increase the number of female activists. The activists usually took for granted the geographical conditions, insecure situations at night, social norms, and domestic chores as the legitimation of the low number of female activists of the Radio.

Although insignificant in number, WP has been appearing since the beginning of the establishment of *Radio Sadewo*. Marjudin^{viii}, former Director *Radio Sadewo*, realized that the involvement of women can ensure the balance of views in the Radio as women are also members of the community.^{ix} Moreover, there were women's voices that should be accommodated especially after the economy shocks following Bantul's earthquake at the end of 2005. According to the Headwoman of Wonolelo, Tutik Puji Sugiyanti, women of Wonolelo also work in the farms, accordingly, the earthquake of Bantul in 2005 interfered their economies.^x Following the earthquake and far before *Sadewo* established, several NGOs conducted writing and broadcasting course to the community's members. Some single women engaged in the courses. Hence, it was natural when some single women of Wonolelo were also participating in founding the Radio. Other women usually voluntarily visited the Station by earlier activist's invitation or by their own awareness to visit the Station. However, the visits were rarely developed into a more intensive engagement of Wonolelo's women whether becoming the announcers or the managers. Thus, the number of involving women in the Radio remained low.

Regarding to the low involvement of women, it cannot be said that there is no awareness to 'gender issues'. Nevertheless, 'gender issues' here are more translated into women's programs which were actually derived from traditional understanding of women's role: related to domestic chores that have characters of nurturing and monotonic tasks. In the beginning of its establishment, women's program proposed by the female members was a program about health counseling that invited social workers fused in Communication Forum of Posyandu Cadres (FKKP) to become the sources^{xi}. The program was aired only for two years. Recently, there is no regular women's program except the last two years, at the end of each years, the Radio conducted talkshows on AIDS, gender, reproductive health by cooperation with Ministry of Women's Empowerment.^{xii} Other women's program about health is only aired if there is requests for socializations coming from social workers of Integrated Health Service Post (Posyandu), Community Health Centers (Puskesmas). According to Ulil Khasanah, a program that would be closely called 'women's program' more regularly aired is voices of children of Early Childhood Education (PAUD) since women are the activists of PAUD.

Traditional understanding of gender roles and relations are also seen from other two aspect of message production: who presents women's program and 'general' programs, and how the programming is conducted. Female announcer seems also confined to bringing about women's programs. All 'women's programs' mentioned above were presented by female broadcasters. Now, Iin Narniati, a female activist of the Radio, becomes one of the announcer of a program named Women's Economy. Other programs (six to seven) that are more 'general' for example *Info Warga* (Citizen Information) were all presented by men (look table two). Principally, there was no hesitation for male presenters to air women's program if there was no female one available but replacement was very rarely happened as the absence or resignation of female presenters meant the cancellation of the programs.^{xiii} Women are still seen as the best person in bringing women's topic on air while 'general' programs were dominated by men. Female activists of the Radio saw themselves not right when they present 'general' issues. They were more comfortable to discuss about women's issues which then defined as topics that are derived from traditional roles of women.

No	Day	Programs' Names (transl.)	Announcers
1	Monday	Greetings of Wonolelo	Muhyidin
2	Tuesday	Qur'an Study	Zuhdi Suhardi
3	Wednesday	Our Business	Wahyu Dwi Yano
4	Thursday	Citizens Information	Marjudin
5	Friday	Be Productive!	Misbah Mustafa
6	Saturday	Youth of the Farms/Women's Economy	Luthfi Amani/Iin Narniati
7	Sunday	Weekend Topics	Gunawan/Ihsanudin

Table 3. The programming of *Radio Sadewo*

In the aspect of programming, actually, there is a tendency to consider female listeners' daily routines and their needs in programming which is based on the traditional understanding of women's roles. Talkshow of FKPP – not regularly aired—was usually seizing the airwaves at 15.00 WIB. According to Iin Narniati, after three p.m., the radio activists assume that the activities of the peoples were cooling down, peoples were already at home, and women were able to “ironing their shirts and linens while also tuning in and hearing the radio.”^{xiv} Besides considering women's daily routines, the programming was also considering the secure time for female presenters to transport to and from the station. Its consideration reflects the culture of its community: they can not provide opportunities for women to have public activities at night. Marjudin claimed that the community worry about the security of women at night therefore there were almost no women conduct activities in the Station at night.^{xv} Different point of view was provided by Lutfi who said that many female teenagers and young women are afraid of stigmatization of the community if they visit the Station at night.^{xvi}

Women's point of view might impact in women's programs as the presenters of women's programs were women. However, there is no special strategy in generating opinions from women of Wonolelo about the program content of 'general program'. This was happened since the mechanism in generating program content was limited to existing mechanism in the community. In order to generate opinions from the community members about program content, the activists attend village meeting and follow informal discussions with other community members. Village meeting is mostly attended by the male members of the community. Consequently, there is no women's perspectives entailed in the village meeting which then indirectly impact to the content of the Radio. According to Lutfi, female members of the community were also more convenient to keep themselves as the background of the Radio.^{xvii} Either village meeting and radio station are seen by women of Wonolelo as a public sphere that makes their existence 'appear' to many people while giving inputs in informal situation although it is occurred in public area is accepted as a private sphere that hides them from publics.

In the former management, women have positions as Treasurer (Ulil Khasanah) and Broadcasting Manager (Erna). Both positions are crucial in the radio organisation and management. However, the resignation of them in the Radio has impacted to the absence of women in the management board. Although the resignation should have been not be directly related to the shrinking number of women's program in the Radio and the lack of women's perspectives, the resignation was not followed by recruitment of other female members of the community and thus the proportion of women and men in the radio is not 'ideal'. The management of the Radio felt the importance of WP but they did not have any policy, affirmative action, or political will that can generate more WP in their activities.

As the proportion of women to men in the Radio is low and strategy to include women's perspectives in the air is absent, women's influence to the station's policy and decision making through a formal mechanism is also low if not almost nothing at all. Although the activists of the Radio stated that the Radio does not differentiate the gender of the program, the 'ungendered' program is actually gendered as men as they dominate the decision making and message production and its domination seems like taken for granted in the community. In addition, the activists do not feel any needs to create a comprehensive and affirmative strategy that can encourage more women to directly participate. For example, in the case of The current (male) activists expected that any women in the village can vote for themselves to participate in the Radio if they have the willingness. This expectation has neglected realities that the absence of women's willingness might have been derived from the lack of affirmative mechanism and consensus that allow women to be more participating in the Radio's production and management.

However, the positivist approach of WP in *Radio Sadewo* might be changing as three of the activists –two are women—attended training about gender issues conducted by Combine Resource Institution and (Saluran Informasi Akar Rumpun/SIAR) in October 22, 2012. After the training, they have to create audio social service advertisement, news, and feature on gender issues. Their products have been broadcast and sent to the mentoring NGOs.

In the financing strategy, the Radio does not have a regular and sustained mechanism in fundraising. However, the Radio itself has kept and managed 30 million rupiahs coming from donations, social service advertisement, and surplus fund of cooperation fund coming from the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection. Since 2010, the Ministry has conducted cooperation with many community radio in Indonesia in order to socialize and promote gender equality and equity, child protection, and reproductive health. *Radio Sadewo* is one of the radio that has cooperation with the Ministry. The cooperation has impact to the content and the financing of the Radio in positive fashion: there were women's issues accommodated in the programs and the raising of fund availability. On the other hand, there is no mechanism in the level of community that support the fundraising steadily. In the beginning, the activists themselves sometimes had to finance the radio expenditures.

In the technical aspect, female presenters feel that they were not obliged to master technical aspects as they usually were helped by male presenters or technicians.^{xviii} It describes how women are not seen capable in mastering the broadcast technology and how women are not inclined to master the technical aspects of broadcasting have become accepted behavior in their culture. Although there was an idea to train women in mastering broadcasting technology, until this paper was written, the idea has never been realized. The barrier was not coming from the financial factor as there is abundant fund available which some was derived from the cooperation with the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, but from the lack of strong willingness of the existing activists to realize the training. There are many parties that can be asked to mentor women of Wonolelo in radio broadcasting which includes technology mastery who have been involved in the activities of the Radio since its initiation, for example Combine Resource Institution, LP3Y, and Grassroots Information Channel (Saluran Informasi Akar Rumpun/SIAR).

Concluding Remarks

In this article, we have explored women's participation (WP) in a community radio (CR) in Yogyakarta. The discussion focuses on message production and management of *Radio Sadewo*. Overall, the phenomenon of WP in *Radio Sadewo* might be similar with WP in other CR in Indonesia which emerged as 'general' radio station rather than feminist radio station. In this kind of community radio station, WP is solely depended on the initiatives of women to participate in the radio activities as there is no affirmative policy and action that can facilitate and support WP in the radio.

Women's program in *Radio Sadewo* is existing when there are requests coming from other institutions such as Puskesmas, Posyandu, and FKKP, or they are cooperating with NGOs and the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection. Women's program and gender issues are not emerged from the within of the community itself but coming from institutions outside of the community. Women's program itself is restricted to traditional definition of women's roles and relations to men. They claim that program involving children is also women's program. It shows that domestic chores and child nurturing are the responsibilities of women. Who is presenting women's program is also gender bias as only women are seen capable in doing that. Therefore, women's program is difficult to launch when there is not much women can be relied on in the radio activities. The existing activists do not have any attempts to convert women's program into a program that is more gender sensitive however this condition might be changing as some of them have attended training on gender issues and broadcasting in an NGO.

For now, generally WP in *Radio Sadewo* is only understood in positivist sense of participation: women participate in program that dicusses domestic roles of women and the participation is only accommodated in times that culturally accepted for women to travel to and from the Radio (before the dawn). Nevertheless, many inputs for message production and management coming from the external of the community might lead to transform WP and their gender awareness further into constructivist sense in the future.

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ⁱ According to Hiryanto, no year, fieldwork report, “Effectivity of Illiteracy Reducement Program through Student Thematic Fieldwork in Pleret of Bantul District, DIY,” downloaded from

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ⁱⁱ According to the Draft of Longterm Planning of Development of Bantul District, downloaded from

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ⁱⁱⁱ According to The Regulation on Spatial Planning of Bantul District for 2010-2030 No. 4 Year 2011, downloaded from <http://www.bappeda.bantulkab.go.id>.

^{iv} *ibid*.

^v News report, “The High Participation of Wonolelo’s Locals Got Appreciation from Provincial Evaluation Team of KSI” in <http://bantulkab.go.id/berita/1568.html>, accessed in October, 30, 2012.

^{vi} Interview, Misbach Mustafa, November 17,2012.

^{vii} Interview, November 17, 2012.

^{viii} Interview, October, 24, 2012

^{ix} According to Hiryanto, *ibid*.

^x Interview, November 17, 2012.

^{xi} Interview, Ulil Khasanah, November, 19, 2012.

^{xii} Interview, Luthfi Amani, November 17, 2012.

^{xiii} Interview, Iin Narniati, November, 17, 2012

^{xiv} Interview, November 17, 2012.

^{xv} Interview, October, 24, 2012.

^{xvi} Interview, November, 17, 2012.

^{xvii} Interview, November 17, 2012.

^{xviii} Interview, *ibid*.