

# Political Economy, Television Industry, and Media Ethics: Case Commodification and structurization in Infotainment Programs in Indonesian Television

Mulharnetti Syas

Institute of Social and Political Sciences (IISIP) Jakarta

## Abstract

Since the last 5 years, television in Indonesia has grown very rapidly. The more television stations, is also increasing production of television shows. Infotainment is one of the television program alternatives. The business side of media should not always be in conflict with ethics. There is constant relationship exists between economic and ethical factors. This research study about the commodification and structuration and associated with media ethics. The formulation of research questions about how the commodification and structuration infotainment programs on Indonesian television industry, and how the media ethics apply to these infotainment programs. In this research will study a causal relationship between structure and agency in the production and consumption of infotainment programs on the television industry in the Indonesia media ethics perspective. This research uses critical paradigm with qualitative methodology. Data collection techniques performed by depth interviews, observation, and analysis of the tape and paperwork. Data analysis using intertextuality. The results show, the television industry is the industry capital-intensive mass media so that more priority to profits than the public interest. A television program aired was not representative of the interests of viewers, including infotainment programs. Commodification of audiences who made the television industry is reflected through the rating. Rating is a tool used to offer the viewers to advertisers. Interplay between structure and agency interests occurs. From the perspective of media ethics, many violations committed by the journalist code of ethics infotainment of the Code of Conduct of Journalism also Broadcasting and Press Standards Program.

**Key words :** Commodification, structurization, television, infotainment.

## Introduction

Since the last 5 years, television in Indonesia has grown very rapidly. The more television stations, is also increasing production of television shows. Thus, the more types of television programs likely, as well as supporting artists. Infotainment is one of the television program alternatives.

Television is owned by the cultural industries of the capitalist who only seek profit. Infotainment is the television industry businesses that benefit owners of capital. Infotainments sell bad person or artists who are looking for ways to increase prestige. In Indonesia there

liberalization of television content often collision with moral values, ethics, and religion.

*In 11 Indonesian private television stations, there are 49 names infotainment programs and totally 147 times in a week. There's even a television station that has 10 types of infotainment programs. If accumulated, every day of the 11 television stations serving infotainment with a total duration of 13 hours/day. Infotainment impressions are often violated the the "Code of Ethics of Journalism" (KEJ) also "Code of Conduct Broadcasting and Press Standards Program" (P3SPS).*

According Ishadi SK, one of the Trans Corp. Commissioner, infotainment is a program that generate and share a high rating, especially

in the time slot 3 and shoulder Fringe 1 (at 12.30-17.45). Thus, the ad would be much gained by infotainment programs.

Some research on the ethics of mass media, among others made by Christians, Fackler, and Rotzoll (1995); Cooper (1991); Coleman (2000); Lind (1996); Voakes (2000); McManus (1995); Fink (1995); (Underwood: 1993); and Luna (1995). According to Luna, ethics can be counted as expenses and profits and by using economic models and ethical principles can be used as a tool to prevent potential losses and therefore, can increase profits.

The business side of media should not always be in conflict with ethics. There is constant relationship exists between economic and ethical factors. About the political economy approach, Mosco (1996) suggests 3 important concepts to apply the political economy approach to the study of communication, namely: commodification, specialisation, and structuration. This research study about the commodification and structuration in media ethics perspective.

### **Problem Formulation**

Formulation of research problems are: 1) How the commodification of infotainment programs on Indonesian television industry?; 2) How structuration infotainment programs on Indonesian television industry?; and 3) How to apply media ethics infotainment programs on Indonesian television industry?

### **Theoretical Review**

#### **Television as a Mass Culture Industry**

According to Fiske (1991), television is an agent of popular culture. Television is very popular, so as to produce a variety of luxury in a heterogeneous society. As a medium of popular culture, the content of television programs is determined by economic forces.

According to Strinati (2003), mass culture is popular culture produced by industrial techniques of mass production and sold to profit from the mass consumer audience. Critical mass culture is the production and marketing

advantages that can be generated from its mass market potential.

### **Political Economy of Media**

According to Marx Weber, the capitalist is a rational orientation of economic benefits. Capitalist society is a collection of people who consciously and deliberately trying to gain wealth or profits. For them, the orientation is required in order to gain legitimacy, namely, in achieving a certain profit level has become a thing not ethical and does not require justification. Weber argues that the capitalistic orientation conducted by the capitalist society is unethical (Abrahamson, 1981).

After the television developed into a cultural industry, consequently, the television should face the market are created. In a capitalistic economy, the market demands that commodity could be traded or sold. In this process, a media market that consists of advertisers and audiences market created. Mass media, including television, should be able to manage an advertiser marketplace and the public markets. Advertisers market traded for advertising airtime value is calculated based on the rating. While the audience market traded mass media content as a commodity that would be obtained if audiences consume the media content.

Commodity sold the television industry through a process of production and distribution. Industries usually produce their own television programs can also show or buy it from the production house, or even from overseas production. Because broadcast television is free to air, it can be seen by anyone who can capture television broadcasts.

In the context of the market, consumers are not viewers of the television industry because they do not pay the money into a television company. Consumer television industry is actually the advertiser. So, advertisers takes advantage of the owners of capital to accumulate capital in the television industry. However, viewers are required by the television industry as a commodity sold to the advertiser.

The greater the number of viewers that are sold by the television industry, especially those more qualified audience, the more profit for the advertisers. If that happens, advertisers are willing to pay advertising rates with a high price on the television industry. Thus, the advertiser's commodity markets will have a potential market for the commodity buyer.

One of the television programs of potential for advertisers is infotainment. This is evident from the scale ratings and audience share on Indonesian television owned by the programs that are classified as infotainment.

Studies conducted Herman and Chomsky (1988) and Schiller (1989) shows, the conclusion that the mass media in capitalist society has expanded commodity production process by producing a message that reflects the interests of capital. With facts like these, Garnham has also attention to the tendencies of political economy of the message as a commodity (Mosco, 1996).

Media studies conducted Dallas Smythe (1980) as quoted by Boyd-Barrett (1995), basically starting from the premise that the media serves as commodity producers and audience entertainment commodity. The assumption that the audience is a commodity it self sold by the company or the media industry to advertisers.

In practice, the audience spent most of their time to consume a number of advertising messages that ultimately influence or persuade them to spend the money to buy the products advertised it. This condition becomes more value or benefit to advertisers in the media. Thus, it can be concluded, there are triangular relationship among the media, audiences, and advertisers.

However, if the assumption is just a television program as an instrument of advertising support, the television program aims to bring benefits to advertisers and are not oriented viewers. In fact, the statement often advanced by the television industry is, programs that run-oriented viewers (Boyd-Barrett, 1995).

Mosco (1996) says, the political economy of media in a narrow view can be interpreted as a study in social relations, especially relations of power in the field of production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communications resources.

Meanwhile, in a broader context, the political economy of media can be translated as the study of control and how people survive in the social life. Process control in this case is political because it involves social organization in the community.

Problems of political economy, according to Golding and Murdock (1991), (in Mosco, 1996) have four basic characteristics, namely:

- a. Social change and history. Political economy is a continuation of the classical theory which discusses the dynamics of capitalism, the growth of monopoly capital, the state apparatus, and others.
- b. The social totality. Political economy put major interest in studying social relationships as a whole, including economic, political, social, and cultural. The study of the political economy of commodity relations, social institutions, social relations, and hegemony as well as explore the determinants of these elements, although there are certain elements more attention than others.
- c. Moral philosophy. Study of critical political economy is based on moral philosophy, as well as the principles and values associated with political economy. The studies of political economy not only analyze the economic system, but also analyze the policy and moral issues associated with it.
- d. Praxis. Political economic study is to demonstrate the difference between the policy and researchers. Orientation and political economy studies want a real social change, not just a theory.

According to Murdock and Golding (1991) (in Boyd-Barrett, 1995), the main concern of political economic study are related to the problem of balance between capitalist enterprise and public intervention. But this is still controversial whether the study of political economy could enter a social praxis as a way of discussing the issues surrounding moral values.

Mosco (1996) classifies three entry points in explaining the political economy of media in the media industry (see also Boyd-Barrett and Newbold, 1995), namely:

- a. Commodification, the process of changing the use value into exchange value, or process the product changes from a value determined by the capacity to meet the needs of individuals or groups into a product whose value is determined by what you can bring it to market products.
- b. Spatialization, the process of overcoming barriers of time and space in social life by the media company in the form of business expansion.
- c. Structuration. Structuration describe the structure formation process by human agents, even they who become the medium in that formation. Structuration important character of this theory is the power of social change that illustrates how the structure is produced and reproduced by human agents acting through these structures.

In the political economy of media studies there are two major variants commonly used in the study, namely: critical study of political economy and liberal political economy.

Research examined infotainment programs on the television industry with critical political economy approach. In general, critical approach to the view, anything that presented in the media industry, including infotainment programs, a virtual reality or false consciousness. Impressions infotainment is not a complete reality, but a re-constructed reality television industry. Construction is based on various economic or political interests. Therefore, in this view, behind the apparent reality that aired television industry, there is real reality that contains the ultimate truth.

### **Commodification Infotainment in Television**

Commodification is the transformation process in order to value the exchange rate and the various ways of how this process was later expanded into the social field of communications products. According to Mosco (1996), there are two important dimensions in the relationship between the commodification of communication studies. First, the process of communication and technology contribute to the commodification process in general in the overall economic problems. Second, the process of

commodification at work in society as a whole through the process of communication and institutions, so that the progress and contradictions in the commodification process of communication affect society as a social practice.

Commodification in the form of communication, according to Mosco (1996) there are several types, namely: 1) the commodification of content; 2) the commodification of the audience; 3) the commodification of cybernetic is divided into: (a) the intrinsic commodification; and (b) extensive commodification; and 4) the commodification of labor.

Commodification is the process of changing the contents of the message from a set of data into the system of meaning in the form of marketable products, such as product packages marketed by the media by writing loading a writer, other articles, and advertisements in a package that can be sold.

While the audience is the process of commodification role readers/listeners/ viewers by the mass media industry and advertisers from the beginning of the function as a media consumer to the consumer audience is not the media. In this case, the mass media industry to produce an audience and then handed it to advertisers.

Cybernetic commodification associated with process control and space to overcome. While the commodification of labor meant, how the capitalists buy labor power commodity to get more value and then used to develop the capital accumulation even greater.

### **Stucturation Infotainment on Television**

The theory is the brainchild stucturation Anthony Giddens (1984) is a general theory of social action. Giddens stucturation theory said that social action is the process of production and reproduction of social systems. Through this view, it can be said that the mass media is the production and reproduction processes that occur in areas of social action. Mass media, including television, is also part of the social system of production processing and reproduction in and through social actions.

Giddens (in Littlejohn, 2002) states that the structure produces rules that can guide the individual in doing something. Giddens is also believed that stucturation always includes three dimensions, namely: 1) interpretation or understanding (interpretation or comprehension); 2) Morality (proper action), and 3) power. In the process stucturation there are rules that became a guide for each individual, namely: how to understand something (interpretation), how should do something (morality), and how to achieve goals (power). Thus, the social action confirms the interpretation of structures, morality, and power (in Littlejohn, 2002).

Giddens presents stucturation theory as an attempt to bridge what he perceive as the difference between the interests of theoretical perspectives underlying structure (structure) and the emphasis on action and agency.

In stucturation theory, Giddens also expressed about the duality of structure. Giddens argues, the relationship between structure and agency is the duality relation. Action and structure presuppose one another. Structure as a duality which is Giddens include rules and resources (Giddens, 1984). The structure and actions related to each other in social patterns is ongoing. In other words, social life consists of the mutual formation of structure and agency.

Giddens also said that the centrality of space and time is a constitutive element of action and community organizing. This means that, without space and time, no action.

In this stucturation theory, agency refers not to those goals when doing an act, but people's ability to perform that action (Giddens, 1884). Thus, the agency refers to a person's ability to perform an action. While the structure appears in /and through the agents activities.

In this study, infotainment programs on television will be examined from the perspective of duality structure, rules and resources. All the objects of study can be seen from the point of social rules that have applied and television industry. On the other hand, where there is a representation of social resources, especially concerning power, ability, intellect, ability to persuade, interests, and so on.

Impressions infotainment is the result of interaction of the agents in the television industry who are involved in social practices. The agency is intentionally infotainment show the content and format of such to establish, maintain, and legitimize their power and dominance in accordance with their own cherished ideology.

### **Mass Media Ethics**

Ethics is a branch of philosophy that study a particular field, which is about morality. According to Bertens (2007), ethics related to human behavior, assess what should or should not be human.

Ethics also examine the critical reflection, methodical, and systematic about human behavior in terms of good and bad. If associated with this research, ethics can be defined as the values and moral norms which hold for someone or a group to regulate behavior.

As generally applied ethics, media ethics/ ethics of journalism were executed on three levels, namely the level of macro, meso (middle), and micro. Three levels are associated with three distinct possibility to run the television industry. At the macro level, reviewing the media ethics of the moral aspects of the mass media is a whole system. At the meso level, a media ethics review ethical issues at the organizational level. While at the micro level, the focus is the individual in relation to his profession as a journalist. At the micro level will be analyzed on the ethical responsibilities of journalists in the infotainment television industry consisting of: a reporter, camera person, the creative team, editor, producer, and executive producer.

This study associated also with the responsibility of all those who join in the production and delivery of infotainment for doing or not doing what they should do. So, not only the responsibility of journalists, but also the responsibility of media owners. They demanded a moral responsibility for the study of ethics, sense of responsibility has a very clear moral. This is in accordance with the opinion of Merrill (in Hirst and Patching, 2005) that related to the concept of journalistic freedom and responsibility.

The concept of responsibility is certainly related to the social responsibility of mass media. Viewed from the history, theories of social responsibility of mass media are basically more highlights aspects of journalism in mass communications in America since World War II, who see social responsibility as the basis of journalism ethics system (Goodwin, 1983).

### **Research Methodology**

This research uses critical paradigm with qualitative methodology. Researchers used a paradigm for other than intended critical observation, also aims to uncover, find out, and at the same time criticizing how the interplay between structure and agency in the television industry and why it happened.

This study population includes infotainment programs during 2009. The sampling technique used was purposive sampling which includes the category of non-probability study conducted in Indonesia's national television station and a Production House that infotainment show.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggests, the source of data on qualitative research there are two, namely: human and nonhuman. Data sources including human categories, data collection techniques performed through interviews and observations by noting nonverbal cues that are transmitted when the interviews and observations. While the shape of nonhuman data source documents, records results, other information, and daily activities that provide useful information about the subject under study. This research uses both categories of data sources, namely human and nonhuman.

For this research, data collection method used is depth interviews, observation, and analysis of the contents of the document records. Depth interviews conducted with policy makers and responsible for production in the television industry that provides infotainment programs, namely the non-divisional head of drama, executive producer, producer, editor, narrator, host, reporter creative, and the camera person in charge of producing impressions infotainment, and artists and actors. In addition, researchers

also conducted interviews with communications experts, the Chairman of Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI), a member of the PWI, Press Council Chairman, Chairman of the Indonesian Television Journalists Association (IJTI), Chairman of the Association of Independent Journalists (AJI), and advertising experts.

Observation is done by observing events that happen, observing the workings of infotainment as journalists covering the field, observing how they conduct interviews with resource persons, and watched everything he's done in the editorial/ production. In addition, data collection techniques are also done by analyzing the content of infotainment show recordings, field notes, archives, and other official documents. Research data analyzed by the intertextuality method.

### **Research Results**

Television industry has become an instrument of capitalist industry. What and how the events should be produced and broadcast television, more determined based on correlation with the demand of advertisers and audience tastes. However, the managers of television are difficult to meet the demands of production when television has become a commercial entity. They had to prepare so many events to fill the broadcast hours of the day longer.

This also occurs in infotainment programs. Television industry tends to be pragmatic and to produce impressions fast-paced infotainment, even inside the same tendency, just different packaging. As the results, their coverage mostly is inclusive.

If the system associated with the press and market fundamentalism and the social construction of the television industry in Indonesia, the emergence of a system that is more free press in this country is due to the pressure of social actors in the process of liberalization of the press in Indonesia. This is based on the belief that market fundamentalists, both among the owners of capital the media industry, media manager, or even among the journalists, as well as various segments of the media consumers.

Construction of viewers infotainment market is also based on the dialectical process. Initial objective reality of the emergence of infotainment is a demand from government regulation would be the existence of a program in the country/local program to offset the import impressions on Indonesian television industry. It is also mandated by Republic of Indonesia No.32/2002 on Indonesia Television Broadcasting that the proportion required to meet the domestic content of at least 60 %. In addition, infotainment programs also emerged as the demands of the owners of capital for profit.

Unable to produce their own local programs all over, then bought the television industry in the production house and take whatever is made by the production house, provided that can meet this objective reality. That is, the resulting production house must meet the local content portion and can gain maximum benefit. Contents infotainment programs create a belief in the audience that indeed the program they need, namely the objective reality of the audience.

Continuous exposure of the infotainment programs create a symbolic reality of media content, audiences are becoming dependent on infotainment programs and audiences will feel as if the content and form of infotainment programs that indeed is what they need.

The process of internalization of infotainment programs homogeneous in all the television industry will create a subjective reality in itself an audience that's infotainment programs are their needs. Moreover, they also do external process with social interaction, namely discussing the content of infotainment programs with other people who exposed this program. Thus, eventually leading to an objectification giving rise to a new objective reality of the need for infotainment, with the latest issues.

Television industry is capital-intensive industries are supported by the high communication technology (high technology). As the impact of globalization, television is a capitalist industry. As a capitalist industry, owners of capital who want maximal profit, which they get from advertisers. From this side and then came what

is called a rating. Rating has been responsible for the formation of structures and relationships of a number of political economic powers. According to the political-economic perspective, the phenomenon rating is an indication of the commodification of media practice to his audience.

Meanwhile, the relationship between advertisers and viewers showed the existence of certain interests. In the process of mass production in modern industry, advertisers need to set clear limits on what segment will be the target market. In modern industry, a product must compete with other products. A product must have a clear segmentation, characteristics, product benefits, packaging, and a certain brand that distinguishes it from other industrial products. Advertising activity inform this to the market. In that event, the market information needed to consume the advertising message.

Viewers became commodification because they use the time to see the message in television ads. These conditions lead to the mastery of advertisers in the program shows in the television industry to how many times the ad will appear, how long, and how ads are presented in order to get the effect and the greatest benefit.

According to RTS Masli, advertising practitioners and former Chairman of the Association of Indonesian Advertising Companies (PPPI), there are triangular relationship between the owner of television, advertisers, and communities. Advertisers have the highest importance because the advertiser is always using television to promote their products. Advertisers will choose the program that his ratings high, such as infotainment, because their ads will be effective and efficient if placed on programs that audience much.

Meanwhile, the owner or manager of a television program will keep his ratings high, including infotainment, because the benefits in terms of advertising revenue. However, society or viewers do not realize that they become 'targets' of the advertiser. While the owner/manager of the television industry, do commodification infotainment content as if the public interest. Whereas, in fact the main target

of the television industry is the advertiser. Special about infotainment, Masli confirmed that the target audience of this program is the mother-housewife who generally does like the gossip, especially gossip about their idol artist.

Executive Producer Insert (Trans TV), Elfira Zuldarlis, acknowledge that many receive advertisement. Indeed, he asserted that the impressions Insert in Trans TV can provide cross-subsidies on news programs on Trans TV. Ishadi SK, one of the Commissioner Corp. Trans. also asserted that infotainment is one commodity that produces revenue.

More interesting results of this research, almost at every infotainment programs on all television stations have product ads presented in the form of built-in. How to coverage and shooting is built in a way similar to that carried out for news coverage (not advertising). If built-in is advertising, of course, was clearly presented as other advertising. But-in fact, built-in is the actual advertising, but as if the news. It should, distinguish between news and advertising.

About the commodification infotainment capitalism can be associated with the television industry. In capitalism, all forms of production and reproduction of commodities to be marketed with the aim of making a profit. Productive forces are not formed to explore the use value (the value of the news), but to seek profit from the exchange value. The process of commodification, which makes the objects as something that has exchange value, is a real form of false enlightenment of capitalism.

Capitalism produces commodities for the needs of consumers, but consumers are consumers meant that rationalized in the economic system. All produced capitalism, not more than a false fulfillment, namely the need created by the manufacturer. In this case, capitalism is a form of mass deception that actually created the need for essentially not needed audience.

A television program aired was not representative of the interests of viewers. Commodification of audiences who made the television industry is reflected through the rating. Rating is a tool used to offer the viewers to advertisers. Thus, the first television program ap-

peared than rating. Rating was only in the form of information detailing the characteristics of viewers of television programs.

About the rating, Ilham Bintang, producer of "Cek and Ricek" infotainment program, some infotainment program recorded substantial ratings gains, exceeds the rating of some television news programs. That means there is an audience in a large number of impressions that consume infotainment. In the world of television, if the audience a lot, means an event that has economic value is high enough. A reality which was inevitable that the life of television advertising.

If the observed relationship between viewers with television programs, the trend shows that there is interest in viewers of television programs instantly and immediately. Television industry as a producer does not consider seriously and wisely, how should a television program, including infotainment, is produced. As a result, the quality of infotainment programs on the television show does not become an important measure to maintain the contents of the program and the commodification of the audience.

Furthermore, as stated Hirts and Patching (2005) that the political economy of media has something to do with media ethics, the results of this study indicate, there is the influence of media owners to control the application of media ethics. The same thing also mentioned Luna (1995) that there is a direct relationship between economics and ethics of the media, and how together, they can be used to interpret economic trends in the media industry. Luna says, ethics can be counted as a cost or benefit.

The results showed, there is interplay between structure and agency. In this case, the owner/manager of the television industry Television aims to produce large profits. Their reasons, for the development of television stations and for the television industry is capital intensive. Then, the responsible production, executive producer, producer, coordinator of coverage, creative/reporter, camera person and follow what the policy of their respective supervisor. If there is a difference of opinion or patterns between them, usually they put the interests of his superiors. Not a



few of the reporters who complain about the policies of their superiors.

In terms of media ethics/ethics of journalism can be summed up some things related to infotainment programs on Indonesian television industry. Pressure and infotainment display purposes to reduce choice and responsibility and disregard infotainment journalist's ethical considerations, so the news is skewed, and the function of "watch dog" to be weak.

In the newsroom/production, individual or team work helped worsen the quality of infotainment programs. Lifestyle created by infotainment reporters relationship with celebrity guest speaker, identified as something that encourages workers to produce infotainment inclusive coverage. In addition, the values are reproduced by the favorable impression infotainment television industry and a negative impact on the audience.

The results show, the topics dominated infotainment programs conflicts in family matters, such as adultery, divorce, child struggles, and so on. There is also a topic about the artist who has a new girlfriend, boyfriend broke up, going out again, the marriage plans, pregnancy, birth, birthdays, and so on. About the conflict in this family, infotainment programs present about the negative things in the family and no excessive attention to the impact arising from these impressions, such as the impact on children of divorced parents.

Actually, the task of journalists is to seek and gather news material facts of the events and facts opinions. Then, journalists present the facts in the media as it is. Journalists are prohibited to enter the assessment or opinion in the news. Journalists also should not confuse fact with opinion. This also should apply to reporters infotainment on Indonesian television industry.

However, research results show, all the infotainment programs in all of television does not comply with the provisions of "Code of Conduct Broadcasting and Press Standards Program". Infotainment journalists to enter/and confuse facts with their opinions. Infotainment reporters are often presents gossip, without clari-

fication. Opinion is generally found in the narrative and the host statement.

In several television stations, reporters are not involved in writing the script or the script. Who wrote the script is creative or senior creative. Since reporters are not involved in writing the script, it often happens erosion facts. The resulting narrative is not the same as the facts on the ground. In fact, the narrative is too excessive and sensational.

Likewise, the image/visualization of the infotainment sprograms. Camera person is often not involved in the selection of images. So, the picture presented is sometimes chosen to complement it. In fact, images/visuals in television programs is a key element. Not to mention, the picture presented is often repeated, there is not relevant, and only to prolong the duration of the course. Ironically, this is known and approved by the producer, executive producer, and the person in charge of the program.

If associated with infotainment programs in Indonesian television industry, content tends to the same programs. Although programming a different name, but it's tends to the same. Of course this does not indicate the seriousness of the television industry in terms of presenting a quality infotainment programs.

Impressions infotainment content uniformity are also supported by the results of research conducted during the observation. Many infotainment programs produced by television station or by allowing production house cloning (copying) the news. In accordance with the observations by researchers in the field, it is known that some camera person to copy a recording from a television camera person or another production house. They did because they were late attendance at the news conference or as resource persons opinioned. Actually, they should not do. They would say as a plagiarist because it does not mention where they get these news items. While not all television stations or production houses allow their reporters to do the cloning news, but most of them allowed.

Some reporters and camera person who interviewed the author admits that the television station or production house in which they work,

allowed cloning news. Their superiors know that they are copying an image from another camera person and reporter asked another reporter what the neighbor's resource. In this case, there may be some erosion of the facts.

In addition, also found instances of infotainment reporters who do not respect the privacy of the artist. Some artists do not want to be interviewed, but insisted the reporter and camera person take the picture. For example, when an artist does not want to be interviewed about his divorce with her husband, many journalists are still forced infotainment. The artist has walked away from reporters, but journalists remain megelilingi, blocking, and even a reporter who said, "Surround it!". It's not supposed to do.

There is also another artist who claimed he was uncomfortable when being chased by reporters infotainment. When he was at the South Jakarta Religious Court to settle his divorce case with her husband, she felt the stress of infotainment reporters and jostling his way. Researchers see a direct, reporter and camera person to trample on the grass and ornamental plants in the yard South Jakarta Religious Court and cause the overthrow of the large flower pots by pushing them. This all would not happen if the infotainment journalists respect the privacy of interviewees.

In addition, the camera person infotainment does not work professionally. They nudged each other often. There is even the print media infotainment photographer who climbed onto the table to take pictures of an artist.

Another thing that was found during the study was, infotainment journalists justify all sorts of ways to get information about the artist. For example, there are infotainment journalists breaching hidden camera. A camera takes a picture of a person artist secretly. He put his camera in the door ventilation of dressing room artist. In the dressing room was the manager of the artist and some crew who starred in soap operas. When the camera is recording images person, reporters went into the dressing room of the artist. The reporter who had wearless hide lit on the back of his shirt. So that picture and sound of the artist recorded.

Initially these artists' manager do not know. But when a reporter noted signs and see a camera in the dressing room door vents, then the manager became angry. Because the manager wanted to bring hidden issues to the camera that the authorities, the reporter and camera person were to apologize, and the recorded images be removed, in accordance with the orders of the artist manager.

If the note back to the findings, it can be concluded that directly or not, there is the influence of the owner/manager of the television industry on the outcome of infotainment hand. Infotainment journalists working in an atmosphere of conflict of interest between the pursuit of profit with the media ideal policy to meet the public interest. Motivated by for profit, finally defeated the standards of journalistic ethics. Infotainment reporters no longer comply with the "Code of Conduct Broadcasting and Press Standards Program" because they only follow the will of their superiors, structurally.

In this regard, directed journalistic ethics and endorsed by the owners or managers of television stations that control and economic control as well as by the advertiser. So, rather than by journalists in the newsroom. This can indirectly be said that institutional ethics of most media organizations will be influenced by media owners, not by journalists.

Ethics is more related to the problem of propriety and conscience of responsibility in human life, not the formal responsibility of citizens in the life of the state. There are still many who view ethics as a mere verbal declaration. Code of ethics as if only a slogan for pride, not a commitment to hold firm or professional guidelines should be applied and enforced.

As a journalist, workers infotainment should work in a professional. That is, they say if they are professional subject and obedient to their own professional ethics, the "Code of Conduct Broadcasting and Press Standards Program".

Actually, almost all countries have a code of journalistic ethics. There are several elements of the value of a journalistic code of ethics in all countries have in common. According Grevisse (1999) and Laitila (1993) (in Keeble, 2001),

several values related to journalistic ethics codes clearly in the world, namely: 1) honesty and justice; 2) separating fact and opinion; 3) accuracy; 4) maintaining the confidentiality of news sources; 5) enforce the journalist responsibility; 6) the independence of journalists; 7) protects the privacy of people; 8) respect and seek the truth; 9) to avoid discrimination on the grounds of race, sexual orientation, gender, language, religion, or political opinion; and 10) avoid conflicts of interest.

Thus, there is no excuse for television programs in all of the television industry to not comply with the Code of Ethics Journalism created and shared by each country. Likewise with infotainment program on Indonesian television industry. There is no reason for journalists to not comply with the Code of Ethics of Journalism because of the Code of journalism in Indonesia is mandated by Republic of Indonesia Law No.40/1999 of the Press, Paragraph 1 of Article 14 which says, "Code of Ethics is a set of professional ethics for journalism". In addition, the necessity to obey the Code of Ethics Journalism also poured in No. 32/2002 on Broadcasting. In Article 7 (2) stated, "Journalists have and abide by the Code of Ethics of Journalism". Journalistic Code is made and agreed upon by the press and 29 organizations established by the Press Council on March 14, 2006. Likewise with the compliance of the "Code of Conduct Broadcasting and Press Standards Program" because "Code of Conduct Broadcasting and Press Standards Program" is determined by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI).

Then, the role of gatekeepers in the production process all infotainment program on the television industry is determining the final product. Seen the interplay of structure (including systems, regulations, rules of the game) and agencies (including the actors of social actors and actions, both individually and collectively, including the gatekeeper) in the production of these infotainment shows.

Ideally, according to McQuail (2005), the news production process starting from the material to be a news story usually starts with the data obtained about the reality on the ground.

This process through the selection stage. Will be considered, whether the material will be delivered the news to the audience or not. Of course adapted to the purpose of the mass media. Its main purpose is certainly presents professional news or in accordance with established quality standards to be accessible by the public.

However, if you look at infotainment show, what is required by McQuail is not fully implemented by the television industry these infotainment show. Infotainment contents show that in accordance with established quality standards are not implemented. In the production of infotainment shows, often biased as a result of the process that occurs within the organization (internal) media.

Media organizations to selectively reproduce based on criteria appropriate for the media. This may be the professional criteria, but usually for reasons of high rating criteria of the relevant applied to commercialized, cheap, and easy to produce.

According to McQuail (2005), although the mass communication is a form of mass production, standardization should be applied, that is associated with multiple reproduction and distribution. Individual media content does not have to share with all other mass media, according to the characteristics and the resulting mass production. They can easily provide the original, unique, and different.

Seeing the performance of the infotainment reporters until now not much changed, that is what caused the two professional organizations recognize that journalists are not 'workers' infotainment is called journalists. Both organizations are referred to Indonesian Television Journalists Association (IJTI) and the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI). However, the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI) acknowledged that journalist's infotainment is also a journalist, as well as news reporters. PWI is a declared recognition of journalist's infotainment as journalists at the National Press Anniversary, February 9, 2005 in Pekanbaru.

Reason not to admit workers IJTI infotainment as journalists, according to Chief of IJTI, Imam Wahyudi, there are two problem.

First, the problem of substance or subject matter is infotainment appointed. According to Imam, topics/themes raised by the infotainment reporters are not topics that are in accordance with public needs, but were merely a public desire. "The need is very different from the public the public wants," said Imam. Second, the question is how to work them. According to Imam, the way workers are not the same infotainment work with news reporters. They seek, obtain, collect, store, process, and presents the information is not in accordance with the Code of Ethics of Journalism.

Not much different from the opinion the Chairman of IJTI, Nezar Patria as Chairman of AJI also said that the workers refused infotainment known as a journalist. According to him, the way workers search for infotainment and news coverage are not the same as news reporters working standards. Impressions infotainment also assessed by Nezar does not benefit the community.

In contrast to the Imam and Nezar, former Chairman Tarman Azzam, PWI central said, the infotainment reporters should be equated with news reporters. They must be nurtured by a professional organization journalist. "If not us who build, who else?" Tarman Said.

In line with Tarman, Chairman of the PWI now, Margiono, asserted that infotainment reporters with other journalists for what they do at work is no different to other reporters. If the offense is committed by infotainment reporters of the Code of Ethics of Journalism, PWI through the Head of Department Infotainment will nurture them. While violations of P3SPS, Margiono handed Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) as broadcasting institution watch.

Then, as the Chairman of the Press Council is facilitating the establishment of Code of Ethics Journalism, Ichlasul Amal said, there is a breach of the Code of Ethics of Journalism conducted infotainment journalists, but need to be coaching by professional organizations in the infotainment reporters in question.

## Conclusion

1. Television industry is the industry capital-intensive mass media so that more priority to profits than the public interest.
2. A television program aired was not representative of the interests of viewers, including infotainment show. Commodification of audiences who made the television industry is reflected through the rating. Rating is a tool used to offer the viewers to advertisers.
3. Occurs interplay between structure and agency interests.
4. From the perspective of media ethics, many violations committed by the journalist code of ethics infotainment of the Code of Conduct of Journalism and Broadcasting and Press Standards Program.

## G. Suggestion

1. Television industry in any programming, including infotainment show, should be oriented also to the interests of society. Thus, not merely the pursuit of profit.
2. For the pursuit of profit, the television industry does not have to collide with the application of journalistic ethics. Application of journalistic ethics can be consistent with the orientation of the political economy of media.
3. It should show in the television industry infotainment Indonesia obedient and subject to the "Code of Ethics Journalism" and "Code of Conduct Broadcasting and Press Standards Program". If infotainment not be discriminated from other forms of journalism.
4. Should have appeared sensitivity Indonesian society, especially the infotainment shows viewers to be able to be critical of "false reality", which can not be separated from the political economic interests of media owners/managers of the television industry.
5. Should be increased awareness of the various parties that the importance of weighing the television broadcast, which is not just entertaining, but at the same time educate the viewers.
6. There should have public understanding of the rights and obligations of the media as a public space and can improve the quality of community media literacy, which will eventually be useful in a broader framework. \*\*\*

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Law and Code of Conduct

Kode Etik Jurnalistik

Pedoman Perilaku Penyiaran dan Standar Program Siaran

Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 40 Tahun 1999 tentang Pers

Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 32 Tahun 2002 tentang Penyiaran

# The Face of Law Supremacy: A Media Content Analysis on Artalyta's Luxurious Prison Case on The Jakarta Globe Newspaper

**Rino Febri**

STIKOM the London School of Public Relations-Jakarta

**Ariesa Lie**

A professional

## Abstract

This research looks at the portrayal of the Indonesian government, particularly the law enforcement institution that was responsible for the luxurious prison case of Artalyta and some other wealthy inmates. This issue came to surface when a sudden inspection was conducted by a newly established Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force on Sunday, 10 January 2010 at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary. The discovery of the inspection was actually no big sudden as it has become a public secret. However, it still disgraced the image of the government since the media blew this issue up and eventually gained public's attention. This research used a quantitative media content analysis method. This method used numbers as the basis of data interpretation and elaboration to the relevant theories. Precisely 53% of the total articles written contained unfavorable impressions of the Indonesian government. Government's dishonest and corrupt were impressions appeared in the news. Nonetheless, some articles appeared favorable toward the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights as a result of strict action taken against corrupted officials.

## Introduction

Life in a jail has always been projected as a nightmare by common people and mass media. The smell, the dirt and even the room-mates are always told to be awful. The jail even might represent the image of the world hell. However, on January 2010, the mass media reported shocking news about a tycoon's life in prison. In contrary to the old belief about living in a jail, a tycoon is able to transform a filthy cage into a palace. As a wizard flicks his wand to transform something, the tycoon can do the same thing by swishing his money to the officers in the prison. Thus they can turn the jail into their second castle. This ironic fact was revealed when the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force (*Satuan Tugas Pemberantasan Mafia Hukum*) conducted a

sudden inspection to a women's penitentiary in Pondok Bambu, East Jakarta.

The task force discovered Artalyta, the convict of the bribery to Urip Tri Gunawan case, the prosecutor of BLBI case for *BDNI (Bank Dagang Negara Indonesia)*, was on her facial treatment with a private dermatologist. But apparently Artalyta was not the only convict that received the special privileges in the penitentiary. There were Liem Marita (also known as Aling), Darmawati Dareho, Ines Wulandari, Eri Fuad and Lidya Pratiwi. Four of the six special-privileged convicts were related to graft and bribery cases, which mean they were the Corruption Eradication Commission's (*KPK*) patients.

The newly unveiled truth eventually led to another discovery of aberration conducted by the wardens of penitentiaries. The media even investigated and reported more on the "transactions" conducted under the penitentiary's roof.

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Email: Rinofb@yahoo.com

The media even aggressively exposed the ‘public secrets’ which often happen in Indonesia’s penitentiaries such as: when a convict gets a visitor, the guest will have to ‘pay’ some amount of money to the wardens and officers inside the penitentiaries. There are even more fees when the guest and the convict want to have a private meeting.

The most disturbing fact is that the wealthy and powerful can enjoy special privileges and treatments in radical contrast to the average inmates (*The Jakarta Globe* online, 15/01/2010). They can enjoy a luxury life even inside the jail. When the common convicts (such as a thief) have to be crammed inside a 2mx2.5m to 3mx4m cell, the wealthy convict like Artalyta dwelled in an 8mx8m private room with luxurious facilities. The Artalyta’s luxurious-cell case had disgraced the credibility of the Pondok Bambu chief warden, Sarju Wibowo, and resulted to the suspension of the chief warden.

This sudden inspection was actually started by an investigation team of *Tempo Interaktif* media. They previously did the preliminary investigation, visit and interview with Artalyta at her cell. However, what they saw on the scheduled interview day was different from what they had seen previously in the investigation. They found Artalyta had arranged her private luxurious cell to be a workshop room for the inmates before the journalists from *Tempo* came for the interview. Thus, before the publication day of the investigation report, *Tempo* advertised its special edition and eventually attracted the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force. The Task Force immediately contacted the press from various media and assembled them for the sudden inspection. “We were afraid that the penitentiary officers would re-arrange their cells after the investigation report published”, said Denny Indrayana, the secretary of the Task Force (*Tempointeraktif.com*, 11/01/2010). The discovery of this inconvenient truth would not have been this shocking without the interference of the media in the sudden inspection with the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force. However, most of the Indonesian people might have known about the issue about justice, in Indonesia, that

can be bought with money. This fact is like a slap on the face especially for a law enforcement institution under a president authority.

The Jakarta Globe is an English newspaper, published in Indonesia, especially Jakarta. This paper is commonly read by foreigners who reside in Jakarta. Since the circulation is mostly around Jakarta’s business area, the researcher assumed that it is also mostly read by foreigner business people in Jakarta. Thus what the paper says about one issue might grab their attention and affect the readers’ point of view, especially how the foreigners see the credibility of the Indonesian government. Through the content of the news, people can judge whether the government is strict about the regulation or on the contrary, can easily be bought with money. Then it might determine the foreigners’ attitude towards Indonesian law and regulations. The research problems of this research are: How is the image of the Indonesian government projected by The Jakarta Globe? And what attributes are used by The Jakarta Globe in describing the governmental institutions related to this case?

## Conceptual Framework

### *Government and Politics*

Every group or organization needs a leader to unite, drive and coordinate the group members to achieve their mutual goals. Without a leader, the members will not be united and work together as one to achieve their mutual purpose. They will work as individuals to achieve their individual goals and might also compete against each other. Thus when a nation decides to build its country, they must choose a leader, to whom they can trust the future of their country. A leader to whom people pay respect and look up to be a role model.

Literally, the word ‘government’ means a person who drives the ship or sees forward (the future). Then, ‘govern’ means looking forward, deciding policies in order to achieve society-national goals, estimating the national development in the future, organizing and directing the society to the determined goals” (Nurtjahjo, 2005, p.4). According to the above definition and explanation, the researcher conducted a re-



search about the 'government image' which covers the President; the House of Representative; government's law and justice enforcement institutions that established by the national constitutions (Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, Corruption Eradication Commission, the Directorate General of Penitentiary and the officials) or by the President's mandate (the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force); the government's activities, actions or efforts in order to accomplish its duties in enforcing the law and justice towards the 'luxurious prison case'.

#### *Indonesian Law Enforcement Institutions* Attorney General

"Attorney general is a functional government that is given the authority to act as a general prosecutor and executor of the final sentence. The attorney general who acts as the prosecutor has to be independent and uninfluenced by another party. He or she must not be under influence of government officials. The attorney general, as the law enforcer, must uphold the law supremacy; protect the public interest and human rights, and eradicate corruption, graft, and nepotism" (Hartanti, 2005, p. 32).

An attorney, as the prosecutor in a criminal case, must know every activity that has to be conducted by the investigators, from the beginning to the end, all must be done based on constitution. The prosecutor will be responsible for all treatments to the convict, from the preliminary investigation to the session of the court, until the imprisonment period.

#### Investigator

"The investigator is the police officer or certain civil official whom is given a special authority by the constitutions to conduct an investigation. The investigation itself is a series of investigator activity, in constitutional procedures, in order to find and collect evidence to reveal a criminal case and find the suspect. In Indonesia, the institution that acts as the investigator is Kepolisian Negara Republik Indonesia, also known as POLRI (Hartanti, 2005, p. 38).

#### Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK)

In order to realize the law supremacy in Indonesia, the government has put a strong fundament of policy to fight against corruption. All policies are included in the constitutions. Thus, the Corruption Eradication Commission or Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK) was established based on Undang-Undang no. 30/2002 Tentang Komisi Pemberantasan Tindak Pidana Korupsi. KPK has the authority to conduct the investigation, prosecution, coordination and supervision with other law enforcement institutions. The formation of the organizational structure, working procedures and authority of each member are regulated by the constitution. The vision of the KPK is to become an institution that is capable to realize Indonesia as a corruption free country. In order to achieve that vision, the mission of the KPK is to lead the changes that can eventually bring Indonesia out of corruption.

#### *Imprisonment*

Prison is a specially-built place for the convicts to do their punishment during a detention period according to the verdict. Prison consists of cage-like cells that limit the inmates from communicating with each other. This way, the convicts are isolated from society, thus they are expected to regret their own mistakes and prevent themselves to do more crimes in the future. However, lately the prisons are considered to give psychologically negative impacts towards the prisoners, so that the Indonesian government changed the main idea of the prison into a penitentiary.

What is the objective of penitentiary? Basically a penitentiary period is a preparation time before the convicts return to the society. "In a penitentiary, the convicts are put together into workshops, social and spiritual development activities inside the penitentiary with certain schedules. From the punishment period and activities in the penitentiary, the government expects the convicts to return to the society with better behavior and ability to get a proper employment. The imprisonment periods are various from one day to a life time, according to how significant

the crime that they have done and the verdict of the judge” (Djamali, 2006, p. 189).

Having seen the above explanation, the researcher can infer that: when a convict lose their rights to be employed at any company, then they are also not allowed to run their own business inside the penitentiary; if a convict lose their rights to be in a marriage bond or rights to get married, then they are also not allowed to get any conjugal visits nor get intimate; when a convict lose their rights to obtain certain permissions, this should include the rights to enter and exit the penitentiary without any guards.

### *Political Communication*

Practically, the main actor in political communication is the government, especially the executive institution (the president and his/her assistants: vice president and board of ministry, who govern the country). Communication itself is a part of governance management. There are four functions of the management: planning, organizing, leading and controlling. Communication is the attached instrument to all functions of the management. A good result will be obtained when the right decision is taken. The person who makes the decision is the leader (Nimmo, 1999, p. 32).

The government is responsible not only in making the right decision, but also in communicating the decision towards the society. When communicating with the society, the government cannot do an interpersonal communication. Otherwise, it has to do a mass communication through mass media since it is objected to heterogeneous people in widespread area. Through mass media, it is possible for the government to reach its target audience.

Corruption is a depraved action that can affect many aspects of life in the society. It does not only deprive other people’s rights but also threaten social welfare. In the Artalyta’s sudden inspection case, the corruption took place in the prison. The officers in the penitentiary might have taken the bribe so they gave a special treatment towards Artalyta and some other convicts in the penitentiary.

### *Image*

Frank Jefkins (1998, p. 13) classifies image into five categories:

1. The Mirror image: This image is the one people in an organization, especially its leaders, believe to be the impression outsiders have of the organization.
2. The current image: This is what is actually held by people outside the organization and it may be based on experience or on poor information and understanding. This image is usually a negative one, because public opinions are full of prejudice, hostility, apathy and ignorance. The current image depends on how much or how little people know, thus their knowledge will be less perfect than those people within the organization. The mirror and current image can be very different.
3. The wish image: This is the desired image, the one management wish to achieve.
4. The corporate image: The image of the organization, not of the products or services.
5. The multiple images: A number of individuals, branches or other representations can each create a particular image for the total organization.

This research will talk about the current image of the government, especially those related to the law enforcement. After the sudden inspection, the Indonesian law enforcement institutions of course, have to deal with public outrage on their unfair treatment towards inmates at the penitentiary. They might have lost their credibility and degraded their reputation as law enforcers. Hence, it is a big duty for the government’s public relations to shape the current image to be the best representation of the organization. Before doing so, it is sure necessary to figure out what people think about the Indonesian government, because it is important that people’s impression about the government is correct. The image is an impression received by public; it can be created intentionally in order to be liked or disliked by the public.

### *Political Image*

Regarding an old belief that people often judge a book by its cover, the impression of a politician could determine whether people could build trust on that person. If the image of the

government is not well established, people might not believe in its capability in doing such a great task. If a negative image is already drawn in people's minds, they will always hesitate and disagree to whatever the government decides and sets as policies. Thus the public could become very disobedient to the law and the government.

In the modern political democracy, image is reality. Communication is the most effective tool in establishing and destructing someone's image. Any publicity about former Indonesian government had a big impact on their political career (Dwidjowijoto, 2004, p. 60). In *Popular Images of Politics*, written by D. Nimmo (1999, p. 27), "creating a political imagery is mentioned to be the most crucial thing for a politician. When a political imagery is well-established, then the social trust will be founded." This is very important for the government in order to accomplish its duties effectively.

Therefore in conducting governmental actions, it is important to give attention to some points (Dwidjowijoto, 2004, p. 62):

1. The image will determine the outcome in political actions, more than the reality itself.
2. Communication is the core aspect of creation of an image.
3. In the creation of image process, mass media has the most significant role.
4. "News" as the core of mass communication media is full of misleading illusion.
5. The particular reality is shaped from the illusion games played by the politicians, journalists (and editors) and on behalf of the media business itself.
6. In the future, the government's role in the battle of image on media will be seen more distinctly; therefore the media management will have to be the main issue in the government's management.

Since mass media play the most significant role in building an image, it is essential for a politician, especially the government, to check and analyze publicities on mass media. By looking at what the media write and publish, it is easy to figure out the public opinion about certain subject. The existence of mass media, can either strengthen or destruct the reputation of a politician. A politician can speak his or her ideas

through mass media, or the mass media can write about bad attitude or dark past of a politician. Therefore, a politician should really build strong relationships with mass media so that hopefully they will not write too many bad stories about him or her.

### Agenda Setting Theory

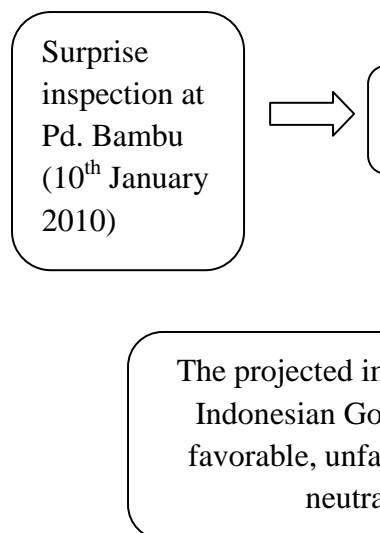
This theory was invented by McComb and Donald L. Shaw in around 1968. They believe that the mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda (Griffin, 1997, p. 376). This theory has been developed by conducting researches to prove the hypothesis of the theory, and the results have proven that the articles in the media have indeed become determining variables that influence the talk of the people.

There are broad-scope and narrow-scope definitions of agenda setting theory (Miller, 2005, p. 270). "The broad-scope definition of agenda setting involves the consideration of three related agendas: the media agenda, the public agenda, and the policy agenda." Each agenda consists of topics that are considered important:

1. The media agenda: the set of topics addressed by media sources (newspapers, radio, television).
2. The public agenda: the set of topics that members of the public believe is important.
3. The policy agenda: represents issues that decision makers (legislators, government) believe are particularly salient.

Each of these three agendas can be seen as dependent variable in a causal equation. The media agenda can affect the public agenda then the public agenda brings impact to the policy. The narrow-scope definition of agenda setting, stated by Zhu & blood, is "the process whereby the news media lead the public in assigning relative importance to various public issues" (Miller, 2005, p. 271). In conclusion, agenda setting of the media takes a significant role in building its public agenda. Stanley J. Baran even mentioned that this especially occurs in political communication through printed media. The previous studies and research of agenda setting have proven the agenda setting of the printed media impact towards its public agenda (2009, p. 188).

At the second level, agenda settings do not only suggest people what to think about, but also influence how people should think about the issue. This is where the framing concept takes the role. In the context of agenda setting, framing is a process through which the media emphasize some aspects of reality and downplay other aspects (Miller, 2005, p. 275). This is the reason why one similar event can be narrated in different ways and presented in positive, negative or neutral tone. According to Winter and Eyal, the strongest correlation between the media agenda and the public agenda occurs between the fourth to sixth week. In addition, Stone and McCombs stated that it takes 2 to 6 months for the media agenda to result the intended public



agenda (Gerbner *et al.*, 1969, p. 47). However, since the first report on the sudden inspection was on 12<sup>th</sup> January 2010, and the researcher could not find any more news reports relevant to the analysed case after 27 January 2010, so the research period would be from 12<sup>th</sup> January (one day after the sudden inspection) to 27<sup>th</sup> January 2010.

Through content analysis, the researcher expected to find the actual numbers that indicate the image of the Indonesian government related to this case. The analysis was also related to the quantitative numbers to the theories of communications and Indonesian law in order to seek for a proof to the theories and explain the out-

come according to the data found and relevant theories.

### Hypothesis of research

In relevance to the background case of the research, and the theories of communications, a hypothesis can be pulled out as:  $H_0$ : the major tone of the sentences/quotation related to the government institutions is neutral.  $H_1$ : the major tone of the sentences/quotation of the government institutions is either favorable or unfavorable.

### Research Framework

#### Research Methodology

This research was conducted by analysing the articles published in *The Jakarta Globe* newspaper from 12-27 January 2010, since the publications of the relevant issue were published within this period. Content analysis is one of the most common research methodologies used when dealing with the media. Straubhaar and LaRose explained that content analysis quantifies the content of the media. Researchers begin with systematic samples of media content and apply objective definitions to classify its words, images, and themes (2004, p. 366).

Regarding the fact that every organization has to build a good relationship with its customers or common people, they also need to create a good image through a mass commu-

nication process. Here the mass media play a big role as a third party, which has influence to alter people's minds. Thus the media content analysis is required to evaluate what message do the media send to the audience. By evaluating and analysing the message communicated, a certain public opinion can be figured out.

#### *Analysis Unit*

The analysis unit is the research object that is taken as a sample that will be analyzed. The analysis unit in this research therefore would be the articles about the Indonesian government related to the sudden inspection at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary on January 10<sup>th</sup> 2010, and the luxury privileges given to wealthy inmates of the penitentiary.

The researcher used 2 sorts of unit in this content analysis:

1. Physical unit: The measurement is based on the sentence or quotation (in favorable/neutral/unfavorable tone, which will be interpreted by the verbs, adverbs and adjectives used in the paragraph), the length of the sentence (in line) and the positioning of the article (front page, back page or inside page).
2. Referential unit: Series of paragraph which indicate certain meaning fits to a category. There are 3 types of categories: the sudden inspection report, the governmental institutions related to the law enforcement and the actions taken to eradicate the judicial mafia.

#### *Evaluation Criteria of Research*

The primary data was used as the object of the research, since all the analysed data came from the newspaper, in the form of visual and textual elements. The secondary data was used as the basic theories of the research. These theories were the basis of the measurement and determination during data collection. In this research, the content validity was used. The content validity requires the measure to represent the conceptual definitions (Neuman, 2006, p. 193). The concept of the government, particularly the law enforcement institutions, has been defined. Then the categories of the data sampling were defined in 'Method of Data Analy-

sis'. The researcher will use particular variables to measure the unit analysis. The variables used are based on the relevant theories written in part before. Content analysis has to be conducted objectively. It means there should be a very minimum different interpretation between coders. The measurement instruments applied to observations must be highly consistent over time, place and circumstance. Therefore, the researcher has to define the concepts of each tone. The concept will be defined later on based on the theories of the government, law and agenda setting.

The inter coder for this research was Allen Onu-Njoku, one of foreign lecturers at STIKOM London School of Public Relations Jakarta. He has a deep interest in governance matter and lectures the communication theory subject, therefore the researcher believed that he would be suitable to be the inter coder for this research. The researcher used the Holsti's formula to test the reliability of the measurement used in data coding (Eriyanto, 2006, p. 50). The formula is as followed:

$$\text{Inter coder reliability} = \frac{2M}{(N1 + N2)}$$

M represents similar sentences with similar tone (agreed by both coders), N1 is the total coding made by the first coder (the researcher) and N2 is the total coding made by the second coder. The result will be presented in percentage. If all the coding result made by the researcher is similar to the second coder, so the reliability value is 100%. The higher the percentage, the more reliable the measurement is. "In order to be considered as a reliable measurement, the minimum percentage of the reliability test is 70%" (Eriyanto, 2006: 49).

#### *Sampling*

This research used the content analysis method with quantitative approach. The documents to be analysed are *The Jakarta Globe* and *The Jakarta Post* printed papers during 12<sup>th</sup> January 2010 to January 27<sup>th</sup> period. This period of time is determined since the news about the sudden inspection and the reformation of the penitentiary's official were also published during this period, there was no more news related to this issue after January 2010. So, the variables

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measured in this research are: the length of the article (in line); the quoted or cited statements from government officials, experts and other influencing parties and all the sentences in the article which represent favorable, unfavorable or neutral tone. In the way of presenting the issue, researcher will also count the number of names or institution (that is related to the governmental institution) and major tones of presenting their performance. Through this analysis method, we can find out which person or institution has a good image through the publication and which one is not and how the major tone of the news related to who is behind *The Jakarta Globe* newspaper.

The articles to be analysed should be in one of these categories:

1. Sudden inspection report: Report articles related to the 10<sup>th</sup> January 2010 sudden inspection at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary.
2. Governmental institutions related to justice and law enforcement: The Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force, Directorate-General of Penitentiaries, Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Actions taken by the government to recover the credibility of the justice and law enforcement institutions in Indonesia: Efforts to eradicate the infringements conducted by the judicial mafia and plans on improvement and expansion of the penitentiaries.

After all the variables counted, the researcher will interpret the tone of the articles mostly presented and the governmental institution that is mostly mentioned (in positive/favorable, negative/unfavorable or neutral tone). From the output, the researcher will explain the image of the government as projected by the papers.

#### *Coding protocol*

The following definitions are important in selecting and analyzing the content under study:

1. News Story: A scandal story about the luxurious penitentiary of Artalyta and some other wealthy inmates at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary. The main subject of the story is the government institutions responsible of the penitentiary and its residents. News story is defined as all non-advertising matter in a news product. In a newspaper, this includes all-staff produced news stories

found in the first section (section A), but excludes “International”, “Opinion & Letters” and “My Jakarta” pages. It may include relevant features produced by the staff reporters.

2. The Luxurious Penitentiary Issue: The issue which is started by the discovery of the luxurious penitentiaries and privileges given to certain inmates at Pondok Bambu Penitentiary. The issue involves the government institutions such as the Ministry of Justice, KPK, Directorate General and officials of the Penitentiary, and the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force.

3. Source: Source is a person or organization, who gives information to news reporters. An expert source is one who does not take a side but has credible knowledge about law and governance. Sources are explicitly identified when news reporters quote or paraphrase information from them in stories. When a reporter publicly credits an information source, it is called attribution. Such attribution is signaled when a person or an organization’s name is linked in a story sentence with verbs denoting a person speaking such as said, claimed, stated and so forth. Attribution might also be made by verbs denoting a source’s state of mind, such as thinks, feels, wants and so forth. Story information not clearly attributed to a source is assumed to originate from a reporter’s direct observation of actions and events.

4. Procedures :

- a. Story identification
- b. Story day (month and day)
- c. News prominence:

The story locations are coded with these associated numbers: headline = 2; page one = 1; Inside page = 0.

- d. Story origin:

A story can be originated from a news reporter or editor, and other media as cited in “Comment” section of the newspaper. It can be coded with these numbers: from the newspaper’s own reporter/editor = 2; from other media = 1.

- e. Tables

There are two analysis tables per-article, the first table consists of any sentence in the article, while the second table quotes statements

from the officials, experts and other influencing parties.

### Profile of *The Jakarta Globe*

*The Jakarta Globe* was firstly launched in November 2008. *The Jakarta Globe*'s language and international outlook also gives it a high-level of visibility to residents' expatriates and visitors from overseas, and the attendant deep well of spending power. *The Jakarta Globe* aims to appeal to everyone, from teenagers to the long-retired. That is why they present news and feature pages everyday that inform and update the readers about issues that are relevant to all their lives, from education, law and society, to spirituality, health and the environment. As leisure time is when urban people spend time to socialize, *The Jakarta Globe* also provides information on entertainment, arts, sports and travel in order to fulfil urban people's needs for lifestyle. Whatever the readers need, they can just turn to the paper or website to help them plan trips, learn activities, search for bargains, tickets and so on. *The Jakarta Globe* present news and tips, leisure and travel features, as well as entertainment reviews.

Considering the price and the language used by *The Jakarta Globe*, it certainly has a specific target audience. "*The Jakarta Globe*'s readers are located around Indonesia, divided in the following percentage: Indonesians (59%), visitors (22%) and Expatriates (19%). The primary readers of *The Jakarta Globe* are: 60% are male; 53% live in households with monthly income of IDR 4.5 million or more; 24% are aged 15-24, 39% are 25-34 and 37% are above 35 years old; 52% are white-collar workers, 19% are students and 7% are entrepreneurs; 88% have bank account, 69% use the internet, 98% have a mobile phone and 41% have a car" (*The Jakarta Globe* Media Kit, 2010: 14).

There are several reasons why *The Jakarta Globe* uses English as its medium language; despite the fact it is published in Indonesia. "There were 75,000 foreign workers in Indonesia in 2007. From this figure, there are about 15 nationalities represented with a majority, in particular those from Australia, the United States,

India, Britain and Malaysia, displaying a high degree of English fluency. About 65% are located in and around Jakarta. After including workers' family members but considering only those comfortable reading in English, the number of potential English-language newspaper readers reaches 80,000" (*The Jakarta Globe* Media Kit, 2010, p. 15).

"In 2007, Indonesia hosted 5.5 million visitors who stayed an average of nine days each, according to Ministry of Culture and Tourism figures. This length was affected by short-break visitors from Malaysia and Singapore entering Sumatra and staying an average of just four days; by contrast, long-haul visitors from Australia, Europe and North America stay for an average of more than two weeks. Almost a quarter of visitors arrive in Indonesia through Jakarta, and just over a quarter come to Bali. The potential to reach English-literate readers among this number is huge: averaged over a year (total annual visitor days divided by 365), it reaches a daily figure as high as 87,000" (*The Jakarta Globe* Media Kit, 2010, p. 15). *The Jakarta Globe* is a newspaper standing under the umbrella of Globe Media Group. The group also owns several other mass media such as: Suara Pembaruan, Campus Asia, Globe Asia and Investor Daily. Two of the media, Globe Asia and Campus Asia, use English as the medium language while the others use bahasa Indonesia.

*The Jakarta Globe* is a paper for Indonesia, with long-term plans to extend circulation to cities with large Indonesians population, starting to launch in Singapore. English-speaking readers are concentrated in Indonesia's urban and resort industry areas, and *The Jakarta Globe* is continuing to publish in: Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Bali, Pekanbaru, Medan, Balikpapan and surrounded areas.

### Presentation and Interpretation of data

#### *Data Analysis: Coding Instructions*

As previously mentioned, there are three (3) tones used in classifying the tones of the message. They are: favorable (positive), unfavorable (negative), and neutral tone. These are instruc-

tions to put the sentence/quotation into the coding tables:

1. A sentence/quotation is considered as favorable (positive) if:

a. It reports, mentions, explains or describes the government's efforts in taking strict actions (enforcing the law) toward the officers of the penitentiary.

b. It reports, mentions, explains or describes the government's actions in enforcing the law toward convicts, without giving any privileges to special or high-profile inmates.

c. It reports, mentions, explains or describes the government's plans on improving current conditions of law enforcement institutions and penitentiaries.

2. A sentence/quotation is considered as unfavorable (negative) if:

c. It describes how there are contrasts in terms of treatments and circumstance between the wealthy and average inmates, such as: the space and the facilities inside the cells.

d. It explains or describes how the officers and the wealthy inmates tried to cover or justify their faults by giving reasons upon the discovery, for example: those special cells have changed after the sudden inspection.

3. A sentence/quotation is considered as neutral if:

a. The sentence has both positive and negative tone aspects.

b. The sentence has neither positive nor negative tone aspects.

#### *Coding Sheets*

In order to count all the sentences and quotations in the articles, the researcher gathered all the sentences and classified them in cod-

#### Table coding sheets summary

a. It reports, mentions, explains or describes the penitentiary's officers' actions against the law, such as: giving special privileges to certain inmates, the corrupt habit of the officers through taking illegal fees from the inmates and their families.

b. It reports or describes the privileges and luxuries enjoyed by certain convicts inside their cells and how this infringement is actually a public secret but there had been no legal handling to solve the problem and punish the officers.

ing tables. The coding tables are divided by sentences and quotations per article. There are eleven articles in *The Jakarta Globe* that relevant to the issue. The following tables are the coding sheet for the first article, "Prison Pamper the Rich", and the rest will be attached at the end of the research.

The coding sheet contains the required data for the research analysis: type of article, day/date, page, title, position of article, length of article, story source, sentence table, source and



attribution table, summaries of favorable, unfavorable and neutral tone, and finally the major tone in the article. The sentence table contains all sentences, other than people's statement, written in the article, while the source and attribution table contains all statements mentioned by a particular party or person. All the sentences and quotations are classified and put into the right tone, based on the instructions given previously. After all the sentences and quotations are classified, the total lines of the sentences in each tone are summarized. This shows the length of the sentences (unit analysis) of each tone. The tone with the lengthiest sentences is considered the major tone in an article. The following page is a sample of the coding table. The other tables will be put at the back as attachments.

#### Inter Coder Reliability Test

There are three articles cross-coded by a second coder. The followings are the articles which have been coded by the second coder:

##### 1. Inter coder agreement test I

Prison Pampers the Rich (Padded Cells: Wealthy Inmates Buy Creature Comforts).

Total number of sentences (units) for each coder ( $N_1 = N_2$ ) = 24 sentences; total number of tones agreed by both coders ( $M$ ) = 14.  
Inter coder reliability =

$$\frac{2(14)}{48} \times 100\% = \frac{28}{48} \times 100\% = 58.34\%$$

##### 2. Inter coder agreement test II

For Rent: Prison Cells, Serviced and Luxuriously Appointed

$N_1 = N_2 = 26$  sentences;  $M = 26$ .

Inter coder reliability =

$$\frac{2(26)}{52} \times 100\% = \frac{52}{52} \times 100\% = 100\%$$

##### 3. Inter coder agreement test III

Artalyta's Days of Luxury Over

$N_1 = N_2 = 7$  sentences;  $M = 7$ .

Inter coder reliability =

$$\frac{2(7)}{14} \times 100\% = \frac{14}{14} \times 100\% = 100\%$$

Based on the coding agreement test, the average reliability is:

$$58\% + 100\% + 100\% = 258\% : 3 = 86\%$$

The minimum percentage of the reliability test, based on Holsti's formula is 70%. Therefore, the data coding measurement from the researcher is considered reliable.

#### Discussion

According to the analyzed articles, the articles published within the first week after the inspection show mostly unfavorable tone (accepted the alternatives hypothesis/ $H_1$ ). From the total length of all analyzed articles, which consist of 1,002 lines, there are 534 lines of unfavorable quotations and sentences. It means, 53% of the total content of the news represents negative image of the government, particularly the officials of penitentiaries in Indonesia. Mostly, the unfavorable sentences mention the corruption inside the penitentiaries, which involves the officers of the penitentiaries and the wealthy inmates. There are 286 lines of sentences and quotations mentioning the dark side of the penitentiaries across Indonesia, and 131 lines particularly talking about the Pondok Bambu Penitentiary's officers including Sarju Wibowo (ex-director of Pondok Bambu). Other government institutions mentioned in negative tones are the House of Representative (26 lines), the Ministry of Justice (and the Minister himself, Patrialis Akbar), the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force (21 lines), Mr. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (15 lines), and the Directorate General of Penitentiaries (14 lines). Based on this statistics, the researcher can see indication of the paper to put responsibility of this issue on the penitentiaries' officials. *The Jakarta Globe* obviously stated that the penitentiary system in Indonesia is such a mess and full of corruption.

From the very beginning, it is found that the stories reported by *The Jakarta Globe* are mostly in unfavorable tone. Thus the negative image of the government is projected through the news stories in the newspaper. The government institution that is mostly mentioned in negative tone is the penitentiaries officers, since they are mostly mentioned giving special privileges to high-profile convicts. This can be seen through these articles: "Prison Pampers the Rich", "For Rent: Prison Cells, Serviced and Luxuriously Ap-

pointed”, “Pondok Bambu Warden Suspended after Luxury Prison Expose”, “Artalyta Wakes up to Prison Reality” and “Extent of Prison Corruption Suddens Task Force”. Here are the points in which the paper projected the negative image of the government.

As previously mentioned, there are some rights that the convicts lose when they are imprisoned, such as: rights to be employed at any company and rights to be in a marriage bond. However, it was mentioned in one of the articles, that Tommy Soeharto enjoyed long conjugal visits in his private cell during his serving time at Nusa Kambangan penitentiary, and so did other inmates who could just pay the guards to get intimate in the toilets. Another privilege was also given to Ricardo Gelael and also Artalyta, who have conducted several business meetings inside their cells. This shows the infringements conducted inside the prisons by the penitentiary officers and those high-profile inmates. It also implies that the officers (one of the law enforcement institutions) do not obey the law.

When someone is imprisoned, he or she is isolated from the society. But it did not seem to happen to certain inmates like Bob Hasan, Abdullah Puteh and Schapelle Corby (the Australian drug smuggler), who reportedly had access to get in and out of their cells anytime. By the articles published by *The Jakarta Globe*, it is obviously seen that they emphasize to the officers of the penitentiaries, who have acted beyond limits of the law, by giving privileges to special convicts who are wealthy. This infringement is associated with corruption since the paper also explained how the bribery rules and procedures inside the penitentiaries. The paper often mentioned that the officers (wardens and guards) could be or have to be bribed with certain amount of money, in order to give permission to the inmates’ families when they want to meet the prisoners. This habit has become rampant in penitentiaries across the country. The corrupt habit is shown through articles “For Rent: Prison Cells, Serviced and Luxuriously Appointed”, which revealed the inner face of the Indonesian penitentiary system and thus disgraced the reputation of the Indonesian government explicitly.

The negative impression of the government got worse when the chief warden of Pondok Bambu Penitentiary, Sarju Wibowo, denied that there were infringements inside the penitentiary. In the article “Prison Pampers the Rich”, Sarju gave some excuses, such as: the karaoke room was dedicated for all inmates and used for karaoke practices, kasidah and Koranic recitals. But the following day, all the karaoke equipments were removed and the room was emptied for the inmates to make handicrafts on the floor. There is an implication that Sarju, Aling and Muryani (an officer in charge of convicts’ activities) only made excuses and lied in order to justify or cover what they have done inside the penitentiary. This also implies that this government institution is filled with dishonest members who are irresponsible for their own mistakes and unreliable.

The negative image of the government is also projected through the description of the luxurious rooms and facilities for certain convicts in contrasts with the cells of average inmates. Through the paragraphs, the paper shows how the officers make different treatments toward ‘high-class’ inmates and ‘low-class’ ones. In fact, those convicts are supposed to have similar rights and duties inside the penitentiary. In the articles, the paper describes how the special cells were designed and furnished. In the other hand, the common cells were in poor condition. Through the descriptions, it implies that the penitentiary, the place where convicts get punishment for their crimes, can be changed into a palace full of service and comfort, as long as the inmates are willing to pay for the “luxury charge”.

The governmental institutions which are often mentioned in negative tone in *The Jakarta Globe* are: the wardens/officers and Sarju Wibowo, the chief officer of the Pondok Bambu penitentiary and the officers of the penitentiaries across the country.

Some statements quoted in the articles represent unfavourable tone. Those statements are mostly made by the officials of the Indonesia Corruption Watch, KPK’s officials, senior lawyer and investigative journalist. They often mentioned how the bribery has been rampant and

often happen inside any prisons all over the country. It has become a public secret for a long time, but no one has taken a strict action against this infringement. The KPK officials also blamed the government (the House of Representatives) for having turned down their proposal to build a special penitentiary for the corruption convicts, by saying this actually happened because the government had not put attention to this matter before it was finally exposed through the media.

Based on the sentences written by the paper's journalists, the unfavourable tone is mostly associated with the officials of the penitentiaries (this includes the director of Pondok Bambu Penitentiary, Sarju Wibowo, his subordinates and some other penitentiaries' officers across Indonesia). Based on the articles analysed by the researcher, the news report mostly concentrated on the negative issues about the penitentiary system and officers. The articles often mentioned about how the wealthy inmates could enjoy special privileges and live a lavish life in jails if only they bribe the guards and prison officials in charge. This obviously shows how the corrupt habit is rampant and the officials are disobedient to the law when it comes to money.

Wim Tangkilisan, the chief editor and president of *The Jakarta Globe* newspaper is one of the President Yudhoyono's supporters. This can be seen through his statement, "But if you are looking for someone who has a track record at wielding soft power for Indonesia and making the country a respected emerging economy, it has to be Yudhoyono", in one of his articles in *The Jakarta Globe* online on last year's June 29. It was published before the presidential election (July 5, 2009), and it clearly showed his support toward the president. Based on this statement in "Which of the Presidential Candidates Gives Indonesia a 'Soft Power' Edge?" article, and the agenda setting theory, *The Jakarta Globe* is supposed to give favourable tone in most sentences, implying that the new government is improving its performance on enforcing the law and eradicating the judicial mafia. *The Jakarta Globe* did quote the statements from the Justice and Human Rights Minister, Patrialis Akbar, mentioning that the government

is struggling to revamp the country's penitentiary system and the mechanism of the new penitentiary regulations for the officers.

As stated before, Wim Tangkilisan, the president of *The Jakarta Globe* is the president Yudhoyono's supporter. However, in one of the quoted statements from the opponent party's official (PDI-P), it mentioned that the president was only trying to distort the public's attention on Century's case. The president was trying to build a positive image through the Judicial Mafia Eradication Task Force and the sudden inspection. The PDI-P official also said that if the president wanted to eradicate the corruption thoroughly and seriously, he was not supposed to only do the sudden inspection in one prison and fail to clean the mess. The official also hesitated the quality of the Task Force's members in accomplishing the given tasks. He also said that the government was only covering its embarrassment on Century's case. This implies that the president only wanted to show that he wasn't doing nothing at the back, watching the corruption going rampant throughout the country, in fact that he was indeed doing nothing effective to eradicate the corruption.

Besides the tone of the sentences in the articles, the researcher also analysed the importance of the issue based on the positioning in the newspaper and the length of articles. From the sampling taken, apparently this issue only made the headline once. That was the first news report right after the inspection took place. After that first report, the issue came out twice at the front page, while the other eight articles were only put on inside page. The major tone of the headline was unfavourable, and the other front page articles' major tones were also unfavourable. The rest of the articles show either favourable or unfavourable tone.

From this evidence, the researcher could conclude that this issue was only considered very important at the very first report on the sudden inspection. Moreover, the title of the headline sounds very negative or unfavourable towards the government's image, "Prison Pampers the Rich (Padded Cells: Wealthy Inmates Buy Creature Comforts)". The title explicitly implies unfair

treatment towards rich inmates and how the privileges inside the prison can be bought, which indirectly means bribery. After the first news report, the articles only came twice on the first pages and the rest were only put on inside pages. It means there were other issues considered more important than the Artalyta's prison issue.

Having seen the result of the research, it could be seen that *The Jakarta Globe* does not really take on one side in making news stories. It is proven through the unfavourable tone of the most sentences mentioning the government on this issue. Regardless the chief editor is a big supporter of the President; the government still get criticized from the media. This is actually a good sign that such a media could be neutral in making news stories.

### Conclusion

From the total of 1,002 lines of articles, there are 532 lines of unfavourable sentences and quotations, or 53% of the total amount of article is written unfavourably. The Indonesian government's image is projected as corrupt and dishonest. Mostly the negative report is about the Pondok Bambu penitentiary officials and other penitentiaries' officers across the country. The newspaper wrote a lot about the mechanism of the bribery inside the penitentiaries and how the rich inmates are treated like kings inside their furnished and luxurious cells, in contrasts to the average inmates.

However, the image of the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights is rather positive, as well as the image of the Minister, Patrialis Akbar. This can be seen through the sentences and quotations that mention how the ministry was trying to revamp the penitentiary system and started to make good on his promise by moving the privileged convicts to Tangerang Penitentiary, where those convicts would no longer enjoy luxuries and privileges in their cells. The Ministry of Justice and Human Rights also terminated the prison director, Sarju Wibowo, and planned to revamp the penitentiary system. The new system is expected to minimize the possibility of the same case to happen again in the future.

From the position of the articles written on the paper, it can be concluded that *The Jakarta Globe* did not consider this issue as the most important issue, except for the first report of the sudden inspection. The articles were mostly located in inside pages. There were 2 articles on the first page and only 1 article made the headline. The rest 8 articles were on inside pages.

The researcher also concluded that in this case, *The Jakarta Globe* did not take on the government's side, although the president and the chief editor of *The Jakarta Globe*, Wim Tangkilisan, is a supporter of our present President, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. In fact, the chief editor has a significant role in setting the media agenda and deciding which news can go public and which cannot, but apparently *The Jakarta Globe* does not make that personal preference rule its news. Still it wrote and published bad news and created bad image of the government.

Also in order to fully comprehend the techniques of quantitative content analysis, it is suggested that other research along the field of quantitative content analysis are conducted in the future. To conduct more research on textual communication articles of the government's performance issue in the future. As communication practitioners in the future, it is essential for students of communication to understand all forms of messages whether it is verbal or non-verbal. From this research using quantitative content analysis approach to analyze the articles and understanding the implicit meanings that are shown through the text and how it can create a certain image of a governmental institution. It is hoped that it can be used as input towards public relations practitioners, political parties, government, advisors, or future government in the future to understand the use of verbal and non-verbal signs that can be used to create a certain image and send positive messages to the audience.

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# Marketable Branding In Political Marketing

**Dewi Novianti, Retno Hendariningrum, Wahyu Choiriyati**  
Communication Departement FISIP UPN “Veteran” Yogyakarta  
Kampus II Jln. Babarsari no. 2 Yogyakarta 55132

## Abstract

The method used was the CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) from the perspective of communicative event. This research involved the analysis of the relationship between three dimensions: text, the practice of discourse (discourse practice, namely the process of production and consumption of text), and sociocultural practices (sociocultural practices, namely the level of society or culture). To dismantle the ideology behind the text, Van Dijk’s framing model was used. The results showed that candidates with high popularity did not necessarily marketable figure for the party. The result of this research confirms that the Brand that is sellable in a place may not be sellable elsewhere. It depends on who the customers (constituents) and what products to offer. Hence the logic of the market more effectively in the mechanism of political trading became a perspective in analysing celebrity politician phenomenon.

## Introduction

Marketing is the process by which a company chooses consumers/customers, analyze their needs, and then develop a product innovation, advertising, pricing, and distribution strategies. In politics, the application of marketing centers on the same process, but at the level of analysis centered on the needs of voters and citizens; product produces a combination of various aspects of the politician (political figures: the candidate), image of the politician, the program parties, politicians and advocates promoted and directed to the right audience. Although the price can not be applied directly in politics, but the price as a value proposition to offer the voters of politicians and citizens so that they provide support where the shape can be a voice, money, volunteers, or even a positive response to the pollster/opinion leaders about political figures or candidates (Newman, 1999, p.3).

This phenomenon can be converted to the democratic party elections (local elections) in Indonesia, which is rampant in recent years in

various regions in Indonesia. Elections as part of the “politico-economicizing” has been a shift pattern of dominance of an institutional political management (Government and Political Parties) to the “consumer oriented” the power of the masses (“people power”) through social participation. Society as political consumers will buy products that are considered politically advantageous. Choosing a candidate is similar to buying goods. Therefore, promotion, dissemination and “test quotes” candidates who will be chosen the same as the items to be used. Here the quality of the candidate to be the main factor, and the importance and role model persona. Persona who can read the voter wants (“mind reading”), beremphati by showing sympathy to potential voters and emotional support. Persona is also manifested in the mindset of fairness by treating the mass of supporters and opponents proportionately. If is possible to build an atmosphere of continuous dialogue, then the candidate will be able to seize the opportunity of “market potential voters” who on the “D” day will be effective voters. It is reasonable if the candidate uses a variety of ways to open access to political resources in the form of central information for pro-

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Email : dewinovianti\_upn@yahoo.co.id;  
retno\_hendari@yahoo.com.sg.wahyu\_choiri@yahoo.com

moting a candidate that is run by a successful team. The establishment of various “centers, clubs, front action,” which was built and sponsored by a candidate is the efforts to find ways and the right format so that through R & D (“Research and Development”) is expected to generate accurate data about themselves and the political mapping the opponent. In such a context is a factor supporting the party to be “essential but not enough” that is necessary but not sufficient warrant, because the candidate will determine the persona as a candidate but the party was not sold. Indeed, the elections indicated the political leadership recruitment process led to the sovereignty of the people directly (direct democracy) rather than through the extension of party politics in the dictionary known as “the sovereignty of the party” (partyocracy).

Promoting vision and mission that are marketable are demands that will be achieved in an effort to attract the hearts of voters as a customer. It requires focus sound source allocator potential political supporters with the candidate image building strategy. Marketed a variety of potential candidates by using the “brand” that is easily recognized (“marketable branding”) attached to the candidate himself. Excellence candidates that are easy to sell (“saleable candidate”) through means of promotion, utilizing a variety of means (“political market places”). Most candidates have a melakukukan market research to find pockets of traditional support / base of loyal and potential supporters of mass / mass base rational.

One of the interesting local lection is the Banten Governor election, in which the candidates are pairs of Zulkieflimansyah-Marissa Haque and West Java Governor Election pair Heryawan-Dede Yusuf. The figures Marisa Haque and Dede Yusuf are very popular because of the background as well-known celebrities. Both have marketable branding attached. Although both are marketable branding but the couple Zulkieflimansyah-Marissa Haque failed to win the Banten Governor election. Instead the couple Heryawan-Dede Yusuf won the election of Governor of West Java.

Political connections by building “political networking” through the approach of economic analysis as the basis of “political marketing” are very important. Boost the popularity of the candidate to the level above (“political Elites”)-the political superstructure and bottom (“political grassroots”)-the political infrastructure in the political system is needed. “Customer-driven politics” that puts constituents as the king would be easy to identify a marketing platform at the level of mass political candidates. Build the necessary political competitiveness as well as the means (“market place”) to lead the market to their aim (target group) with a variety of political design in accordance with the conditions and expectations or the expectations of voters.

Election as a transaction process of “political trading”, in the long term can be categorized as “political investment”. To avoid negative cohesive collaboration among voters with the candidate after the victory achieved by the political conditions that will be reciprocation (“rewarding politics”) and potentially corruption, then it takes an “accountable politics: - the political ethic who were institutionalized with the power of positive law enforcement. If good political moral is not built, then the successful elections only in the implementation of the elections (3 months), but not in producing successful leaders post-election (5 years).

The Failure Zulkieflimansyah-Marissa Haque and the success of West Java Governor Election Heryawan-Dede Yusuf can not be separated from the mass media’s role in reporting the campaign process of the election. The mass media became the eyes and ears for the community. Mass media gives people the means to take collective decisions and form opinions that could be used to better understand themselves. Media is the main source to develop the values in society. One form of mass media is the online media or what is commonly known as cyberspace (cyberspace). Cyberspace has been found by science fiction author William Gibson, and has become a term often used to refer to the metaphorical realm of electronic communication (Severin & Tankard, 2007, pp. 3-4).



Cyberspace or the Internet allows almost anyone anywhere in the world to communicate with each other quickly and easily. Internet changed communications with several fundamental ways. Traditional mass media communication model basically offers a “one-to-many”. While the Internet provides additional models: “many-to-one” (e-mail to a central address, number of users who interact with a website) and “many to many” (e-mail, mailing list, new groups). The Internet offers the potential for a more decentralized communication and more democratic than that offered by previous mass media (Severin & Tankard, 2007, pp.444-445).

In the era of reform, the Internet becomes so important in providing information quickly, various socio-economic changes and political developments that took place so quickly has prompted some people to get accurate information from the Internet.

The role of mass media is very influential in the news reporting and the formation of public opinion. As noted by Dennis McQuail (1991) “the media has become the dominant source not only for the individual to obtain a picture of social reality, but also for the community and the group collectively”. Meanwhile, George Gerbner (1972, p.43) looks at the increasingly dominant role of mass media and states that “the mass media were able to create audience-audience, making the definition of these issues make the general terms of a knowledge, so that it can attract the mass media attention and have the strength.

In addition to the media’s ability to bewitch readers, listeners and viewers as mentioned above; according to Gamson and Modigliani (in Sudiby, 2001, p.187) the media crew can also apply a standard of truth, objectivity matrix, as well as certain ethical boundaries in processing and presenting the news. The crew of the media can also limit or interpret the comments of news sources, and provide coverage which vary from one news source with another, and report news through discourse perspective, style, rhetoric, and common sense that they want. They are also prevalent outlines his ideas, using a style of his

own language, as well as distribute rhetoric to affirm sidedness or certain tendencies.

The news about the local election of Tangerang-Banten in the period of August to November 2006 and the local election in West Java from January until April 2008 with one example Internet site (metrotvnews.com, Breaking, and republika.co.id) in implementing the ideology that they follow through the preaching -preaching. Any news that is loaded by the mass media is a construction of reality that are constructed in accordance with media policy. How the media take a stance on the occurrence of a news media so that it can be seen the trend.

The ideology of the media in particular metrotvnews.com, and republika.co.id difficult to remove in the news are loaded. The concept of ideology according to constructionism approach may help explain how journalists make news coverage to favor one view, placing one view is more prevalent than the views of other groups and so on. It is seen as a reasonable and natural. Pratik, this practice reflects the ideology of the journalist or the media where he worked (in Gurevith Hall, 1982, p.263).

The media here is seen as an instrument of ideology, through which a group to spread the influence and domination of other groups. The media is not a neutral realm in which various interests and meaning of the various groups will get the same treatment and balanced. The media can actually be the subject of constructing reality based on the interpretation and self-definition for distribution to the public. The media play a role in defining reality. Groups and ideologies are usually more dominant role in this (in Gurevith Hall, 1982, p.109).

In this regard, there are two roles played by the media. First, the media is a source of hegemonic powers, which dominated audience awareness. Second, the media can also be a source of legitimacy, which the media through which they can exploit for his own power. Such a process involves a continuous meaning, some of which were done through the preaching, so that the audience unconsciously formed his consciousness without force. Here the news is not considered a form of bias or distortion but sim-

ply as a result of a particular ideology of the media (in Gurevith Hall, 1982, p.109).

## Reserach Method

### Research Paradigm

This research was conducted through critical paradigm. Critical paradigm is used to see how the power possessed by each agent may affect the construction of reality in the media.

In contrast to research that bases itself on the positivist paradigm, this study puts the determination of whether or not the quality of research on the historical situation, erosion of Ignorance and misapprehensions, and action stimulus. That is how the historical circumstances of the context in which it applies and the reduction / elimination of things that can interfere with an understanding of context, as well as the actions that drive these context formation. Critical paradigm puts the truth (truth) to the foundation in specific historical conditions, economic conditions, racial, and social infrastructure of a dominant force, inequality, and marginalization. Unlike the positivist paradigm, the paradigm of critical methodology is dialogic/dialectical in finding the reality behind the reality. The critical tends to view that virtual reality is shaped by a social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and others who have undergone crystallization in a long time (Guba and Yvonna, in Norman and Yvonne K, 1994, pp. 166-177).

### Object of Analysis

Object of analysis in this study is the text of the news in the online media. They are metrotvnews.com, transtv.co.id, tempo interactive, and republik.co.id. The use of text analysis because of the news as text data is a reflection of the actual situation or condition occurs.

News is true and accurate reports on time from something that happened, opinions, thoughts and anything that involves events or captivates readers (Lubis, 1985: 11).

In this study, the selection of four media as a case study because of the uniqueness of the historical emergence of social backgrounds. The object that is selected in this study were drawn from the print media on line and electronic me-

dia (TV) On Line. From the print media is Tempo Interactive and Republik.co.id, while the electronic media is the Metro online. Here's a brief description of the four media.

First, Metro TV is under the auspices of PT. Media Television Indonesia and obtain a broadcasting license for Metro TV on October 25, 1999. Metro is subsidized by the Media Group, the President Director of Surya Paloh. Her wealth of experience in the media industry and has the third largest newspaper Media Indonesia as Indonesia ie. On November 25, 2000 date on the water the first time. The focus of Metro TV is a news event, in addition to other information (<http://www.metrotvnews.com>).

Second, tempointeraktif.com which is situated on Kebayoran Block A11 - A15. Kebayoran Baru- Mayestik, Jakarta 12440 Tel (021) 725 5625 Fax (021) 720 6995 Address editorial Tempo Interactive Kebayoran Center Block A11 - A15 Road. E-mail: [interaktif@tempo.co.id](mailto:interaktif@tempo.co.id). Tempo interaktif is an online medium of the magazine Tempo and Tempo Newspaper.

The third media is *Republika* daily. *Republika* is dedicated to Muslim community in Indonesia. Publishing is a culmination of long efforts among the people, especially young professional journalists who have been taking various steps. The presence of the Association of Moslem Intellectuals - Indonesia that can penetrate the tight restrictions on the government to permit the issuance of that time allow these efforts bear fruit. Reuters published premiered on January 4, 1993.

The issuance of *Republika* was a blessing for the people. Prior to that time, the aspirations of the people had no place in national discourse. The presence of this medium not only provided a channel for aspiration, but also fostered pluralism in the information society. Because it gave enthusiastic support among the people, for example by buying shares of one share per person. PT Abdi Negara as a publisher of Reuters Limited became the first media company that became a public company.

Starting in 2004, *Republika* was managed by PT Mandiri (RMM). Under PT RMM,

Reuters continues to innovate the presentation to customer satisfaction.

All devoted to creativity as far as possible to make the *Republika* always close and serve the public desires. Indeed, the effort was certainly not easy. However, we enjoyed it so far (<http://www.republika.co.id/iklan/index.html>).

The news is the result of choices made purposively based on a growing issue.

The time period chosen in this study was from August to December 2006 for the election of Banten.

*Framework for Analysis*

This study is a study with three levels of analysis. Different methods were used to analyze each level. Three dimensions in the analysis phase are:

Levels of methods
Text
Discourse practice news room
History of sociocultural practice

Three stages of analysis used are:

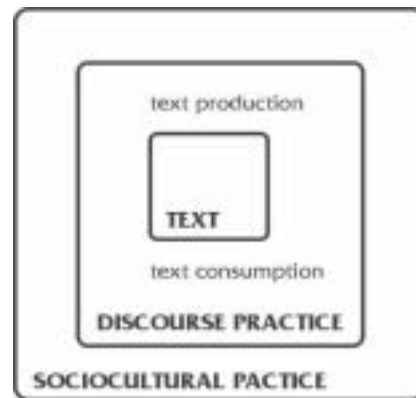
1. Descriptions, outlines the content and descriptive analysis of the text.
2. Interpretation, interpreting the text in association with the practice of discourse.
3. Explanatory, aiming to find an explanation for the results of our interpretation on the second stage.

*Data Analysis Techniques*

Discourse analysis can be performed through two perspectives: the perspective of communicative events and the order of discourse (Fairclough, 1995, p.56). The order of discourse is an introduction to the analysis of communicative events. Order of discourse is a discursive practice of the language user community.

CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) from the perspective of communicative events is the analysis of the relationship between three dimensions: text, the practice of discourse (namely the process of production and consumption of text),

and sociocultural practices (which will be seen that the level is society level or culture). These three dimensions can be described on the following models:



Scheme 1: Framework for Critical Discourse Analysis

Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, Edward Arnold, 1995, p. 59

Fairclough scheme above can be explained as follows:

*Analysis of Text*

According to Fairclough, the text not only shows how an object is depicted, but also how the relationships between objects are defined. In the text there are three basic elements: representation, relationships, and identity. The representation basically wants to see how a person, group, action or activity is shown in the text, including the possibility of containing a particular ideology. The relationship relates to how participants in a media-related and displayed in the text. The identity of views, especially of how the identity of the reporter is displayed and the text is constructed in the news (Eriyanto, 2000, pp.289-305).

Text illustrates how media representations relating to the reality of material production and consumption of texts. Golding and Murdock (in Currant & Guravitch, 1991), their analysis rests on a model system of communication (mass

media) discourse as a space fighter, not a tool for the transmission of the dominant ideology. Referring to Fairclough, the conception of analytic functions as discussed in the text and structure of interpersonal discourse. This concept is applied to give a different way of seeing and speaking, struggling to visibititas and legitimacy. However, the discourse for public consumption is rare in its raw state. In contrast, the discourse re-organized and re-contextualized to suit the particular expressive benyuk being used. Each of these forms (ranging from advertising, news, investigative reporting, and discussion programs in the studio, or soap operas) have a big impact on what is unspoken and invisible, by whom, and from which perspective. In short, cultural forms are mechanism to regulate public wacan (Golding & Murdock in Currant & Guravitch, 1991).

To analyze the researchers used a method of framing the text put forward by Teun Van Dijk. In general, Van Dijk says that what is contained in the media is a result of social cognitive processes contained within the community. Media reinforce the in society (Eriyanto, 2001, pp. 28-230).

Macro structure                      Rhetorical How  
and with what way the emphasis is done  
Graphics, metaphors, expression

Skema 2: Struktur Perangkat Framing  
Van Dijk (Eriyanto: 2001)

**Intertekstuality**

Intertekstuality is a term where the text and expressions formed by the text that came before, each other and respond to one part of the text is anticipating another.

Intertekstualitas generally divided into two major parts, the manifest intertekstuality, and interdiscursivity. Manifest is a form of intertextual intertectuality where other text or other sounds that appears explicitly in the text. Other texts are explicitly present in the text, for example in the form of quotations. In the interdiscursivity, other texts are the underlying configuration of different elements of the order of discourse. Fairclough mention some elements of interdiscursivity, ie

Framing devices can be seen in the figure below:

Discourse structure	7
macro-structure Global meaning which can be observed from the topic or theme raised by a Thematic topic	Tem Tem dalam
Superstructure Frameworks such as the introduction, contents, cover, conclusions Schematic	Sche How disk new:
Macro structure	Sem Mea

genre, type of activity, style and discourse (Fairclough, 1995:77).

#### *Practice of Discourse Analysis*

At the level of Discourse Practice, it is focusing on how the production and consumption of texts. Text is formed through a practice of discourse that will determine how the text was produced. In this case Fairluogh see there are two sides of the practice of media discourse, ie, text production and text consumption (in the audience). Both can be associated with a complex network involving various aspects of discursive practice.

Characteristics of the practice of media discourse through the phenomenon of mass communication that has different characteristics from other forms of communication. These characteristics associated with:

- (a) the nature of the technology that brought
- (b) the political economic aspects of mass media such as the nature of media markets' operations, including production practices of media texts in the press institutions and practices of consumption and reception of media texts in the family and home (Fairclough, 1995).

#### *Practice Analysis of Sociocultural*

Analysis of socio-cultural practices based on the assumption that the social context that is outside the media affects how the discourse that emerged in the media. This is where ideology comes into play. Sociocultural practice is not directly related to the production of text, but it determines how the text is produced and understood. According to Fairlough, socio-cultural practices affecting the text to be mediated by discourse practice (Fairlough, 1995, p.59).

### **Research Findings and Discussion**

From a series of good news presented by Metro online, tempointeraktif, and Republika.co.id about elections Banten and West Java election seemed so brief and to the point. But Deti-clear detail presented. By because it is online, all three media are deliberately made so considering the different segments of readers with the conventional mass media. For example, TV

viewers in terms of quantity are far greater than in the online media, but in terms of different quality. The third segment of the online media is likely to equal those who have the intellect, active, high mobility, middle class, and upper middle. so not so have much time to read in detail. However, to anticipate those who want to know in detail the three media also provides conventional printed form or electronically. Referring to the Model Fairclough Media Discourse, that there are 3 (three) levels of analysis, namely: (1) Level Analysis of Text, (2) Level Practice Analysis of Discourse, (3) Level Analysis of sociocultural practice.

#### *Level of Text Analysis*

The media framing in reporting the three elections of West Java, Banten and local elections is principally similar. Frames are made by the three online media for local elections in Banten tend to hurt Marissa as a figure that in fact marketable brand. Marissa used to be a famous artist. The reportage tended to corner Marissa. Some of the headlines include: *Marissa Reported to Police HQ, undaunted Atut Face Marissa Haque*. Tempointeractive also wrote news items with the headline such as *PDI-P cadres who backs Marissa will be fired, Marissa Reported to Police Headquarters, Queen Atut undaunted face Marissa, Marissa Haque Think of Taufik Kiemas Bark, Marissa involve civil servants reprimanded* and so on.

Choice of diction and expressions used by each online media is also sometimes leaning cornering Marissa like the word "bark. The word "bark" is a form of sarcasm or in other words, rather like dogs. Marissa made sarcasm really does not care about warnings Taufik Kiemas. Marissa ran for Vice Governor of Banten carried by the MCC was not sanctioned by PDIP in which Marissa incidentally is still a cadre. Marissa has not been sanctioned termination of membership of the party but had to register as a candidate for the Vice Governor of Banten. This is a problem that can be read by the voting public.

On the other hand Ratu Atut as rivals in the framing of the three online media seemed

benefited; where the three media positively reported the election. This is evident from the title displayed in tempinteraktif website with the title of *Queen Atut undaunted face marissa Haque*.

Within the PKS itself there is a conflict in relation to nomination of Zulkieflimansyah coupled with Marissa. Although Marissa represents the figure of Muslim women but pairing her with Zulkieflimansyah contradict to syar'i (Islamic law).

The reportage of West Java election is quite different from election in Banten. The framing made by the three media tends to be similar. All three online news media are equally framing positively. Seen on the news about the figure of Heryawan described as clean, ranging from elementary school to university. He is also portrayed as a religious with Islamic educational background. A clean background is a special positioning for Heryawan; added with the fact when he began to enter the world of politics as one of the founders of the Justice Party which later was renamed the Party of Prosperity Justice. The party that carries Heryawan also in line with the views and background make him the Religious Heryawan exchanges increased steadily climbed the West Java Governor Election nomination.

Meanwhile, the profile of Dede Yusuf is also reported with the same media frame. Although their backgrounds are different, but both represent equally clear figures. Dede Yusuf is known as an artist with the strong character. Dede is known as a clean artist from the scandal. His household depicted harmonious life. Dede entered the political arena since 1992, thus accounting for long enough and have experience in politics.

In addition to the figure of the two figures are depicted clean, they also benefited from the political machinery that carried them, namely PKS and PAN. Both Parties are arguably have the same historical background, that is both are Islamic Parties. Both political machineries win in several places in West Java in the election of 2004.

Of the two stories above it can be concluded that the figures that have high popularity

but not necessarily be said to be a marketable figure. Marissa and Dede Yusuf have equally background artists. Branding them are pretty well known artist so hopefully marketable. But in the political world was different from the entertainment stage. Brand is sold in a place is not necessarily sold elsewhere. It depends on who the customers are (borrowing an economic term for political constituents) and what products to offer. If consumers do need that product it will sell well but on the contrary, if consumers feel no need or deemed not bring benefits will not be purchased.

### *Sociocultural Analysis Practices*

As noted at the beginning of this study that the election process as a transaction "political trading" in the long term can be categorized as "political investment". To avoid negative cohesive collaboration among voters with the candidate after victory is achieved will be loaded with political reciprocation ("rewarding politics") and potentially corruption, then it takes an "accountable politics: - the political ethika who were institutionalized with the power of positive law hesitated ("law enforcement"). If it does not wake up the political moral good and true, then the successful elections only in the implementation of the elections (3 months) but did not produce successful leaders build a post-election (5 years).

Failure of Election Bantam pair Zulkieflimansyah-Marissa Haque and the success of West Java Governor Election Heryawan-Dede Yusuf pair is inseparable from the role of mass media in reporting the campaign process "mini-election" party democracy. The mass media became the eyes of ears for the community.

Somewhat different from the conventional mass media, Cyberspace or the Internet allows almost anyone anywhere in the world to communicate with each other quickly and easily. Internet changed komunikasi with some fundamental ways. Traditional mass media communication model basically offers a "one-to-many". While the Internet provides additional models: "many-to-one" (e-mail to a central address, number of users who interact with a website) and "many to many" (e-mail, Millis, new groups).

The Internet offers the potential for a more decentralized communication and more democratic than that offered by previous mass media (Severin & Tankard, 2007, pp. 444-445).

In the reform era, the Internet became so important in providing information quickly, various socio-economic changes and political developments that took place so quickly has prompted some people to get accurate information from the Internet media.

The role of mass media is very influential in the news and the formation of public opinion. As noted by Dennis McQuail (1991) "the media has become the dominant source not only for the individual to obtain a picture of the image of social reality, but also for the community and the group collectively. Meanwhile, George Gerbner (1972: 43) look increasingly dominant role of mass media stating "the mass media were able to create audience-audience, making the definition of these issues make the general terms of a knowledge, so that it can attract the mass media attention and have the strength.

In addition to the mass media function as a transmitter of information, mass media can also be regarded as 'definers of social reality.' Media is a mirror that reflects a reality to the public. Like the mirror, then what will be displayed oeh media can not be the whole picture. Reality presented by the media is a derivative of the first reality. The media also acts as an agent of mediation. Description given by the media about a reality will be accepted by the public and the public will act as further described by the media when what is given by the media in accordance with the values held by the public. In real life, the media is not an institution separate from everyday life, the contribution of the media was apparent in real life squad in his role memberntuk our perception of an event (Bennett, Tony, in Gurevitch, 1982, pp.287-288).

When the reform rolling, the Internet is becoming so important in providing information quickly, various socio-economic changes and political developments that took place so quickly has prompted some people to get accurate information from the Internet media.

In conjunction with the preaching of the elections through the Internet on Election Election Banten and West Java, the artist as a candidate to nominate candidate for vice governor in the two regions. Interesting phenomenon is the two places share the same artist and carried from the same party but different election results. Marissa had to accept defeat in the elections of Banten. While Dede Yusuf smooth win in the elections in West Java.

The important thing is not yet well-thought by the PKS when choosing Zulkieflimansyah Marissa as a couple is about segmentation and positioning. PKS should study the character and behavior of the segment. Bantam Society can not accept the new face of the unknown true capabilities in the lead. Marissa is still doubtful figure constituents. Plus support for a strong enough Atut Queen of the coalition party Golkar, PDI-P and several other parties. Atut as rivals already known as a native citizen of Banten, came from prominent families and their status at the time as Acting Governor of Banten. Marissa is not as strong positioning Atut during elections. Two powesr that are not owned Atut Marissa. Some important points to be Marissa's defeat in local elections is the first Bantam, Marissa was not fully supported from the PKS itself so that the vote be divided. Second, there is still a bond with Marissa PDIP when the groom by Marissa PKS so that the image is less good. Therefore, the sound automatically controlled by Atut PDIP.

In addition to the two things which incriminate Marissa above, the mass media also does not seem to take his side. Online media are preaching Bantam election campaign is likely to convey information are not comparable. Marissa more disadvantaged. The media seemed to lead readers on a single option.

For the local elections in West Java is the opposite. There are some things that favorable position Ahmad Heryawan pair carried by the Prosperous Justice Party and Dede Yusuf of the National Mandate Party. First, the two parties have a common history of the founding of the Islamic Party together despite the PAN eventually reversed course after a change of leadership. The similarity of this background makes

solidity of both camps is getting stronger. Second, both branding supports each other well, though from different backgrounds but they have in common that is clear of scandals. Both also have long acting in the field of politics. Thus not only rely on a marketable figure Dede Yusuf Heryawanpun branding but has many advantages. The third aspect is the trend of favorable media coverage toward Hade pair positions. Based on the analysis of framing that has been presented before, it was found that all three online media Metro, Breaking, Republika.co.id framing were similar. All three are framed negatively when the partner Zulkieflimansyah preach-Marissa Haque. As for the couple Heryawan-Dede (Hade) was otherwise. All three are framed positively.

The involvement of the media owners are also contribute to the news being made. Metro for example, can not escape from the background solar Paloh the media owners. Surya Paloh figure is included in the Golkar Party. So the political nuances that appears in the news also of course a profitable Golkar. The case Marissa vs Atut framing is negative. While Atut reported quite positive. Marissa carried by the MCC while Atut led by Golkar and PDI-P as well as some other coalition parties. To Republika ideologically is a breath of Islamic media. Leadership of women in Islam is not allowed. So Marissa's nomination as Deputy Governor and then paired with the opposite sex also caused controversy.

### Conclusion

Media framing of the research is made of course through a series of gatekeeping processes in media institutions. News does not just show up without seeing the political aspects of media economics behind the news. Production in the news media might not be separated from economic influence more or less media can influence the discourse that emerged in the news. First, of course the advertisers that determine the survival of the media, the news should be made in such a way as to attract people to advertise in the media under its management. Second, kahalayak reader in modern industry is shown by data such as circulation and ratings. Therefore pretend to attract audiences as much as

possible, reporters who produce the news, should create "good news" that is read and liked by many people. Frames are made by the three media tend to be positive. Republika still remain within the context of the ideology of the media, while Metro and Breaking against the backdrop of media economics. One reason for the involvement of the media owners are also a bit much to contribute to the news being made.

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# Intercultural Communication Accommodation in Interethnic Family

Christina Rochayanti

Communication Departement FISIP UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta  
Kampus II Jln. Babarsari no. 2 Yogyakarta 55132

## Abstract

Interethnic family is a family consisting of two different ethnics due to the legal unity of couple from different ethnic groups (Sundanese and non-Sundanese). Ethnic differences substitute different cultural background. The focus of this research is the condition in which culture can be accommodated by interethnic family. The aim of this research is to gain the picture of the attitudes of interethnic family in facing their different cultures. Symbolic Interaction Theory and Accommodation Theory are utilized to analyze the accomodated condition of intercultural family. Qualitative method is used in this research; data collecting is conducted through depth interview, involving 13 interethnic families. The families chosen are those which have child and reached 10 years of marriage. The result of the research shows that accommodated condition in interethnic family is the attitude of educating children and of getting acquainted with extended family. Open-mindednes in interethnic family includes the matters of children education, language used, children's name, activities outside of school, school selection. Yet, for the children's mate, interethnic families want their children to marry spouse from the same religion, no matter what their ethnics are. Social intercourse, especially with extended family, is considered as family recreation, studying cuisine, and introducing cultural elements to children. The involvement of wife in customary events is to support the husband's position and to keep the relation to the husband's extended family.

## Introduction

Intercultural marriage is defined as the legal unity of couple from different culture. Not only intercultural couple enters a sequence of new life, but they also have to adjust with at least different cultural elements. Cultural difference requires spouses to understand each other and take each cultural values considered good for their children. Educating children with good values are the conditions that can be accommodated by the couple. Accommodation condition is the existence of open attitude from intercultural couple to accept differences, especially in terms of educating children and consorting with extended family. It means that the spouses do not insist to use their origin cultural elements as the reference to educate and take care of their children. The couple attempts to apply considered-good cultural elements in preparing the future of their children. Another condition is the social intercourse

with the extended family, either the wife's or the husband's family. It means that they are willing to participate in family agenda, such as *arisan* (regular social gathering whose members contribute to and take turns at winning an aggregate sum of money), family visit in Idul Fitri times, and customary events.

Accommodation is also commonly called adjustment and its core is the process of cooperation and tolerance (Garna, 1996, p.153). Accommodation occurs because of interpersonal or inter-group difference. Accommodation attitude respects difference, and raises cooperation. In the context of intercultural marriage, different cultural backgrounds meet; it needs accommodation to understand, cooperate, and conduct the process of convergence to make an agreement between spouses in order to reach a better purpose.

The meeting of two different people or group requires accommodation or the process of tolerance. It is interesting to scrutinize how intercultural couple cooperates or accommodates difference. The problem is how to understand different cultural background while cultural difference is reality to face. The success of marriage, according to Gudykunst and Kim (1992, p.210), depends on the ability of couple to adapt/assimilate in running their marriage life. In intercultural marriage, commitment is necessary for those who are willing to live together with others from different cultural background.

The theory used in this writing is Symbolic Interaction Theory. The special characteristic of symbolic interaction theory is that humans translate and define their act (Ritzer, 1986: 61). Inter-individual interaction is mediated by the use of symbols, interpretations, or attempts to comprehend the intention of each act. In a simple way, Ritzer (1992: 62) described the theory as follows: individual or units of act consisting of certain people adjust or assimilate their act through the process of interpretation. For this theory, individual, interaction, and interpretation are three key terms in understanding social life. Applying this symbolic interaction concept means analyzing how intercultural couple in their household adapt and interpret the differences. Each individual in a marriage comes from different cultural group that it needs comprehension and translation of each spouse's act.

Act, in symbolic interaction view, covers all processes in human activity. Social life is formed through social interaction and inter-individual and inter-group communication, using symbols that can be understood through learning process. Intercultural communication is communication between people from different cultures. Accommodation, by Howard Giles and colleagues, is defined as "how and why we adjust our communication behavior toward others' act" (Littlejohn, 2008: 222). Furthermore, Giles and colleagues argued that communication actor imitates other's act. They called this act *convergence* and *divergence*. Communication actor needs to adjust when they are talking, whether it relates to manner of speech, dialect, or commu-

nication style in certain situation, in order to be accepted by others. In the process of communication, the adjustment is significant because it constitutes social identity—attachment, disgrace, and excommunication. Intercultural couple attempts to convergen in educating, taking care of, and parenting their children. It is done because the parents are aware that their family was built from two different cultures.

The problem formulated and that will be answered is in what condition the difference of cultural background can be accommodated by intercultural couple (Sundanese and non-Sundanese) in Bandung. The aim is to gain the picture of the attitude of intercultural couple in educating their children and the picture of social intercourse with extended family, either those from the wife's or the husband's.

### Research Method

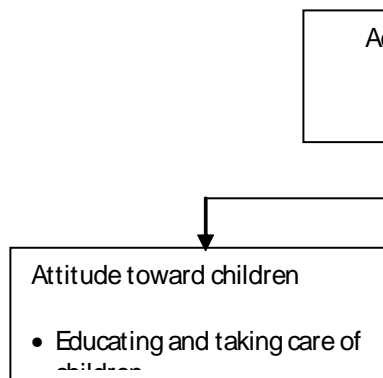
This research uses qualitative method. This method, as defined by Creswell (1998: 15) is as follows:

*Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting.*

The primary tool the writer used is collecting field data from informants who had experienced social problems related to the research topic. This research used qualitative method with symbolic interaction approach, whose aim is to analyze "how actors 'define' situations in which they find themselves." Symbolic interaction approach assumes that human experience is mediated by interpretation (Moleong, 2008: 19). The characteristic of the couple analyzed is that one of the spouses comes from Sundanese and the other one is from other different ethnic. This couple has got married for at least 10 years. The reason to choose this is the previous research, which has proved that 10-year marriage con-

tains many experiences of adjustment to tell. However, the conflict occurred during the decade of marriage is also analyzed, as the introspection of the couple to solve problems. In addition, the couples included in this research are those who have children. The research aims to analyze the attitude of intercultural couple in educating and parenting their children. Besides, it also tries to look deep at the experience of maintaining intercultural couple with the extended family, either those from the wife's or the husband's. There are 13 intercultural couples that were interviewed.

## THE RESULT OF RESEARCH AND THE DISCUSSION



Picture 1 Accommodation Condition in intercultural marriage

### Educating and taking care of children

In educating the children from intercultural couple, the parents seem to be very open, trying not to force each desire to the children. Based on the research, the husbands deliver the task of educating children to the wives. The husbands consider their wives are wiser and firmer in educating and taking care of their children, just as this confession from husband of Sundanese-Bataknesse couple: "I hand the education of children over my wife because I think my wife is wiser and firmer in educating the children." This datum shows that one can trust wives to educate and take care of their children born from intercultural couple. The role of wife in educating children in Sundanese—non-Sundanese intercultural marriage is in parallel with the confession of many

American families, as told by Johnson (1986:477): "In American nuclear families, where child care is the responsibility of the wife alone, children tend to interact far more with mothers than with fathers".

Educating and taking care of children in intercultural marriage is materialized through giving name, choosing school, participating in choosing activities, and determining spouse. The attitude of intercultural couple has no difference from one-cultural one. While in educating the children, the wife is trusted, in giving the children name, the husband is likely to be the determiner. However, in the interviewed couples, there is one wife who gave the name to her child without the interven-

tion of the husband. Here is her statement—a wife from Sundanese-Bataknesse couple.

I have given birth twice; and no presence of my husband in both moments because he was out of town. But I always communicated with him through telephone. Right after giving birth, the hospital asked for the name of the new baby to process birth certificate. I named my child with what came to my mind in the moment the hospital asked for it. I did not include the clan's name of my children's husband. My parents in law in Medan sent names for my children but usually it came late. The birth certificate had been issued. My husband did not put into problems the

absence of clan's name in his children's last name.

What the wife did (not giving the clan's name in the children's last name), as presented in the above quotation, is a special case. In a special moment, an emergency one, the wife took a quick decision. Batakese custom requires man to inherit his clan's name to his children. This requirement was not fulfilled by the wife. The husband had no problem with the wife's decision. Here is the explanation.

I have no problem with the absence of my clan in my children's birth certificates. However, when my children grew up, I told them their clan, and I told them which clans they cannot marry. I did that because I wondered that they would go to my village and fall in love with pretty girl whose clan is the same with my children's or whose clan is forbidden to marry. That would create a problem. In Batakese culture, there is a regulation about marriage. There are clans that cannot be married by certain clans.

The husband shows his prudence by telling the clan of his children, though it was not attached to the children's last name. As a Batakese, he is responsible for the future of his children. It is done, as the statement clearly says, to anticipate the marriage regulation in Batakese culture. What was done by the husband is the form of responsibility and obedience as the member of Batakese culture.

One other problem appears in intercultural couple is communication, or, especially, language. Intercultural couple faces the fact of different local languages; and they tend to use Bahasa Indonesia as the colloquial language. Bahasa Indonesia is a significant symbol, Mead (Ritzer. 2010:383) said.

A series of vocal gesture which tend to be significant symbols is *language*: symbols which represent meaning in the first individual's experience and which call a meaning within the second individual. When a gesture reaches that situation, it

is called what we name "language". Now it becomes significant symbols and remarks that meaning.

Mead's theory has another function, which is, enabling mental process. Next, Mead (Rizer, 2010: 384) stated that:

Significant symbols have more facilities for readjustment than nonsignificant gesture, because it encourages individual to have the same attitude to it...and enables him to adjust his behavior according to the attitude.

Significant symbols give greater advantages to adjustment and readjustment than that of nonsignificant gesture, because significant symbol move the same thing inside the individual...and enable individual to adjust his behavior and other's in the plane of attitude. In short, conscious or significant conversation gesture is more sufficient and effective to adjust in social act...than unconscious or nonsignificant conversation.

However, there are three couples (Sundanese-Batakese; Sundanese-Minangkabau; Sundanese-Timor) who use Sundanese as colloquial language, both with the spouse or with children. The usage of this language also includes interchild call. The wife of Sundanese-Batakese couple stated her rationalization.

I indeed form the habit of using Sundanese language, because of the environment. It is because my house is close to my extended family's house. In addition, my Batakese husband has been fluent in speaking Sundanese language.

The response of the husband who is fluent in speaking Sundanese is here:

Since I arrived in Bandung I tried to learn Sundanese though the lowest stratum one. However, now I have been fluent in Sundanese, not only the lowest stratum, but also the highest one. Therefore, I speak in Sundanese with my children. The call to my son is also in Sundanese, like

“Aa”, not “abang”, a Batakese popular call. It is because we live near their grandpa-granma.”

Sundanese, as a cultural symbol, which is used by the people around the place this couple live, force them to make their children accustomed to speaking Sundanese. For comers or immigrants, Sundanese is a tool to self-adjust and comprehend the communication message from indigenous peoples. It means that someone uses Sundanese in order to be accepted by the environment. This is in parallel with Giles' Accommodation Theory which states that someone tries to converge.

Another open-minded attitude of intercultural couple to their children is in choosing the school for their children. What is important to them is that the children feel comfortable and can follow the lesson. Likewise, intercultural couple does not force the children to look for friends and activities. However, for the children's spouse, the couple has their hope. Most husbands free their children to choose their spouses, no matter ethnic the spouses come from; but they tend to force their children to marry the ones from the same religion. This is one example telling this fact, a statement from a husband from Sundanese-Manado couple.

I do not make a border for my children to date with anybody from any ethnic. In fact, my daughter is now making a date with a Minangkabau boy. For me, the boy is a Moslem. It is because I cannot tolerate non-Moslem spouse for my children.

The same tone is stated by a husband from Sundanese-Balinese couple.

I free my children to date with anybody from any ethnic; even my daughter is now making a date with a Lombok boy. I want my daughter to get a Moslem husband. If a Balinese man wants to marry my daughter, I will give permission if he becomes a Moslem. I'm not willing to have non-Moslem son-in-law.

The explicit meaning of the above statements is that husband do not mind to have their children marry with anybody from any ethnic but this anybody should be Moslem. For the children's spouse, intercultural couple is not open-minded. In other side, the wives want their children marry a Sundanese, just as told by this wife from Sundanese-Sampit couple:

As a mother coming from Sundanese, I eagerly want my children marry Sundanese. It is enough that I am the only one who married with someone from different ethnic. I think marrying someone from different ethnic causes many problems.

The same thing is expressed by a wife from Sundanese-Minangkabau couple.

I want to have a son/daughter in-law from Sundanese, not from other ethnics. But if my hope does not come true, I want my children marry Moslems.

The above wives' statements explicitly state that wives see intercultural marriage as creating many problems that they want to have son/daughter in-law from the same culture.

Intercultural couple, in educating and taking care of their children, tries to be open-minded. This open-mindedness encompasses school selection, colloquial language, and activities outside school. However, for the children's spouses, they are little closed, especially in the matter of religion. Intercultural couple wants their children to marry someone from the same religion; in this case, Islam. Meanwhile, the wives want the children to marry someone from the same culture because they think intercultural marriage as creating many problems.

In the matter of religion, those intercultural couples are doing convergence, i.e., converging in one religion, Islam. However, in the matter of ethnic, they do divergence; especially the wives who are eager to have their children marry Sundanese.

*Keluarga luas*, in Bahasa Indonesia, is a translation from *extended family*. Khairuddin (2002: 19) defined *extended family* as “a fam-

ily unit which consists of more than one generation and environment because it includes not only father, mother, and children.”

Extended family in East culture, including Indonesia, is a family relation where individual comes from. Extended family has an important role in Indonesian culture because their involvement in the children’s family is still needed. It is because Indonesia can be categorized as a collective culture which is oriented to old group (the family which gives birth), just as stated by Triandis in 1988 (Dayakisni and Yuniardi, 2004: 207) that:

...people in collective culture have bigger commitment to their originated group. They also identify themselves as uniting with their group, that the group becomes the united part of self-concept and self-identity.

Accommodative act of intercultural couple toward extended family is a social act in cultural dimension. The relation with that broader group is called collective-individualism culture. Triandis, in 1988 (Dayakisni and Yuniardi, 2004: 207-208) defined the difference of cultural dimension:

Generally, because of having few *outgroups*, people in collective culture have a bigger commitment to group they feel included to. . . they also identify themselves with their group, so that the group becomes a united part of their self-concept and self-identity. . . on the other hand, the members of individualistic culture does not need to relate their self-concept and self-identity to the group they are included to. They have weak commitment with their *ingroups* and it is easy for them to move from one *ingroup* to another.

It shows that the attitude toward extended family is a form of stronger commitment to a group. The form of the commitment is by accommodating family visit to the spouse’s extended family.

The moment of Idul Fitri is utilized by intercultural couple to go to their homeland and visit the extended family of the spouse outside Bandung. These activities can strengthen broth-

erhood with intercultural couple’s extended family. The Sundanese-Javanese, Sundanese-Palembang, and Sundanese-Minangkabau couples conduct these activities. This is the statement from the husband of Sundanese-Minangkabau couple:

Every *lebaran* (day of celebration at the end of fasting month) we go to my homeland, Pasaman. Besides visiting family, we consider it recreation. Our children love to take a bath in the village because the water is clear. We’d not find that clear water in Bandung. Usually, I also visit my relatives to give some money—my brothers and sisters do the same thing when going home. I also introduce my wife to the parents of children living with us in Bandung.

The visit is not only done for the sake of *lebaran*, but also to be a recreation and to introduce cultural elements to the wife and children. The following is the wife’s statement.

Every Idul Fitri we always go my husband’s homeland, Pasaman, West Sumatra. It is done because my parents have passed away and all my brothers and sisters live in Bandung so that I can meet them everytime. The visit is also a recreation for my husband who works in Bandung. Besides, I also get acquainted with the parents of children living with us in Bandung.

The wife can regularly visit the husband’s extended family because she has no parents anymore and all of his relatives live in Bandung, so that she can visit them everytime. This kind of visit is also conducted by Sundanese-Palembang couple, just as this following statement says.

Every Idul Fitri, all of us go to my husband’s homeland in Palembang. My parents live in Bandung that I can visit them everytime. When my husband and I lived in Jakarta, we visit our parents in rotation. After we live in Bandung, we always go to Palembang in *lebaran* day. I use this moment to learn to cook Palembang foods. They are delicious, and I always practice



cooking those foods in Bandung. I see my children love to go to Palembang. They get different milieu and learn their father's culture.

The visit is utilized by the wife to learn foods recipes and give different milieu to her children. It can be stated that *lebaran* visit is considered by the wife as learning and trying to comprehend the husband's culture.

Regular *lebaran* visit is also done by Sundanese-Javanese couple. They go to Blitar. Here is the husband's statement.

All of my family members certainly go to Blitar, the hometown of my wife. Since my mother passed away, we always go to Blitar in *lebaran*. Formerly, when my mother was still alive, we visited our parents in rotation; for example, this year celebrating *lebaran* in Bandung, and next year in Jawa Timur. Besides celebrating *lebaran*, I consider the visit as recreation for my children and introduction to my wife's extended family. There, I usually learn Javanese and try to habituate my tongue with Jawa Timur foods which always taste hot.

The visit done by this couple is different from the earlier couples. It is because in the later couple, the husband visits the wife's family. It is done because the husband's parents have passed away. When his parents were still alive, they, regularly and in rotation, visit their extended families every year.

*Silaturahmi* is also done by interethnic couples by conducting regular meeting either in Bandung or outside Bandung. It is usually done by Sundanese-Manado and Sundanese-Timor couples, just as stated by the wife of Sundanese-Manado couple.

My husband's extended family lives in Tasikmalaya. To tighten our relation, we hold monthly *arisan* and the place to hold is in turn. I join the events to get acquainted with my husband's extended family and learn Sundanese and Sundanese foods. Their relation is so close that they want to live near the fam-

ily. Out of five brothers, two people live outside Tasikmalaya (my husband in Bandung and my husband's old brother in Bogor). The rest live in Tasikmalaya. My husband's siblings and cousins participate in the *arisan*. I have no problem with the huge amount of the *arisan* participant because I think they are my family too. I, as a comer, have to accommodate my husband's family activity.

To participate in family *arisan* is, for the wife, to tighten relation of the husband's extended family and to learn anything about Sundanese culture. The wife also participates in the regular event because she thinks all of the participants are also her relatives.

The social intercourse with the extended family can also occur in customary events, especially for the couple in which the husband has a special status in his culture. There are three couples that experience this type of social intercourse. They are Sundanese-Bataknese, Sundanese-Minangkabau, and Sundanese-Nias. Here is the statement from the wife in Sundanese-Bataknese couple.

After giving birth, my husband asked me to go to his homeland. Having been there, my parents-in-law suggested that I had to be *customed*, in order to enter Bataknese culture so that I could get a clan name. I follow the custom, the simple ceremony made for me; I did it as my respect to my husband's family and my husband's desire to make me, the one who came from outside Bataknese, accepted as the member of Bataknese culture. I did not mind to do that because I wanted to tighten the relation of my family to my husbands' extended family.

In addition to custom ceremony for the wife, there is another customary event the wife should attend, that is, when the husband's parents die in Karo land. The couple has to attend the ceremony. Here is the husband's statement about that.

In Batakese culture, a man who has got married has to attend death ceremony; yet, he is permitted to not attend marriage ceremony. When my father passed away, I have to come with my wife, while my wife had to work. Yet, I had to obey the rule. If I did not attend the ceremony, I would have been infamous in my village. For this consideration, my wife finally attended the ceremony and was involved in all custom activities.

Those two custom events are the tool to include someone outside the culture. Having been the member of the culture, someone has to obey the custom rules, such as attending the ceremony of father-in-law's death. It is not enough to understand the cultural difference; one has to conduct the demand of the custom. The following is the wife's response after followed the custom event.

I obeyed anything my husband's family wanted me to do, and fortunately my principal permitted me to go. In there, I danced in Batakese death ceremony completed with custom dress and death music. I just obeyed what the custom wanted me to do.

There is another couple in which the wife conducts custom activities due to the husband's position in the custom. In this case, the husband is custom head. The wife has special roles, one of which is to give advice to the husband's sister who married Nias man. Here is the statement given by the wife of Sundanese-Nias couple.

As a wife of a custom head, I had a special task, that is, to give advice to my sister-in-law who was about to marry Nias man. As the wife of the custom head, I got the first turn. When giving the advice, my husband's sister cried hard as if we would not meet again; in that moment, I wondered why she cried that hard. I asked about it to my mother-in-law. She said that in Nias culture, a woman who marries a Nias man cannot visit her parents and family anymore and becomes the part of his husband's extended fam-

ily. This custom made my sister-in-law sad. It was the last time she met her family and relatives. She may visit the relatives but may not stay even one night, and that visit may be conducted someday, some months later or when she is pregnant.

The meaning of the task is that the wife should be able to give a good advice to be a good wife for Nias man. This advice implies that to be a good wife for a Nias man, there are some rules to obey and some manners to conduct. However, the wife is grateful that not all Nias rules are forced to her. The wife thinks that her husband's extended family is wise enough that the husband does not force the wife from different ethnic to obey all the rules. The husband and his family attempt to respect the wife's culture because the couple's house is in the wife's territory.

The social intercourse with extended family is considered family recreation, learning food recipes, and introducing cultural elements to the children. Besides, there are some custom ceremony the wife should attend because of the husband's states in his culture. The wife's involvement in custom events aims to support the husband's position and to keep good relation with the husband's extended family.

The parent's open-mindedness in educating and taking care of children means that the couple does not force their desire to the children and that the couple thinks of the children's interest. This interethnic couple's attitude is in parallel with Soekanto's opinion (1992: 19), that "...in preparing the future of the children, it needs to be noted that the orientation should not be the parents entirely. The children should be given a chance to prepare themselves by their ways.

As the successor of the family, children need to be loved and their future needs to be well prepared. Their relation with their parents determines their future life, the time when the children grow mature and live amidst the people. For this reason, Soekanto's opinion should be noticed by the parents who wanted the good future of their children. "Future is the sequence of

present, while present comes from the past; former ideal parents built the base for the present's ideal" (1992: 11).

The beginning of man's life starts in family. The family is important for the children's development, the children as the successor of the family. As stated by Khiruddin (2002: 63), "Family is the first group who introduces cultural values to children; and in the family, the first interaction and discipline in social life are introduced." The same thing was stated by Samovar *et al.*, (2010: 65).

Family is responsible to form biological organism to human who has to spend his time with others; it is family who said hello to you when you left the pleasing womb ... family is the first social agent.

Next, DeGenova and Rice (Samovar *et al.* 2010: 65) stated that "Family is the prominent transmitter of knowledge, values, roles, and child's habit and implant the way of thinking and act, that they become habit."

Family has an important role in developing the children, especially in building personality. This, according to Khairuddin (2002: 49), is because family plays role in building the children's personality. Meanwhile, Charlotte Buhler (Khairuddin, 2002: 63) stated that process of socialization is "the process which helps individuals experience learning process and self-adjustment, how to live and how the group thinks." ST. Vembriarto (Khairuddin, 2002: 63) concluded that: (1) socialization process is learning process, i.e. accommodation process by which the individual holds, changes impulses, and takes the way of life or culture of his people; (2) in the socialization process, individual learns the habit, attitude, ideas, patterns, values and manner, and the standard of manner in the people where he lives; (3) all characteristics and qualifications learned in the process of socialization are arranged and developed as a united system in his personality. Newly born child has no personality; parents are responsible to shape his personality. It is in par with what was stated by Horton and Hunt (1999: 99-100).

A baby is born to this world as an egoistic small organism which requires all physical needs. Then, he becomes a man with attitude and values, like and dislike, purpose and intention, and reaction pattern. And depth concept about himself. Everybody gains all of that through a process called *socialization*.

Parents conduct socialization process in shaping the children's personality and act as socialization agent in the family. In this case, parents try to communicate socio-cultural message to their children. Sunarto (2000: 26) stated the importance of family, especially parents, as the agent of socialization.

In the early process of human life, the agents of socialization usually consist of parents and siblings. In the society in which the members live in extended family, the amount of agents of socialization is greater and the agents may consist of grandmother, grandfather, uncle, aunt, etc.

Parents usually try to be the model of their children. According to Soekanto (1992: 6), the characteristics of parents are those: (1) *Sa'benere* (logical), meaning that the parents can prove which one is right or wrong. For instance, the Batakese husband who lets the children know the clan and the spouses allowed in the clan; (2) *Sa'mestine* (act ethically), meaning that the parents act according to certain patterns, neither chaotic nor careless. The wife's decision to suggest her child to take D1 and not S1 as the standard, because D3 needs shorter time to finish and its graduates get job easier than of S1, is the example. This act was right because the child immediately got a job after graduated; (3) *Sa'penake*, means that when the the parents live happily; they may not cause unhappy life of other people. Parents make money to fulfill daily needs. In addition, the atmosphere of the house has to be homey. This might be seen in the couple of Minangkabau husband and Sundanese wife. The husband, who makes money regularly, suggests the children to be independent. Besides, the hus-

band suggests the wife to make homey atmosphere that the children stay long at home and to be open to the children.

What do the interethnic couples do to their children who were born in two different cultures? Intercultural parents try to deliver to the children the message of cultural elements. They hope that their different cultural elements can be accepted and comprehended by their children. This delivering message also aims to shape the children's personality. Family is very important in delivering cultural messages to the children, the successors who will face the future. The term *culture* has been defined by Horton and Hunt (1999: 85):

Culture is anything which is learnt and experienced socially by human society. Material culture is built from things made by human. Non-material culture consists of the pattern of behavior, norm, values, and social relation from a group of human.

Cultural message meant is like educating and taking care children. The example of cultural elements is the attitude of surviving of people outside Java combined with ethics in Sundanese. The introduction of cultural event to children aims to shape the children's personality so that they would be a tough (wo)man with good ethics. Besides, intercultural parents also try to ask their children to visit their homeland, at least once a year. In addition, they invite relatives to live in their house. By the existence of the relatives, intercultural communication occurs and cultural elements are delivered. Children may get acquainted with their parent's culture through their parents' relatives who have different culture. Children are also invited to visit the extended family of one of their parents. It is done to make children get acquainted with people from other cultures, not only from their cultures.

By cultural message, the parents try to communicate cultural elements to their children. They hope that their children can understand and judge the people of one of his parents positively. It is hoped that they do not stereotype different ethnics. This attempt is hoped to be able to ward off an ethnic stereotype. Children can get

acquainted with culture and its people by direct contact.

This parents' attempt to socialize do not stop here; they still have to introduce the children to the world outside home. Parents send the children to good school, the one that is appropriate with the children's ability. School is after-family place of socialization and it shapes the children's personality. School is an important social organization for the children's development, just as stated by Samovar and Porter (1982: 29).

School is another important social organization. Viewed from its definition and history, school is given great responsibility to inherit and maintain a culture. School is an important bridge which connect the past and also the future. School maintains culture by letting know its new members what has occurred, what is important, and what someone needs to know as a member of culture.

School is also responsible to introduce culture to its students, by teaching knowledge and giving space for children to interact with their peers. Robert Dreeben in 1968 (Sunarto, 2000: 26), argued that "What children learn in school-besides reading, writing, and calculating-is rules about independence, achievement, universalism, and specificity"

In school, children learn many things, not only cultural values but also how to be independence. After going to school, children have a space to develop themselves by doing activities outside school. By doing this, it is hoped that children interact with their peers so that they form a new social reality. Some of the activities are sports, arts, religious education, and organization.

What is done by intercultural parents is a form of open-mindedness, especially related to the development of their children. After trying to shape the children's personality, from home to school to outside school, the parents are still involved in the future of their children, i.e. by arranging matters of spouse. There is a tendency that interethnic parents do not mind to have their children marry spouse from different ethnic; they

demand the children to marry someone from the same religion, and in this case, Islam. In educating and taking care of children, interethnic parents are open-minded, as far as the deeds good for the children's interest. In the matter of spouse, the parent is rather closed. They cannot accept those outside Islam to be the spouses of their children.

The parents' awareness to educate and taking care of children living in two different cultures has to be prepared in order to gain a better future. The awareness to prepare this is started in home, i.e. by shaping the children's personality through cultural socialization. Here, parents play a role as socialization agent. Next, the parents bring the children to school to get knowledge and learn outside world. Children also have space to do activities outside school to exercise understanding social life with their peers. The parents' awareness to prepare the children's future in building household is their hope that the children marry someone from the same religion. Ethnical difference does not matter.

Weber's idea (social act), Mead's idea (taking the role of the other), and Schutz's idea (reciprocity of perspective), all gain their justification. Weber (Campbell, 1994: 204) stated that "it shows that one's behavior has awareness on what he is doing, which can be analyzed according to intentions, motives, and feelings as they experience." Mead (Johnson, 1986: 23) explained that "if individuals appraise their acts and life according to universal values or common humanistic condition, actually they play the role from that generalized other." Meanwhile, Schutz (Campbell, 1994: 236) asserted that "to survive, individual has to 'define' situation, that is, he has to determine or decide in what situation he is, what it's problem, and how he could try to achieve his purposes." In addition, Howard Giles' Accommodation Theory is proved because the couples tried to converge in educating, taking care, and parenting their children to get a better future. Interethnic couples tried to adjust with the spouse's culture and the condition that will be faced by their children.

The awareness of interethnic marriage in comprehending background differences strength-

ens Schutz's phenomenological theory about intersubjective social world; that is, interethnic couples have to share their spaces. Social world built by interethnic couple has to be shared with the extended family and society; the future world of the children should be prepared.

### Conclusion

Sundanese—non-Sundanese couples are aware that children, as the successor of the family and extended family, have important values. These two groups are accommodated by interethnic couples; children's future is prepared by communicating the parents' cultural values, giving education in home, school, and outside school. Those places are social organization, the place of children's development. However, the family still tries to build social intercourse with the extended family. The parents prepare the children's social world and educate cultural values to the children by doing family visit in Idul Fitri times, *arisan*, and permitting relatives live in their houses. Intercultural communication in interethnic family may tighten inter-extended-family relation, because of the existence of collective activity. In addition, the couples do convergence toward their children's education without putting into matters their cultural differences. It's done for the better future.

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# **The Cultural Differences and Intercultural Adaptation on Partnership Relation of Core-Plasma Plantation in Tea Estate of Indonesia**

**Ninik Sri Rejeki**

Program Study of Communication, Faculty of Social and Political Science,  
Atma Jaya University

## **Abstract**

This research was a qualitative research aiming at understanding the cultural differences and intercultural adaptation on partnership relation of core-plasma plantation in Tea Estate of Pagilaran Ltd Co, Indonesia. Collecting data were done by depth interviewing the worker's core plantation and the plasma farmer concerning problems faced by both relationship. The results showed that culture of core plantation community tended to orientate to economical aspect with commercial basis, meanwhile culture of the farmers tended to orientate to group's interest and to keep on their relationship among them with traditional habit and ecological sound. In relation to adaptation process, the two communities seemed to develop similar culture with capital interest. In this regards the similar cultures can be seen in two sides: from the side of core plantation, people working in the core plantation are come from similar culture with the indigenous farmers and the factory is also located in the farmer's area. Meanwhile from the point of view of farmers, the similar culture as the result of cultural adaptation. Furthermore, the cultural differences shown by the core plantation and plasma farmer communities were due to the normative rules maintained by the company and also due to the different educational level and knowledge of both. To that respect, in core plantation community, the culture orientated to capital achievement implies the communication attitude on the business interest, where as the communication attitude of farmer community is more orientated to local interest using informal and interpersonal channel. Finally the communication differences in the two communities impede the process of organizational objective. And the communication attitude of the core plantation community is changed and unified with the communication attitude of plasma farmer.

**Keywords:** Cultural differences, Intercultural adaptation, partnership, Core- Plasma Plantation, Communication attitude

## **INTRODUCTION**

A communication represents a function of culture and communication attitude of person to reflect their own culture. In addition, communication wants also to transfer an idea to other people and/or community directly and/or indirectly using media and/or audio visual. Since communication is symbolic, thus an individual using symbols also often assumes other individuals using similar symbolic too. These phenomena can be emerging a big problem when the communication is performed by person having different

symbolic system. The problem mostly occurred is the difference in perception upon messages sent by the communicants in which the communication can not reach its target. In this regards, problem can be solved by specific competence, such as using intercultural adaptation.

Referring to available analysis of adaptation, most of the analyses are within the context of social acculturation of immigrants. Then, there is a question emerged, how will the adaptation occur if the communication members are involved in the sociological group, not among

nations? The analysis of adaptation in the context of inter-sociological groups is very relevant with the development process of current communication, especially when considering its beneficial for developing the information system.

The process of information development often becomes unsuccessful due to the obstacles of cultural differences among the sociological groups. One of the examples on the unsuccessfulness is what happens in the relationship between large plantation (as core = first group) and farmer (as plasma = second group). Large plantation and farmer represent two sociological groups having different characteristics. The difference is the reality in dualistic economy life in Indonesian plantation system. The first group is orientated to modernized capitalism with strongly economic basis, where as the latter is to pre-traditional capitalism with subsistence life.

To anticipate the two difference characteristics of large company and farmer is by developing plantation using a pattern of *Perkebunan Inti Rakyat* abbreviated by *PIR* (Community Core Plantation) established in 1978/1979. The PIR program represented the effort of combining large plantation and indigenous farmer within one production process with the calling core-plasma relationship. In its development, form of the relationship of both was partnership relation between the core plantation and plasma farmer. The partnership was formulated as collaborating relationship between one sides or more conducted in a unified system to attain share benefit upon the agreement of both and following the government regulation. In addition, the core plantation should transfer the knowledge and technology to the plasma farmers as the partnership for doing the agricultural business. It is also the core plantation should contribute to the society needs lived in the vicinity using corporate social responsibility to close gap of both. According to Martodireso & Widodo (2002), the partnership relation in a agricultural business sector should be based on trust, need mutual, beneficial, and strengthen each other. In the partnership relation, there should be a process of assistance and continuous development

by the large company to its partner which belong to a minor one (Sumardjo, 2004).

Martodireso & Widodo (2002) revealed the necessity of the partnership to build good social relation are interactive communication, empowerment, and not pressing others. According to Suroso (1994), there are some constraints hindering the harmony of the relationship such as difference in mind set, attitude and behavior. This showed that communication as symbolic activity is not followed by perceptual accuracy upon both sides' messages. The inaccuracy perceptual is due to the core plantation and plasma farmer are two communities having different cultures.

### Main Issue

The main issue of partnership in developing plantation system in Indonesia may be viewed as a communication phenomenon. In communication perspective, various problems in terms of partnership between the core plantation and plasma farmer is shown by cultural difference between the two sides. The empirical reality showing attitude improperness in partnership practice indicates that the effort to change the attitude through information becomes a serious problem. Based on the perceptive of intercultural communication, the problem requires a communication competence to attain the communication objective. Adaptation in such framework represents the communication competence to achieve the change in farmer's attitude. This research based on the problems formulated as follows (1) what is the culture between core plantation and plasma farmer communities? (2) is there any difference in communication attitude implying such cultural differences? The research objective is to comprehend the inter-cultural adaptation between the two communities.

### CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWROK

There are various analysis topics within the sector of inter-cultural communication studies. The topics cover some aspects of cultural identity, intercultural adaptation, intercultural conflicts, and others. As one of the analysis topics in intercultural communication, adaptation becomes one problem which needs to be resolved when



an individual or groups are communicating with other sides obtaining different culture.

### **Intercultural Adaptation Theory**

Intercultural adaptation represents a long process of self-adjustment to gain comfort being in a new environment. Gudykunst (2002) elaborated that cultural adaptation theory belongs to the group of accommodation and adaptation theory. One theory explored is the theory of intercultural adaptation by Ellingsworth.

Ellingsworth (1988) stated that, the attitude of adapting in the intercultural is related with, among others, the adaptation elements in communication styles. Style refers to attitude of communication. According to Gudykunst and Kim (1997), adaptation may occur in the cognitive dimension that happens the adjustment of verbal and non-verbal languages. Thus adaptation may occur within the dimensions of perception, cognitive and attitude.

Another theory focusing on the accommodation and adaptation is presented by Gile. Gile's theory is called the theory of communication accommodation. This theory is originated from the theory of conversation accommodation. According to this theory, the speaker applies linguistic strategy to reach an agreement or to show the difference in his/her interaction with other speakers. The main strategy of communicator is based on the divergent and convergent motivation. The agreement is showed by convergence; while divergence is performed as the statement of disagreement (Gudykunst, 2002).

### **Cultural Diversity Dimension in Analyzing Cultural Differences**

Cultural differences between the communities of core plantation and plasma farmer is explained by referring to the existence of struggle between the two principles named as dualistic economy. The struggle is rooted in the disagreement between modern (western) capitalism and pre- capitalism tradition. Western capitalism which is modernized, young and aggressive built in large cities is confronted to pre-capitalism tradition which is conventional and existing in suburb areas (Boeke, 1983).

According to Boeke (1983), in the dualistic situation there are two different characteristics within the context of social economy. One side represents the society having original and organized social bond, traditional racial system, simple and limited needs, and also agricultural production principle which is subsistence as suburb characteristics. Another side is the society orientating to profit, organized competitive effort, professional, based on capitalized and mechanical industry and underestimating economy encouragement or motive which is related to the motive of social, ethic, custom, tradition, race, religion, and others as urban characteristics.

In this framework, peasant represents a society which (1) lives from agriculture land; (2) resides in suburb community; (3) uses agricultural technology such as hoe, plow, and harrow to process the agriculture product; (4) having relation with cities. Besides, the peasant processes the land for subsistence purpose.

Kroeber in Foster (1967) stated that a peasant is a part of society in a culture who lives in relation to market and city center. Such society is no longer isolated, but still holds traditional value. While Firth (Marzali, 1998) stated that a system of peasant economy is an economic system applying simple working skill and division, having limited access to market; and the production tool is controlled and organized non-capitalistically; the production scale is relatively low with personal production characteristic; also the consideration towards social and religious aspect is more prioritized than the material one. According to Wolf (1983) a peasant represents a suburb person who does agriculture and farming in suburban. Such agricultural business is not performed as a *farmer* or agricultural entrepreneur because it not performed as a business activity to gain economic profit, but it is done for the sake of domestic management.

In producing agriculture, the peasant should direct his activity to serve family and society. This is in line with what is stated by Diaz (1967), that a peasant as a man economic should direct his activity to two scopes, which are family and society. Peasant's consideration towards his family and society is also elaborated by

Popkins (1979), that those who become the main consideration of peasant are himself, family, neighbors, and his suburb community. In the scopes of family and society, the peasant provides support in form of agricultural production which is processed with his simple circumstance and non-industrial technology and household based; also the agricultural production is subsistence orientated (Elson, 1997). According to Scott (1981), the subsistence effort represents an agricultural effort which prioritizes safety. In an ordinary society, the peasant should always keep the relation among households and maintain balance between the family and society interest which is able to tie the peasant up with the more extended society. Wolf (1983) stated that within this framework, ceremony or ritual has a legitimating function towards the social unit and relation among suburb society. Besides, from the aspect of social communication, this may strengthen the peasant existence in his community. As a producer of small scale agriculture, the action and choice of a peasant are always connected with the natural resources such as land, water, climate, and sun. Therefore, the peasant has a powerful connection with the ecological system (Weitz, 1971). Such a strong connection between the peasant and ecological condition causes the peasant to always be careful in receiving new technology, because the smallest change in technology will bring forward anticipated consequence which may threaten the system of agricultural production (Weitz, 1971).

Soekartawi (2003) stated that agribusiness consists of peasants who always do the effort to maximize revenue by controlling the limited resources. The characteristics are as follows: first, he adopts innovation quickly so that he is categorized into early adopter; second, he obtains high cosmopolitan degree; three, he has courage to take risk in agriculture business; and fourth, he has willingness and capacity to try new technology supported by adequate resource. Slamet (2003) asserted that improving the production of agricultural development requires advance technology. Pambudy (2003) asserted that an agribusiness entrepreneur is a person capable to complete the process from the

creative idea, innovation, and resulting in goods or service production to be sold to market with sufficient profit. Besides being an industrialized and commercial farmer, a farmer may also be categorized into modern farmer. According to Suriasumantri (2000), the modernized urban society obtains the following indicators: first, it is analytical. It is meant that most of his life aspect is based on efficient basis both technically and economically. Such indicator places the theoretical and economical values in important position. The theoretical value is related to aspects of logic, science and technology; where as the economic value is centralized to the usage of resource and economic goods effectively and efficiently based on responsible measure. Second, it is individual. The social and power values in such framework should be orientated to self confidence and courage to make his own decision. The human relation is individual, where as to survive an individual should be able to compete productively. Other cultural differences between the peasant and farmer may be related to cultural dichotomy which explains the concept of value orientation by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, Hofstede's individualism – collectivism, and cultural variability, Parson's pattern and structural rigidity.

### **Value Orientation by Kluckhohn – Strodtbeck**

Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck raised the dimension of value orientation. This dimension consisted of human character orientation, time orientation, activity, and relational orientation (Gudykunst and Kim, 1997). The first dimension is human character orientation which is inherited. According to the dimension, human is considered good or bad or both and this is inherited. The second dimension is the orientation of human and nature relation. There are three kinds of relation, namely surrender, harmonize, and control. The third dimension is time orientation. In this dimension, human life may focus on the past, present or future. The fourth dimension is activity orientation. According to Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck, the activity orientation may be viewed as *doing*, *being*, and *being-in-becoming*. The orientation towards *doing* focuses on

the kind of activity which has measurable external output. Therefore, such activity should be real. In this framework, there is also achievement orientation. The fifth dimension is relational orientation. Relational orientation is related to dimension of individualism-collectivism. Such relation is because the way people interact has different focus, i.e. leading to individualism or collectivism.

### Individual-Collectivism

According to Hui and Triandis (Triandis, 1995), in the culture of collectivism, the members of cultural group are vulnerable towards social influence due to the idea of inter-dependence, giving attention to saving face and family integrity, and also using the result they attain together in their group.

Gudykunst and Lee (2002) stated that individualism tends to place the individual identity beyond the group identity. In such framework, the individual's right and purpose are placed beyond the group's right and purpose. Similarly, the individual needs are placed beyond the group's needs. Hofstede (1994) argued that in the collective society, the group's interest is beyond the individual's interest. In-group represents the source of a person's identity and the members of group consider themselves as "we". The group becomes shelter for the members when confronted to the difficulties in life. For that reason, the members will be loyal to their group. And so, disloyalty is considered as a bad attitude. In the other side, the individualistic society places the individual's interest beyond the group's interest. The members of group consider themselves as "I".

According to Triandis (1995), the influence of in-group to the individualistic culture is very specific, where as the space of effect of in-group within the collective culture is general, and therefore, the members of individualistic culture tend to behave universalistic and apply similar value towards every person. On the other hand, the members of collective culture tends to be particularistic and apply different value standard towards the in-group and out-group members (Gudykunst and Lee, 2002).

### Hofstede Culture Variability

According to Hofstede (1994), uncertainty is experienced and learnt by a cultural member from the inherited culture moved through primary institutions, such as family and school. Such feeling is reflected in the value which is maintained collectively by the society members, and then it guides the pattern of collective attitude of a society which is not easily understood by other society.

The dimension of masculine-feminism (Hofstede in Ting-Toomey, 1999) is related with the society which clearly determines the characteristic of genders. Within the context of organization, Hofstede (1994) asserted that masculine has chance to gain high revenue, adequate recognition in relation to achievement, development towards higher position and occupational challenge. Where as feminine has better occupational relation, good cooperation, and security in accomplishing jobs.

### Methodology

The research applied constructivist paradigm was using the perspective of phenomenology theory. The research type and methodology were qualitative, because data collected and analysed were non-quantitative, i.e. applying in-depth interview and qualitative data analysis. Meanwhile, the research objective aimed at exploring the social relationship building the intercultural communication. The research subjects were individuals derived from the communities of core plantation and plasma farmer. The location of research was in Kaliboja Tea Factory, Pekalongan, Central Java of Indonesia which is one of the three production units of Pagilaran Tea Company Ltd. The reason to take this company was that this unit tea production represented the first unit applying Community Core Plantation (called PIR in Indonesian) pattern, and there were many problems to be solved requiring communication competence.

The collecting data technique was in-depth interview. The instrument used was the main researcher assisted by interview guide and schedule. Several informants joined in the in-

depth interview. The information explored was done on the basis of answering the research problems about relationship between core plantation and plasma farmer. The technique of data analysis was by developing coding system referring to the respondents' story, researcher's questions, and theoretical framework. The analysis was done in three stages. First stage was the researcher's explanation stage towards the phenomenon based on her knowledge (ethic); the second stage was synchronizing the viewpoints of emik and ethic; and the third stage was data rationalities and abstraction.

### **Result and Discussion**

The occupational structure in Pagilaran Ltd Co was standardized on sufficiently high education; and the higher the position of a person, the higher the education will be. In the level of tea production and plantation workers, the educational level of foreman was generally high technical education and elementary education. The community of core plantation implanted the values of occupational order, discipline, and efficient to all workers. In the production level, the quality standards accepted were considered through two things, namely: demand for quality standard of raw material and annual target standard. The standards of tea aimed at making profit to company economically. The understanding on target is applied in production department, especially for foremen. The foremen occupied important position because they are as agents bridging the company and farmer, especially in selling tea young leaves.

Economical value became the achievement indicator of core plantation member, both as worker or as society member. The company member seemed to be future orientated; meaning that they prepared the future life for example saving money. In the cultural dimension by Hofstede, relationship power became masculine symbol of the core plantation. The systemic structural relation caused the emergence of relationship power in the company community which became a kind of controlling system in organizational relation.

Although the foremen were recruited from vicinity areas, the company required adequate education for them. However, in term of communication technique, the core plantation did not train the foremen. The important thing in the relationship between the core plantation and plasma farmer was to maintain sustainability of business. Based on the organizational structure, the foremen were directly related and communicated with the plasma farmer; where as the core plantation occupying the managerial position rarely contacts the plasma farmer.

The foremen occupy different position from the society member. The foremen relation with the society is important because the relationship determines the quantity of tea young leaves. Poor relationship between the foremen and farmer resulted in decreasing stored commodity of tea young leaves, and the company suffered from loss of product. By placing the foremen as "key person" of farmer will always be loyal to the core plantation. The core plantation considers that communicating with farmer requires specific strategy. The core plantation trusts the foremen to perform such communication strategy. The foremen position is appropriate to bridge the communication between of both, because the foremen were also come from the local farmers. The foremen knew the farmer habit, custom and tradition, and thus it is easy for them to blend in the social life of community.

### **The Communication Attitude of Core Plantation**

The community of core plantation tended to apply communication orientated to organization in delivering the information message. The information communicator required foreman or field staff who is educated, has the ability to assist farmers and to manage staff; so it emphasizes the occupational competence rather than the socio-cultural aspect of the foreman.

The community of core plantation tended to deliver messages orientated to organization, i.e. partnership business. It was emphasized to the foreman to reach the production target by keeping understanding toward the reality of limited land the farmer has. As the one who has partner with farmer, the foreman realizes that al-

though he does business, but in partnership condition the target should be prepared more realistic. This was because the concept of partnership business does not merely aim at attaining profit, but it also orientates to assist farmers in order to have good life and also the core plantation should contribute the society through corporate social responsibility to eliminate the gap between core plantation and plasma farmer and society as well. Therefore, the foreman needs to have empathy towards the farmer's limitation in term of funding aspect for the production and the needs of farmers for cash. The core plantation has also to deliver their benefit to the plasma farmer upon the agreement in advance.

In delivering the message, the core plantation tended to communicate using low context having explicit information. Low context message delivers information related with work. The communication attitude shows verbal orientation, i.e. message is delivered in verbal symbol, in forms of words with clear messages and it is easy to be understood. Such verbal language is not relatively complicated, so it is in line with the principle of effectiveness-efficacy in delivering messages. The core plantation retained direct communication style when speaking to farmers in the context of work.

### **Culture Description of Plasma Farmer**

The main culture of farmers was subsistence culture. The farmers generally cultivated food crop to fulfill their own needs, family and community daily. The farmer applied simple and non-industrialized technology, they are living in traditional system without thinking about economic basis and they are very familiar. They are very happy if they can eat every day without thinking about saving money for the future life. Actually they also had strong bond with the ecological condition and they know how to protect environment traditionally. Firstly, their planting was not conducted on the basis of agricultural business. But, with the existence of community core company program, the farmers started to learn business activity to get economical profit, besides managing the household.

The farmer also retained collective culture in solid condition. Such culture was still firmly held among the community where the plasma farmer lived. The feeling of being one unified faith, one locality, and social relation built for years due to the close distance of housing result in friendship bond, and even in firm brotherhood.

Feminism became the symbol of plasma farmer community. The plasma farmer community is the community of Javanese farmer retaining morality basis as a Javanese having the main character to create harmonized life, and so the harmony in society will always be maintained. Such well-maintained harmony of life guarantees is a better life for every farmer, because such harmony brings mind serenity and balance. Those who have bad characters are those who have problems in life, i.e. less harmonized life, consequently, they do not live in peace.

Security and harmony were also placed in the relation among individuals in the society. Most of the society members should help each other, talk together, are in peace and humble in relationship. Besides the human relation, how the farmers built balance in their relation with nature, as the farmer's custom of offering tradition on certain days, called as *slametan legenan* (Javanese language). The character of plasma farmer community is the symbol of keeping the nature or it is also called as feminism, i.e. as it is always confronted to *culture* or *masculine* which tends to explore and destroy nature.

The plasma farmer also had low mobility. In general, the farmer rarely goes to the city or other areas outside his village. Such low mobility affects the life orientation of the plasma farmer unlike the workers and staff of Pagilaran Ltd Co who are orientated to future; the farmer generally thinks for only today or for short term only.

### **Communication Attitude of Plasma Farmer**

Basically, the community of plasma farmer prefers the local-orientated communicator when delivering the education message. The foremen who worked in the area were not those from the local community. Based on such condition, it is concluded that, farmers tended to pre-

fer local person as the message source. Because the message resource was the foreman, then, the foreman coming from the local community was considered as the most appropriate one by the farmer. This is due to the foreman understands what the farmer wants. In addition, the local foreman is considered to understand the farmer's habit in treating others by the usage of local custom; for example: the custom in addressing older people.

The community of plasma farmer tended to deliver the message orientated to group or their relation. Based on some information gathered, it is concluded that content of the orientation is about the farmer's interest for his community. The interest may be asking for vehicles to improve the road and joining prayer (*pengajian*) activity. Additionally, the interest may cover that to fulfill the farmer's duty as the community member, such as giving some fund for activities in relation to his community's tradition.

In delivering the message, community of plasma farmer tended to communicate in low context as well as high context. An informant simply stated that what matters to him is he receives some money from his tea young leave production. Where as, he did not understand the terms of the work contract. Meanwhile, another informant stated in low context message with clear meaning that he needed workers. From the informant, it was obvious that he asked the foreman serving his village to visit the farmers. Because the informant also worked as worker in the factory, he needed to maintain his relation with the foreman. Therefore, high context message "*tilik*" which means "visit", actually has other meaning requiring the foreman to fulfill his job in assisting the farmers in the informant's village.

The two information showed the non-verbal orientation of farmer when he disagrees with the reality occurring in partnership relation. When he disagrees, he tends to use non-verbal symbol, such as cutting the tea plant or replacing it with other plants, showing his attitude towards the price of tea young leaves which does not get higher. In the style of delivering the message the community of plasma farmer has indirect style of

communication. It is concluded that farmers in the context of "*srawung*" or getting along with others, may talk about anything without any purpose; but from the conversation, there may be some benefit. The example is getting benefit of finding job. So, they usually talk about many topics before they find more important topic such as finding job. The community of plasma farmer tended to choose the informal interpersonal communication channel and has the capacity to develop the relation; thus it is concluded that such tendency is the result of the character of expressive relation. The channel is clearly showed in "*srawung*".

### **Adaptation of Core Company Community towards Plasma Farmer**

The medium of communication adaptation of core plantation towards the plasma farmer was by taking the benefit of Javanese culture which is "*serba riku*" or not easy to out speak the feeling or opinion, as an attempt to build power relation which finally gave profit to company. Giving the position in the company to local community member through plasma farmer group was indirectly believed by the company as one attempt to minimize conflict.

The culture of "*ngaruhke*" is known as a form of social relation generally happen in Javanese society. "*Ngaruhke*" means to visit others in order to show one's feeling. Here, the communication which often happens is expressive because the communicators only ask how the other are, or show empathy towards certain circumstance, both in happy and sad contexts. Being present and giving some money in a village ceremony are also the forms of "*ngaruhke*". Likewise, it is also what happens during funeral. The actors in the company community, especially those in plantation department, are really aware of such matters.

On the other side, the core plantation also realized that the foremen played major role in the culture of "*ngaruhke*", because they were from the local community. The foremen are often invited in many occasional. This is somewhat different from the managerial department who are not always invited in every village occasion.

Basically, the core plantation understands that there is major difference between the core plantation and plasma farmer. The foremen, as the company front guard in building relation with the farmers, realize the importance of communication in solving problems. Even, the foremen allocate special schedule to meet the farmers in their own working plantation. The core company also realizes that building relation with local community becomes an important thing to keep the continuity of the company and farmers. This is showed by permitting the foremen to visit the village often and interact with the local community informally. The most frequent term used is “*wedangan*” or drinking together such as tea or coffee while talking. Such step seems to make other workers in the factory envy with the foremen because the foremen are considered not working.

In its social relation with the plasma farmer community, the core company tends to adapt itself for the purpose of its tea industry. Besides, the core plantation thinks the necessity to develop a communication suitable with the culture of plasma farmer community for the sake of the industry’s interest. The adaptation approach through proper communication development with the culture of plasma farmer seems to give result, i.e. the creation of core plantation’s relation with the plasma farmer community which finally fulfills the tea business purpose of Pagilaran Ltd Co.

Meanwhile, the adaptation in the convergence strategy is done by recruiting local foremen. This is based on the experience that local foremen is successful in approaching the indigenous farmers. Although it is, there is an informant’s record stating that there is local foreman who has problem with the farmers, especially when the foremen can not understand what the farmer wants. Therefore, it is important to understand what the farmer wants. However, the local people are seemed to be prioritized in foreman recruitment. Convergence strategy is also done by the community of core plantation when facing the farmer’s complaint. The agreement on the difficulty faced by the farmers show that the company has empathy towards the farmers.

From the record of the informant’s experience, it seems that the adaptation done by the community of core plantation in the style of delivering is by “going around the bushes” to deliver sensitive message which may distract the relation between the foreman and farmer. Besides, the company also applies delivering style using high context to change the attitude of the farmer. Meanwhile, in the channel elements, convergence adaptation done by the core plantation is by using more informal interpersonal channel. From the informant’s record, it is revealed that interpersonal channel is considered more effective in assisting the farmer. In the divergence strategy, adaptation is done when the farmer shows attitude improper with the company’s rules. Generally, the foremen immediately show their identity by reminding the farmers to complete their work as demanded by the company.

### Conclusion

From the result and discussion it is concluded that there are differences in culture of the core plantation and plasma farmer communities. The culture of core plantation community tended to orientate to economical interest or commercial basis, where as the culture of the farmers tended to orientate to group’s interest and relation maintenance. In relation to the adaptation process, the two communities tended to develop similar culture. Both orientate are to capital interest. Adaptation is done by the core plantation community through divergence strategy, i.e. adaptation by keeping its own culture and showing its culture to the farmer’s culture. Similar cultures can be seen in two sides. From the side of core plantation, there is similar culture because people working in the core plantation are come from similar culture with the local farmers; and the factory is located in the farmer’s area. From the side of farmers, there is similar culture as the result of cultural adaptation. Different cultures among the core plantation and plasma farmer communities are due to normative rules which should be maintained by the company and due to different educational level and knowledge. Culture implies the communication attitude. In core plantation community, culture orientated to capital achievement

implies the communication attitude in which messages are focused on business interest; the information source should meet certain competence standards: low context, verbal, to the point, and relying on formal groups. Whereas the communication attitude of farmer community is more orientated to local interest, relation and group maintenance, high context, using non-verbal symbol and “going around the bushes”, not straight to the point of talking, also using informal and interpersonal channel. The communication differences in the two communities impede the process of organizational objective; therefore, the company initiates adaptation using convergence strategy. The communication attitude of the core company community is changed and unified with the communication attitude of farmer community. Communication initiative of the core company to carry out communication attitude adaptation is based on the community dependence to the farmer community as the land owner. The convergence attempt in the level of communication attitude is merely to change the culture of farmer community to become similar with that of the company community which in the end, may lead to partnership relation with the plasma farmers who are the key factor of company success.

It is also concluded that the theoretical coverage of inter-culture theory needs to be extended by considering the strategy aspect to achieve the adaptation objective. The type of strategy, convergence or divergence is realized. This is very significant to the contribution context in practice level which is in form of communication competence. Communication competence is required in a development attempt involving parties with different cultures.

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# Discrimination and Racialism in the Film “Australia” (A Semiotic Analysis)

I Gusti Ngurah Jaya Perdhana

Communication Departement FISIP UPN “Veteran” Yogyakarta  
Kampus II Jln. Babarsari no. 2 Yogyakarta 55132

## Abstract

The research examines all the signs and symbols about discrimination and racialism in Australian film. The film was fiction, but the story of the film was a part of true story about the conflict which occurred between Aborigines and Whites who imposed the discrimination and racialism. The behaviour emerged since the coming of the White who are the exiled prisoners from England. The Whites then develop a new colony and open the land and finally seize the land of Aborigines, the native people of mainland Australia and the Whites considered Aborigines as a group of people who have the ancient culture and lack of intellectual ability thus their existence as the native people of Australia are neglected. The research adopted the semiotic of Roland Barthes in which the result is then represented from the discrimination and racialism meaning which are found in the Australian film. The result indicates the representation of discrimination and racialism symbols found in Australia. This becomes the part of social life in Australia, this unfair treatment imposed to the Aborigines ethnic whose land is seized by the Whites.

**Keywords:** film, Australia, discrimination, racialism

## Introduction

Australia, a country with the population of 21 million people, is one of the countries which maintain the strong value of their culture from their native nation Aborigine. The culture has been passed from one generation to generation of Aborigines nation before the coming of the White gradually which take away their existence. The Aborigine tribe was then exiled and alienated.

Initially, Australia was a land where the prisoners from England are exiled, until a governor from England Arthur Phillip firstly came to Australia leading the prisoner to develop a new colony with the opening of the land for residence. The first land opened was New South Wales. Until at the end, most of the Australian land is grabbed by the White who were mostly prisoners or the former colony of Australia.

As a consequence, the opening of the land for residence disturbed the existence of Aborigine tribe which resided the Australia Land earlier. The life order and the culture of Aborigine tribe began to threaten gradually as the number of the prisoners coming to Australia was higher. *Aborigine* tribe was increasingly driven away to

the inland. They must go to the remote area in order to survive along with the culture they have.

Recently, the number of *Aborigine* people in Australia is about 460.000 people or about 2% of the population in Australia (Negara Mengakui Aborigine, accessed 19/06/2009). This is a description that tells us that the coming of the White to Australia makes the original culture created by Aborigines gradually is eroded which may end in extinction.

In this research, the extinction of the Aborigine’s culture is not the subject of the research. Rather, the treatment of the Whites to the Aborigine which is indicated by the domination of White in the government affairs in Australia started to receive attention from the government and the society of Australia since 2008. Initially, the exiled White in Australia didn’t realized that they had seized the land which was the motherland of Aborigine, but gradually the White seized forcedly the land from Aborigine to open the land to develop a new colony (Welcome to My Small World! Suku Aborigine, accessed 16/09/2009).

The phenomenon about the life of Aborigine who underwent the discrimination

and racialism made a Hollywood director "Baz Luhrmann" wants to make it into a drama romantic film with the title of "Australia". The film *Australia* is chosen as the object which is examined in this research since it is about the phenomenon related with the discrimination treatment and racialism of the White to the Aborigines, the film also includes the local value of Australia in every detail to develop the character and the circumstance of film starting from the casting until the inclusion of Aborigine culture along with the rites included in the film.

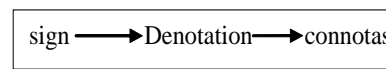
Based on the background, the research analyses the meaning of discrimination and racialism contained in the film *Australia* which highlights the problem of discrimination and racialism which are imposed on the Aborigine people from the White in Australia.

**Roland Barthes Semiotics:  
Theoretical review**

The recent research refer to the theory of semiotic which is established by Roland Barthes; and is supported by Charles Saunders Pierce in giving the mining to an icon, indices, symbols which are then compared with the denotation and connotation of Roland Barthes. Roland Barthes applied de Saussure model in his literary works and all kind cultural syndrome, such as the mode of clothing. Semiotics which was established by Barthes is called connotative semiotics. Its application was on the literary works, not only limited to the semiotic analysis. Rather it is applied to the connotative approach in every social phenomenon.

Roland Barthes review the signs based on two orders. In the first order, Barthes mentioned a sign which is understood in the realm of

denotation and then interpreted in a deeper aspect that is the connotation aspect. In the denotation element, a sign is interpreted as a general definition which was explicit in nature. In the connotation order, the sign system of the first order is inserted in cultural values. Barthes defines connotation as the interaction which occurs as the sign met with the feeling and emotion of its user followed by uncovering the implicit meaning of a sign. In the process of reconstructing based on the connotation, myth is required, that is the ideological culture and order which are used to understand several reality aspects which are rooted strongly in the society.



Gambar 1. Barthes's level of sign and meaning  
Source: Piliang, 2003, p. 262.

The data analysis was qualitative, thus it forms categorization or proposition. The data analysis was conducted using inductive method based on the individual or specific data to formulate the general conclusion. In this research, data analysis was also conducted using semiotic method. Analysis data using semiotic method means capturing and giving meaning to text. Since the literary work is a structure which has meaning by using the medium of language.

Connotation and denotation are developed by Roland Bartes. Roland Barthes called this system levelled signifying. Denotation system is the first level of sign which consists of the relation between the signifier and signified with the external reality around it. While connotation was the second level signing where the signified/signifier in denotation become the signifier related with the cultural value. Barthes stated that the approach to the discourse was directed to (*myth*).

1. Signifier
4. Connotative Signif

Gambar 2. System of connotasi dan denotasi of Barthes

**Result and Discussion**

In this scene, the discrimination is clearly described although it is shown only through the sentence "Aborigines are forbidden to enter", which is supported by the visualization of an Aborigine who stood behind Drover, a White man. The director used the close up technique to Drover. This is the unfair conduct to the Aborigine since they have no right to communicate and to use to public facilities such as the pub or

the situation in which the sentence is used. In the connotative side, it is a reinforcement that every Aborigine, regardless of their social condition, are prohibited to enter in the cafe which is the public facility in the public area.

"children of ! Your mother doesn't want you, does she? It is a question which at the same time humiliated Nullah who is the son of White and an Aborigine. This act is one of the discrimination toward Nullah as if the White justifies Nullah as the child who is unwanted by his parents.

As seen in the visualization, it can be concluded that the discrimination in Australia at that time developed into an integral part of the social life. The word expressed by a very young child who intentionally humiliated Nullah is not a coincidence. This may be related with the parents who teach their children and ingrain the prejudice which justifies that every Aborigine or any-

Scene	Shot	Setting	Visual
The debate about prohibi			The setting which is dominated by black
A child made the entrance			and blue in this scene described the sensitive feel-
It's a cross breed of Aborigi			ing about the hatred of the White to the Aborigine.
			White blue represent the permanent nature combin-
			ed with the black as the symbol of bad reputa-
			tion.

In the denotative side, it is merely a prohibition which is probably given to anybody. As the prohibition sentence can be uttered by whomever to whomever, depends on the mood and

thing related with him/her doesn't deserve to get along with their daily life.

The colours of brown and blue in this scene give the description about the attitude of Australian people who are uncomfortable and sentiment to the existence of the Aborigine which is considered as futile and that his existence should be separated from the other Australian children.

In the denotative meaning, it is shown that a question from a child who called Nullah and asked whether his mother wanted him. It is an ordinary question since at that time, Nullah was standing alone in the middle of the crowd and he i was one of the Aborigine children which will be exiled in "Mission Island" or an island for the naughty children which later became the target of attack in the Australian war.

In the denotative meaning, the picture describes a White child asks while humiliating Nullah who is alone and that he is unwanted by his mother. It is clear that Nullah is alone; he has no brother or sister. In the connotative meaning, the discriminative treatment develops with the increase of social life in Australia, thus the child even does the discrimination to Aborigines.

Whites, otherwise, the Aborigines were treated unjustly by the White.

Aborigine is viewed as the poor ethnic who has no intellectual outstanding thus they viewed unjustly by the White although Aborigines are the native people of Australia, their own land.

It is similar with what has been done by Neil Fletcher to Nullah. Nullah is forced to lie and hide the truth. Otherwise, his mother will be hurt by Fletcher.

The shooting or taking the picture using Close up technique when Fletcher whisper the treat which would be conducted to Nullah described that White truly dominated the Aborigines thus they blatantly decided what can be done by Aborigines.

The hatred among the White in Australia to the Aborigines descendant is described with the setting which is dominated with brown, blue and black which is described in scene 131. The color signifies the hatred, uncomfortable and sensitive to whatever the origins do.

From the denotative meaning, the threat directed to Nullah may be a common threat from someone who is afraid that this lie will be

Signifier
Nullah, a crossbreed child threatened and ask

In a thinking which develops in Australia during the invasion of England to Australia, the existence of the origin Aborigines was increasingly marginalized and colonialised. To be able to survive, they should become the slave for the White. They were obliged all the order from the

uncover and only represent lip service to the small kid to follow the order.

In a connotative meaning, Aborigines should follow or obey all the order or command from the White. Otherwise, he would be beaten or that his/her family will be hurt.

Scene	Shot	Visual
138	1	M.S
	2	L.S
	3	M.S

The violence is not taboo in the discrimination, since in reality, discrimination is closely related with the violence. And the victims can be the small children, women, men originating from certain ethnical group which is considered lower than the White.

As what happened to Nullah who is treated fiercely – hit by Fletcher because he uncovered the lie committed by Fletcher. And Fletcher is angry because he easily hit Nullah as he wanted. Nullah is uncovered and he cries and all he can do is to say ‘God damn Nullah to be beaten.’

The description which used Long Shot technique made Nullah become the object or the main target of the violence committed by Fletcher.

It is described that the description sing Long Shot makes Nullah become the main target of violence committed by Fletcher who chases after him, and then is continued by Medium Shot when Nullah is captured and beaten. It is clearly described what is obtained by Aborigines who dares to challenge the Whites.

Brown colour describes the feeling ‘annoyed’ which is felt by Fletcher due to the existence of Nullah as the Aborigine. Blue describes the sensitivity level of Fletcher who becomes increasingly hate Nullah who did mistakes. And without taking a second thought, he hit Nullah.

In the denotation level, the description displayed in the film represent the hitting done

Signifier
Drover is mocked because builds a relationship with Abc

by Fletcher to Nullah because his lie had been uncovered, thus Fletcher furiously hit Nullah, while his mother only can scream and beg the Fletcher stopped his hitting his son.

In the connotation level, it is clear that the Whites have the right to treat the Aborigine unfairly although they may be right. It is common for a White to treat the Aborigine rudely, particularly when they do something harm to the White.

Living together with other people harmonically is important for us as a social creature in order that we can help each other and share our happiness and sadness. However, this is hardly found in Australia when we get along with the native people of Australia. We will be alienated in the society, furthermore if we live in the White environment.

Getting along with the Aborigines is similar with equating ourselves with them and there

friend. Aborigine is Aborigine and everybody who gets along with them means that they treat themselves as origin. This is reflected in the background which is dominated with the black.

In denotative view, the picture describes the situation in the Pub when Drover ordered drink but later a man scolded him as a part of Aborigines people and then expelled him from the pub.

In the connotative meaning, it can be explained that when Drober who is a White should face the reality that he has a lower status after he gets along with Aborigine, he should face he should realize that many people scolded him, particularly he is humiliated by the people around him.

The discrimination indirectly imposed to the people of minority who have the clear difference with the people of other society. They usu-

<b>Signifier</b>
Lady Ashley embraced N and this is considered uncommon deed.

will be much discrimination we received when we get along with Aborigines. It is true for Drover, a White who married Aborigine woman. He is frequently discriminated when he hangs around in the people of White. Even the people living surrounding him considered him as one of Aborigines.

The people of Australia are accustomed to view the Aborigines as a group of disgusting people and do not have right to get along with them. Thus, getting along with Aborigine means we make ourselves be the part of Aborigine. The hatred is stronger when Drover entered the Pub which was the public facility for the White where they drink. Moreover, he came with his Aborigine

ally get the discrimination treatment because they get along with the individual or group which is considered as having the same status with their group, because he or she came from the race which is exiled by other group.

In general, the discrimination creates a label on the object and holds the same view for the people who have the certain stereotype. When individual is closely related with the stereotype, they will be considered the same and get the same treatment with the stereotype although in reality he/she comes from different race or ethnic (Prasetyo and Sujito).

The care and affection from Lady Ashley to Nullah who is Aborigine has invited the rumour



in the Australian people who consider Aborigines as disgusting thus they felt that what is done by Lady Ashley is uncommon among her society during that time.

A priest is a religious figure. But in this film, he imposes discrimination on the Aborigines by saying that the children of Aborigine are the unfortunate children and they should be taken away from the children of the White. The Aborigine children should grow in their own environment.

The Aborigine children are sent to "Mission Island" where the first war broke and become the first target in the war. Perhaps, the intention of the government at that time was to cut the generation line of Aborigines in order that there were no Aborigines left.

fection which is given by the mother to her son/daughter. Lady Ashley stops thinking about the other's words who humiliated her because she gave her care to Nullah, the descendant of Aborigine. What Lady Ashley did was considered as inappropriate toward the child of Aborigine.

In the level of connotative, the children of Aborigine are considered as bringing troubles for Australian people and it is better to keep them away from the social life in order that they impose no negative effect to the other White children. Thus, Lady Ashley was considered as weird person who struggles with her largest power to keep Nullah with her.

A prejudice has been long maintained and has developed. It is stated that Aborigine that has the lower status than the White in Aus-

Scene	Shot	Visual
5	9	C.u
	10	C.U
	11	C.U
<b>Signifier</b>		
Nullah told about what will happen	12	C.U

Besides the sensitive feeling, blue which has the meaning of security and can be used as the background in the scene. It is clearly described that the goals of exile among the children of Aborigines to "Mission Island" is that Australia is safe from the little disturbance which imposes the bad influence to the children of White. While in the same time blue describes that Lady Ashley believes that Nullah was the descendant of Aborigine who can be counted on while she was exiled in the far away place.

In the level of denotation, the step taken by Lady Ashley is similar with the care and af-

tralia has been seized or driven away to the remote area in Australia.

Every matter which is related with the Aborigines is identified with the evil deed, impolite or bringing the bad luck. They are all considered the same, there is no special about Aborigines. This is clear in the scene in film 'Australia' in which Nullah is sent to Mission Island since he is considered as a criminal.

The attitude is created due to the gap between the Aborigines and the White in the socio-cultural realm in their life. Aborigines were considered as the group with lower culture and

neglected, and is always related with evil or crime. Thus it is why they received the discrimination and they are treated rudely and in their life in the neighbourhood with the Whites.

In the above quotation, it can be described that what is accepted by Nullah when someone sees him is that he will be sent to the jail although he doesn't do anything wrong. The shooting used close up technique and this ensures that the discrimination is absolute for Nullah.

The hatred of Australian Whites to the Aborigine is described with the colour of black which symbolizes the hatred and bad reputation among them. Every society who saw the existence of Aborigine is expected to call the local police and the police then exiles them to "Mission Island".

In the denotative meaning, all we can see is the description of how an Aborigine tells a story to Lady Ashley about what he can do if there is someone who sees him.

In the connotative meaning, it is clear that someone was Nullah doing mistake and that he should be responsible. Thus, he along with other Aborigine children should be sent to the jail where bad people reside. Thus Nullah should stay with the bad people in the jail.

There is a different condition between the White and Aborigine in Australia and this makes them stand in conflict in several matters

and Aborigine is always the group which is discriminate and exiled.

Every pride given to them are directly refused with the negative prejudice by the White. Similarly, Lady Ashley gives compliment to Nullah. She said that Nullah is a nice and funny boy but Fletcher suddenly argued and said that Aborigine child was uneducated child and liked to tell a lie to anyone, thus they were sent by the Government to Mission Island.

The blue in this scene represent the permanent sentiment attitude of Fletcher. It makes Fletcher never likes Nullah and brown describes the uncomfortable felt by Fletcher concerning the Nullah's behaviour and this make Fletcher furious to Nullah. Grey used as the background is aimed at giving the explanation that the Aborigine crossbreed has the lower level of intellectuality compared to the White children. They tend to be considered as dumb, naughty and uneducated.

In the denotative level, Fletcher who argues Lady Ashley's idea says that Nullah is a nice and funny child. While Fletcher said that Nullah was an Aborigine child which is uneducated and likes to tell a lie.

In the level of connotative, it means that the words Fletcher said about the Aborigine child who is uneducated and liar is the bottom line of the racialism imposed to the Aborigines who are considered as criminals.

<b>Signifier</b>
Fletcher said that aborigin uneducated and lia

Scene	Shot	Visual
13	90	M.S
	95	M.S
	96	M.S
	100	M.C.U
	101	C.U
	105	M.C.U

**Signifier** The biological condition of Aborigine children is quite different with the White children. They have darker skin, compared to the White children. But in general, Aborigine children are the same as any children of their age.

Racialism led the Aborigine children seem different with the White children. They tend to be viewed as the damned children who have no bright future. Thus, when Lady Ashley planned to adopt Nullah, the process became intentionally more difficult than she thought before. Even, she is considered as a queer person who wanted to adopt the Aborigine child.

Aborigines are considered overlooking their descendant thus their children are sent to Mission Island since the children are considered as bringing the unfortunate or bringing trouble to the other children in their neighbourhood.

The talk conducted by Lady Ashley who stands face to face with the doctor who helps her adopt Nullah is taken with close up technique. The doctor knows how serious Lady Ashley was to adopt Nullah, but unfortunately, the

biological factor has made the adoption difficult to fulfil.

The Whites in Australian have strong power to determine to making of law which place the Aborigines into difficult situation. Their hatred to the Aborigine is shown through the difficult process of adoption. It is clear when Lady Ashley wanted to adopt Nullah. She encountered the law which troubles her much. This is shown by the black setting which dominates the background which reinforce their ignorance to the Aborigine crossbreed

In the level of denotation, there is a serious talk between Lady Ashley and the doctor. They talked about Lady Ashley's intention to adopt Nullah and they have a strong debate about the difficult process to adopt Nullah.

While in the level of connotation, the doctor's word which stated the difficult process of adopting an Aborigine child may implies that it may be impossible to adopt the Aborigine child given that the Aborigine children have been sent to Mission Island because the Aborigine Chil-

dren are considered as bringing trouble in Australia at the time.

Nullah thought that he wouldn't get any happiness as what he expected during that time since he was not a part of Aborigine and not a part of White. As a crossbreed, he was considered as having the similar condition with Aborigine, that is they are considered as criminal and that they must be exiled into Mission Island. As a crossbreed, Nullah doesn't deserve the treasure from the origin.

In the Shot above, it is clear that how Nullah is thinking of his fate as the crossbreed that is really sad among the people who get the happiness which he cannot get. The biological racialism he encounters becomes a pressure in his soul. He realizes his condition; he became the object of assault when he grows among the Whites.

As an Aborigine boy, Nullah has nothing to say about his social status. He is considered as a criminal when he hangs around in the public places since the Australian White extremely hate the cross-breed who is considered to have bad reputation and Nullah should only be patient to face the trouble by himself. At least, it is represented from the colour of black and blue which becomes the background of the scene.

In the denotation meaning, Nullah is the blend between Aborigine and White. He grows in the cow farm "Faraway Down" along with Aborigines and Whites. In the

connotative meaning, Nullah felt difficult to communicate and adapt with his surrounding since he was not recognized as both Aborigine or the White. This in turn makes him exiled or that he received the unfair treatment and then he is finally sent to the jail for the criminal people in Mission Island although he actually does no harm or that he doesn't do any mistakes.

### **Semiotic Analysis of the Racialism Discrimination in "Australia" Movie**

Everytime we state the word discrimination, we refers to a set of meanings which are related with the unfair treatment or the inequality of treatment from one individual to another or one group to another. Discrimination is shaped in a pattern of social life where generally the emergence of the discrimination treatment begins with the enforcement of group identity to pursue the higher position than the other group.

In a research conducted by Jack Snyder, the expert of politics of Columbia University, it is found that the emergence of discrimination is related with the political order and the participation from different social level of the society. They have different style and different interest which makes discrimination and conflict related with the race, religion and ethnic burst in the social life of a country. (yogyakarta rimba diskriminasi, accessed 15/09/2009).

In contrast, the theoretical framework of discrimination proposed by Hannah Arendt fo-

cused on the discrimination which makes the power of Hitler as the product of discrimination behaviour run enthusiastically. According to Arendt, the discrimination emerges as a result of the limit between the power and responsibility which fades away. In addition, Arendt argue that all the discrimination crime are facilitated by the modern progressive elements, the norm which in the form of technique, efficiency, scientific objectivity, emotion distance determination refer to the value which mediates the discrimination functioning.

In a simple definition, discrimination refers to the behaviour which does not accept the plurality at all and tend to choose the violence since this behaviour will create the fear among the individuals who are then easily directed for a certain goal. (Leksono – Supelli, in *Kompas*, 02-02-2001)

Discrimination in the film Australia is formed from a negative prejudice about the Aborigines in the daily life thus they frequently accept the rude treatment and are considered as criminals. In addition they are also considered as the unlucky people who don't deserve to join the Whites.

From the sign examined, it is concluded that discrimination in the film Australia has been conditioned to develop in the daily life of the Whites, so it is common that we find a White child practises discriminative deed to Nullah who is Aborigine crossbreed

The discrimination in the film is shaped because the prejudice and justification develop in the society. The Whites hold the negative prejudice to the Aborigines by considering them as the criminals who should accept the violence. And based on this too, they justify every individual who is related with the Aborigine is considered as Aborigine as well and deserves to get the harassment as what the Aborigines does.

Unfair treatments are common to the Aborigines in their life with Whites. Aborigines do not get their right, while they should fulfill their obligation. The form of discrimination displayed in the film *Australia* is imposed directly to everyone who is related to Aborigine. There is only

one world in the mind of the Whites about the Aborigines, which is "criminal".

The racism in the film Australia is similar with the discrimination to Aborigines. The film displays the racism which is usually directed toward the Aborigines in their daily life. They don't deserve to join the White in using the public facilities and what's more is that as if the government legalizes such treatment in the social life in Australia.

Australian government seems to give space for such discrimination which is conducted by the White to the Aborigines. It lets its people to treat the Aborigines rudely although they realize that Aborigines are the indigenous people of Australia. The Aborigines are prohibited to enter the public area as if they make the regulation that prevails over Australia although initially this begins with the personal sentiment.

The development of racism in the modern area is more likely in countries that are considered as appreciating the democracy and human rights such as United States and Australia. There are still much racial harassment done by the Whites to the black. It is true that the White comers which then reside and become the dominant group in Australia impose the discrimination on the native nation of Australia- or the country of Kanguru ([www.daniwicaksono.blogspot.com/2006/11/rasialisme-di-Australia- accessed 19/09/2009](http://www.daniwicaksono.blogspot.com/2006/11/rasialisme-di-Australia- accessed 19/09/2009)).

This may be in contrast with what is suggested by the West about the discrimination, racism and the violation of Human right in other country. They condemned such things while the condition in their own country described that they still imposed the discrimination and violates the human right

The moral of avoiding the discrimination and racism in the film Australia is displayed in every scene with the hope that every viewer who watch the movie will realize about the problem which they will face when they let the discrimination and racism develop in their life.

We are born as the human who have the same rights and obligation and we are also blessed with the same brain and senses. The physical differences should not be the gap to in-

teract each other. Rather it should be something that we must be proud of since we come from different ethnic, nation and culture which make us more diverse. The difference should not be a drawback. Rather it should be the strength to which we build relationship as the social beings who complete each other.

### Conclusion

Discrimination and racism in the film "Australia" is shaped as the life pattern among the Whites who hold the prejudice on the Aborigine. Most of the Whites consider Aborigine and all descendants as criminals who are bad and evil.

The film "Australia" describes in detail about the discrimination and racism which are imposed in the Aborigine from the Whites. The unfavourable view, the rude treatment and inequality are the discrimination and racism which are frequently presented in the "Australia".

Film "Australia" directed by Baz Luhrmann presents the discrimination and racism with a message. Both themes are presented and an integral part of the social order in Australia. In addition, discrimination and racism in this film are based on a true story. Discrimination and racism are presented not to be imitated. Rather, it gives a description on how this prolonged conflict led to the murder or the futile sacrifice among the Aborigine.

All forms of symbols and signs about the discrimination and racism in the film 'Australia' are described in every scene which consists of dialogue, visual and colour of the setting or background which give the special meanings. All are combined to show about the inequality in Australia—that is the discrimination and racism to the Aborigine by the Whites.

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# The Perceptions of Gender Bias as a Communication Constraint in the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming within the Context of Regional Autonomy of the Province of Yogyakarta Special Region

Puji Lestari, Machya Astuti Dewi, June Cahyaningtyas

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences

UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta

## Abstract

This study aims to determine the communication constraints in implementing gender mainstreaming program in the province of Yogyakarta within the era of regional autonomy. The program which was initiated in 2000 has not been brought encouraging results. The qualitative research method was used with focus group data collection techniques. Head of the Office of Yogyakarta's Women Empowerment, head of government in the province of Yogyakarta, members of parliament as well as women activists of several women's NGOs were the informants. The data from the interviews equipped with secondary data collected from the annual report from the Office of Women's Empowerment and all government agencies in the province of Yogyakarta. All data was then analyzed using descriptive-qualitative analysis. The results of this study found that implementation of mainstreaming in all offices in Yogyakarta were not optimized, but the Education Department has a good gender responsive planning, implementation, and evaluation of programs. This study also identified a variety of communication barriers in the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Yogyakarta Province agencies, namely: cultural aspects of society's perception that support patriarchy, perception of gender, resulting in work programs and behaviors that gender bias, the absence of data between men and women as a basis for making the program work, the unuse of gender analysis tools in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of work programs, the existence of mutations that are less concerned employee PUG experience, and budget issues that have not been gender responsive. Thus, this study suggests that the government should have the same perception of gender as a basis for making the program work and implemented in a gender responsive planning, implementation, and evaluation of programs. It needs to be supported by personnel in all offices that have a correct perception of the gender mainstreaming, for the sake of harmony and well-being of society, especially in the government of Yogyakarta.

**Keywords:** gender mainstreaming, perception, regional autonomy.

## Introduction

Regional Autonomy was first set forth in Act No. 22 of 1999 and then improved again with the birth of Act No. 32/ 2004. This act has given the opportunity to compete for the region to build their own country and improve people's welfare. Another positive impact of the birth of the Act on Regional Autonomy is a reactivation function of local government in the wheels of government moving the region that was centralized at the central government. Decentralization opens up opportunities in local community participation in monitoring and evaluating performance and even encourage local governments

to be more sensitive in responding to issues in society that affect their daily lives, such as health, education, poverty, domestic violence, malnourished children under five and the problems of criminality (Cahayani, 2009: 366).

Regional Autonomy for women gives hope for the opportunity to be involved in the development process. The spirit of regional autonomy is in line with the global discourse on the development of gender mainstreaming.

In Indonesia gender mainstreaming policy embodied in the form of Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming

in National Development. President has instructed the executive, ie governors, regents and mayors to implement the strategy of gender mainstreaming in their regional development. They must implement the mainstreaming strategy in all stages of development, ranging from the preparation of the planning, implementation and monitoring of programs or activities, including budgeting (Soeparman, 2006: 35).

Conditions in the field indicates that the proper construction of the welfare of all people in accordance with the spirit of PUG and the Autonomous Region, was only enjoyed by certain groups, namely men, while other groups, namely women are still neglected. In the province of DIY imbalance was seen from the reality of the condition of women still decline. Numbers of women victims of violence in Yogyakarta Special Region (DIY) is still relatively high. Each year the detected cases of violence reach more than 100 cases. Violence cases that often occur are physical, economic and psychological violence. Based on data recorded at the Treatment Forum of Women and Children Victims of Violence DIY, in 2006 there were 116 cases. The number of cases was composed of 70 cases of violence against wives, violence against children 23 cases, 6 cases of rape; unwanted pregnancy is 6 cases, 7 cases of sexual harassment and dating violence in 4 cases. While in 2007 there were 106 cases. Consisting of 64 cases of violence against wives, 17 cases of violence against children, 11 cases of rapes, 4 cases of unwanted pregnancy, 2 cases of sexual harassment and 4 cases of dating violence (Joglo Semar, 13/3/2008).

The position of women in the province of Yogyakarta in the development planning process is also still weak. The data found by the Indonesia Rapid Decentralization Appraisal (IRDA) shows that the DIY community in determining access priority development programs are still very low, because most of the proposed members of the community, including women who are more inputs that are not fit to be tied or set both at the village as well as the district level. Policy formulation is characterized by a pattern of top down, not bottom up. At the time of the district's decision Rakorbang bureaucrats looked

dominant as they are in charge of the development fund. Top-down approach is preferred on the grounds of local government in the time efficiency policy formulation process. The phenomenon that should be a concern is that starting from the village and district are invited to attend more in Development Planning Consultation is male, so access is very small for woman. Moreover at the district level that will determine the number of women a priority program of development is very small (Partini, 2004: 321).

This phenomenon indicates that the implementation of mainstreaming in the development process in the province of Yogyakarta is still facing obstacles of communication in the socialization of gender mainstreaming. This is evident from the condition of women is still poor and marginalized in many aspects of development. That's what needs to be studied communication barriers that hinder the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the province of Yogyakarta. Expected results of this study can be utilized by sectors associated with gender mainstreaming program to evaluate and improve program implementation so the condition of women in the province of Yogyakarta to improve academically and at the same time is expected to enrich the study of the existence and role of women in the era of regional autonomy.

Deterioration of the condition of the phenomenon of female in Yogyakarta province in the midst of rampant gender mainstreaming program in the era of regional autonomy, the study examines: What are the communication barriers that inhibit the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the province of Yogyakarta in the era of regional autonomy?

Discussion on gender and communication, can be used as a theoretical framework of reference, namely: Genderlect Styles (from Deborah Tannen); Standpoint Theory (Sandra Harding and Julia of Wood), and Muted Group Theory (from Cheris Kramarae). According Genderlect Styles (Griffin, 2006:470), Deborah Tannent describe ignorance (misunderstanding) between men and women with regard to the fact that women are the focus of talks connectivity, while men in the service status and independence.

Styles Genderlect talking-talking style is not what is said but how to say it. Tannen believe that there is a gap between men and women, because each one is in a position of cross-cultural (cross culture), it is necessary to anticipate with regard to gap it. Failure to observe differences in speaking style can bring a big problem. The differences lie in: (1) The tendency of feminist versus masculine, this should be viewed as two distinct dialects: between superior and inferior in the talks. Feminist community-to build relationships, and demonstrate responsiveness. Masculine community-complete the task; declare themselves, and gain power. (2) She has a passion for connection versus male desire for status. Connection is closely related to the closeness, the status is closely linked to power (power). (3) report talk versus rapport talk. Linguistic cultural differences play a role in arranging verbal contact between men and women. Rapport-talk is the term used to assess the chatter of women who tend to seem sympathetic. Report talk is the term used to assess male chats likely what it is, just arrived. With regard to these values, Tannen describe findings that are categorized as follows, (Griffin, 2006:474):

- a. Private versus public speaking speaking, in this category found that women are more talkative in private conversation. While men more involved public conversation, men use conversation as a statement of the command functions; convey information; asking for approval.
- b. Telling a story, the stories describe the expectations, needs, and values of the narrator. In this category of men more than women-in particular talked about the joke. Story jokes are a way of negotiating masculine status.
- c. Listening, women tend to maintain the view, often nodded, muttering as the sign has to listen and express togetherness. Men in terms of trying to blur the impression of listening to it-as an effort to maintain his status.
- d. Asking questions, when they want to talk to interrupt the speaker, women express approval in advance. Tannen call it a cooperative-a sign of sympathetic rapport rather than competitive. In men, an interrupt is seen by Tannen as power or power to control the conversation. In other

words, the questions used by women to memantabkan relationships, and to refine the disagreement with the speaker, while the men were taking the opportunity to ask in an effort to make the speaker to be weak.

- e. Conflict, women view conflict as a threat and should be avoided. Men usually start a conflict but less happy to maintain it.

According Standpoint Theory (Griffin, 2006:482), Sandra Harding and Julia T. Wood agreed that men and women have separate perspectives, and not see it as something that is equivalent. Different locations in the social hierarchy affect what is seen. Society assumes that women as a minority perceives the world differently than the ruling or the majority of men. Standpoint is a place from which the view of the world and whatever the point of view. Synonyms of this term are the viewpoint, perspective, outlook and position.

Basic philosophy of this theory is the class struggle of the proletariat-like philosophy of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Sandra Harding and Julia T. Wood recommend the struggle against gender discrimination. These figures do not characterize gender differences in biological or instinctual or intuitive, but the difference was as a result of cultural expectations and treatment groups in terms of receiving another group. Culture is not experienced identically, culture is the rule hierarchy so that the group who are intended to offer the power, the opportunity to its members. In this case this theory states that women are positioned low on the hierarchy of positions than men. Gender is a system of meaning, the point of view through the position where most men and women are separated in the environment, material, and symbolic.

According to Muted Group Theory or Group Theory Mute (West and Turner, 2008: 200), Griffin, 2006:494), Cheri Kramarae see discussion of men and women as unequal exchange between parties who have power in society and what does not. Based on his analysis that women are less able to articulate themselves or fight for themselves than men in the public sector. This is due to the word in the language and norms which had been controlled by men.

Throughout the discussion of women as tentative and trivial, the dominant position of men safe. Kramarae believes that silence women tend to attenuate, control in life will increase. Cheris Kramarae suggests the basic assumptions of this theory as follows: (1) Women respond to the world differently from men because of different experiences and activities that are rooted in the division of labor. (2) Based on political dominance, the male perception system becomes more dominant, inhibiting the free expression of alternative thinking woman. (3) In order to participate in society, women must change perspective into the system an acceptable expression of male.

Kramarae (in the West and Turner, 2008: 200) put forward a number of hypotheses about women's communication is based on some research findings. (1) Women experience more difficulty in expressing themselves than men. (2) Women are more easily understand the meaning of men than men understand the meaning of women. (3) Women have been creating their own ways of expression outside the system of male dominance. (4) Women tend to express dissatisfaction about communication more than males. (5) Women are often trying to change the rules of the dominant communication in order to avoid or oppose the conventional rules. (6) Traditionally women are less produce new words are popular in the wider society; consequently, they are not considered to have contributed to the language. (7) Women have a different conception of the humorous man.

These theories are relevant to the phenomenon of people, especially the staff of the ministries of the Province of DIY. Perceptions of people who think that men are superior to perempuan still characterize the process of communication in most offices in the province of Yogyakarta. It can trigger a variety of other communications issues, such as election officials, the division of duties, etc., it is necessary to identify obstacles to communication in the socialization of Pug that sought the best solution.

### **Research Method**

This study is an evaluative research, which evaluates the implementation of gender

mainstreaming program in the era of regional autonomy in the province of Yogyakarta and then map the communication barriers that cause delays in program implementation in the province of DIY.

Primary data was collected from the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) that have been conducted on August 19, 2009 by inviting subject of study as follows:

- Head of Women and Community Empowerment (BPPM) DIY Province.
- Entire head office in Yogyakarta province, namely (1) Department of Health, (2) Department of Agriculture, (3) Department of Manpower and Transmigration, (4) Department of Transportation, (5) Department of Fisheries and Marine Resources, (6) Department of Tourism, (7) Department of Culture, (8) Department of Education, (9) Department of Industry, Commerce and Cooperatives, (10) Department of Social Welfare, (11) Department of Revenue and Finance, (12) Forestry and (13) Department of Settlement and Regional Infrastructure.
- Head of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board of DIY.
- Member of provincial parliament DIY.
- Activist women of Yasanti, Discourse Partners and Regional Ombudsman Institute.

Some important points to be in the focus group discussion is the perception of the concept of gender, experience of each agency in implementing the program PUG and communication constraints in implementing the program PUG

After the FGD was held, on another occasion in-depth interviews (depth interview) with the informants / subjects separately to enrich and deepen the data have been obtained from the FGD. Interviews have been conducted with several officials at the provincial office of DIY, Mom and Dad Sularso Carolina that handles PUG in the BPPM, activists from the Yasanti Muftiyannah Istiatun and Amin who had been involved actively in the forum TKPBG, activists from the IPPA and the Institute for Private Ombusman (LOS) ie Budi Wahyuni, mother Tuti Purwani (former chairman KPP), Wasingatu

Zakiyah of IDEA and the mother Isti'anah (DIY legislators). Data collected through FGDs and in-depth interviews include:

- An understanding of gender concepts.
- The view on the concept of gender.
- Experience legislators when drawing up a budget that a gender perspective.
- The experience of government services in the field in the official work program aligns with the strategy of Gender Mainstreaming.
- Understanding the bureaucrats of gender analysis tools.
- Experiences of women activists in advocating the construction of a gender perspective.

Meanwhile, secondary data will be collected from several sources as follows:

An annual report from each of the Government Office in the province of Yogyakarta.

- The results of the provincial parliament budget committee meeting that discussed the Budget DIY to the Office of Women's Empowerment.
- Annual Report of the working program of KPP.
- Report of advocacy activities of NGOs PUG female.
- The results of previous studies of the research team related to the aspect of gender equality and programs for women.

The collected data were analyzed with descriptive-qualitative techniques. First of all reduced data to determine which ones are relevant to the substance of the research and what is not. The result of data reduction is then created categorization to sort out the data based on the categories that have been determined. In the data analysis process created a matrix of communication barriers that hinder the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the province of Yogyakarta. To facilitate reading the data and draw conclusions, data analysis involves "theoretical discussions" between the findings obtained from research with communication theory that address the gender, as well as similar studies of other researchers have done.

### **Research Result and Discussion**

A discussion of gender is the study of intercultural communication, intercultural communication given place between people of different

cultures, including national, ethnic, race, language, religion, educational level, social status, or even gender (Mulyana, 2000). Intercultural communication as defined in this study is the communication between male and female, are characterized by differences in perceptions about the customs, language, customs, and norms or cultural values in the relations between men and women. Some important things to be explained, in understanding the constraints of gender communication, namely: the perception of gender, komunikasi verbal and nonverbal communication. The third element is the basic cause of the failure of the building, as well as successes, gender communication.

Intercultural communication occurs when the sender of the message (sender) is a member of a particular culture is the recipient (receiver) members of other cultures. In this communication, the obstacles will arise in which a message is encoded (encoding) in a culture and should be re-encoded (decoding) within other cultures. This requires attention, because culture affects people's behavior in communication, intercultural communication therefore to be running smoothly, the parties involved in the communication must have the same perception of the culture (customs) and the cultural values espoused by the men and women. In this study of employees in ministries of the Province of men and women should have the same perception of gender mainstreaming.

Perception of the concept substantially gendermainstreaming get the idea of the three sources of fundamental principles. First is placing the individual as a whole person. This principle is derived from the paradigm of politics of difference that saw women and men as one who has the responsibility of each. As human beings, women and men should get the same respect and reverence. This principle refuses to treat women and men according to their social roles as husband or wife and who does not care that women and men have their individual needs which may be different. Second, that democracy means placing members of civil society in governance processes. Democracy also means the participation of civil society in designing and develop-

ing policies that will affect their lives. In this aspect of democracy emphasizes the importance of mainstreaming women's involvement in the development planning process. The third is the Fairness (equity), justice (fairness and the rule of law) and equity (equality). The third principle is more commonly known as social justice (Silawati, 2006: 22-23).

According to the Presidential Directive of 2000 attempts to implement a gender mainstreaming requires seven basic elements, namely political support, policy, resource, data and information systems, institutional, gender analysis tools and support for civil society. Unfortunately the emphasis on the seventh aspect makes many people are too busy on the seventh it is actually just a prerequisite, not the core of the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The more important step is a real involvement in the process of policy formulation and program development, from planning to monitoring and evaluation.

The study, conducted Silawati (2006: 23-29) concluded that the effectiveness of the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming strategy is largely determined by the strengthening of the seven requirements above along with the courage to include the gender dimension in the planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation of development policies and program. All that can not be separated from: (1) political support by advocating for policy makers in the executive, judicial and legislative branches of the meaning of gender mainstreaming, (2) reevaluation of all products so that no more policies are contrary to the policy of gender equality, (3) resources that will be implementing the gender mainstreaming program, (4) data and information systems are inadequate to describe the status and condition of women, (5) institutional, that is revitalizing the Office of Women that have self-confidence when confronted with other sectors, (6) analysis tool that can download the gender-format format of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development, and (7) support civil society to strengthen the political and policy support.

Kartika according to the study, said: "Gender mainstraeming is fine, but do not be accusatory nature". Attraction is finally happening between the understanding of mainstreaming strategy (which is actually not complete because of the concept of gender ketidakpahaman), attempt to perpetuate the social culture, governance and business conduct with the planning as stated in the Strategic Plan (Strategic Plan) District and Local Government Work Plan (Kartika, 2006: 67).

Such phenomena are not only unique to Indonesia, as in other countries also show similar symptoms. Thelma Kay of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP) suggested that in the countries of the Asia-Pacific is not just a matter of culture that hinder the implementation of mainstreaming, but also because the national as government regulations, human resources, and skills still technically weak. In addition the law does not yet support the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming. Law enforcement officials also have not been trained to use a gender-just laws. Gender mainstreaming also not be used as a basis for judgment (Women's Journal, Issue 50, 2006: 59).

In the province of Yogyakarta, the difficulty to perform the construction of a gender perspective also constrained by the lack of explanation given by the Office of Women's Empowerment (KPP) when dealing with the legislature. Women's programs that were presented in front of KPP legislators often get criticism and questions are blind from lawmakers who disagree with specific programs for women. The attitude of some members of the legislature to make such a KPP cornered and less able to provide convincing arguments why these programs will be conducted. However the approved budget for the KPP Parliament increased from year to year. This achievement is inseparable from the support of female legislators to KPP KPP way to help strengthen the argument about the importance of programs for women during a meeting of the Budget Committee (Goddess and Ilkodar, 2007:34-35).

This study comprehensively map out the actual barriers impede communication DIY PUG in the province that has been run since 2000. Barriers can be seen from the seven basic requirements that the successful implementation of Gender Mainstreaming: (1) political support, (2) policy, (3) resources, (4) data and information systems, (5) institutional, (6) gender analysis tools and (7) support civil society.

In line with the spirit of regional autonomy, the aspect of public support for the views of how much women have contributed to also determine, support and evaluate development programs are linked to their livelihood.

The following description of the condition of women in Yogyakarta by Yogyakarta Gender Statistics and analysis of the 2006 employment, public sector, and various data of violence against women in Yogyakarta.

**Employment**

According to the Act of 1945 section 21 and 27 ensure equal rights and obligations for the inhabitants without distinction of male or female in the field of work, politics and law. In fact what has been outlined is not going as it should be. Not surprisingly, when the opportunity to obtain jobs in certain sectors, between women

and men are unequal and the consideration received is not the same. The limited access of women to try/work in a productive economy, including the capital and business training is a one-on-one problem experienced by women.

Percentage of population aged 15 years and over who worked showed the highest rate compared to other activities, such as the unemployed, school, household, or other. However, if observed more carefully it turns out the participation of women in the workforce is still lower than men. In 2004, the percentage of women who work recorded only 59.1 percent, smaller than the men who worked to reach 76.0 percent. Meanwhile, the percentage of women working in 2005 and even fell to 56.0 percent, the group of men also happens to be a 73.2 percent decline.

There are two main indicators are often used to see the participation of residents in the area of employment. First, is the Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) which is the ratio between the number of labor force with a total population of working age. Second, is the Unemployment Rate (TPT) which is the ratio of the number of unemployed to the number of labor force.

Main activity	(1)
Work	(2)
Unemployed	
School	
Household	
Other	

Table 1. Population Age 15 Years above on the Main Activities and Sex, Yogyakarta Special Province, 2004-2005

Sources: Statistical Analysis of Provincial Gender, Yogyakarta, 2006

Table 2. Labor Force Participation Rate (LFPR) Gender, Yogyakarta Special Region, 2004-2005

Sex
(1)
Female
Male

Sources: Statistical Analysis of Provincial Gender, Yogyakarta, 2006

Number of female population from year to year is always greater than the number of the male population, but labor force participation of women is always lower than the labor force participation of men. In 2005. LFPR of women and men in different Yogyakarta Special Province is large enough, ie, 60.9 versus 78.8.

**Public Sector**

Perceptions of women now have a lot of progress. Today more and more women are involved in determining the direction and movement along with the development of nation and culture that is conducive. Women have a lot to participate in the public sector, as an executive or engaged in politics.

This is shown by the composition of members of parliament according to sex in an area can reflect how much the democratic principles have been applied in the area. Supposedly, the composition of the population is almost equally between the number of men to women is the composition of its legislators were properly balanced.

Hope it does not always come true. The number of members of parliament of the Province of Yogyakarta period 2004-2009 is still dominated by men, where their number is 90.91 percent of all members, while the number of women is only 9.09 per cent (Journal of women 46, 2006:28).

Judging from the composition of legislators in Parliament each district / city level, women who are members of the legislature is still far lower percentage than men, so does the percentage of legislators in the provincial parliament, as shown in the table 3.

Aside from being a politician in the legislature, any woman in public life may play a role, such as in the executive branch as a civil servant.

Number of Civil Servants and the Central Region by region and gender placement in the province of Yogyakarta, is described in the tables 4 and figures 1.

Graphic image shows that in general the percentage of women are lower than the civil servants of men. However, in 2002 there were an increasing number of female civil servants are quite high, approaching 60 percent (53.63 per-

Table 3 Number of Members of Parliament by Region and Gender Special Province of Yogyakarta, in 1999-2004 and 2004-2009

Region	Female
(1)	(2)
Yogyakarta Province	5 (9,09%)
Bantul	3 (6,67%)
Kulonprogo	2 (5,56%)
Gunungkidul	2 (4,44%)
Sleman	2 (4,44%)
Yogyakarta	1

Sources: Statistical Analysis of Provincial Gender, Yogyakarta, 2006

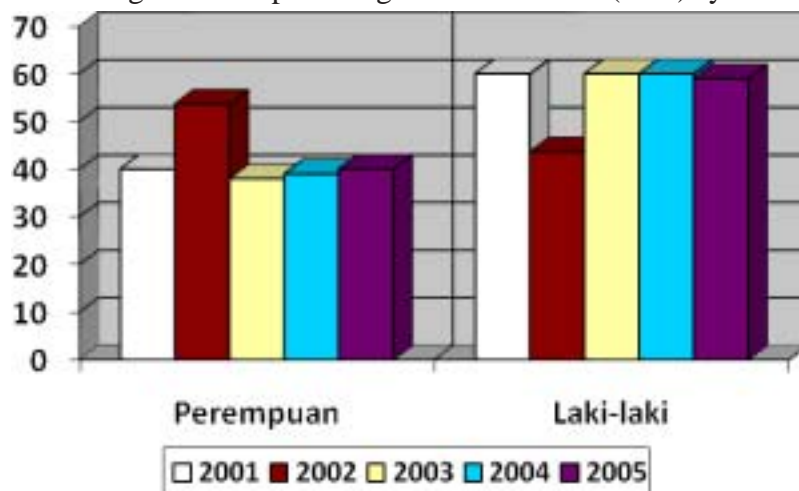


Table 4 Number of Civil Servants and the Regional Center Placement by Region and Sex, Yogyakarta Special Province, in 2001-2005

Region Placement	Male	
	Sum	
(1)	(2)	
Kulonprogo	5.803	
Bantul	8.928	
Gunungkidul	8.250	
Sleman	17.187	
Yogyakarta	11.979	
Total	52.147	
2004	53.333	

Sources: Statistical Analysis of Provincial Gender, Yogyakarta, 2006

Figure 1. The percentage of civil servants (PNS) by Sex



Sources: Statistical Analysis of Provincial Gender, Yogyakarta, 2006

cent), while the percentage of male civil servants in the year actually went down (43.65 percent). The percentage change is probably something to do with changing the status of civil servants and local centers for regional autonomy.

Positions in the legal field by gender in the province of Yogyakarta Special Region showed a similar composition to the composition of the Civil Service. Data from the Depart-

ment of Justice, 2000, show that the number of judges in the Special Province of Yogyakarta is 69 people comprising 25 men (36.2 percent) women and 44 men (63.8 percent) males.

**Violence toward Woman**

Emergence of various forms of violence against women is caused by power inequalities that exist in society. The forms can be categorized as crimes of violence against women in-

cluding rape, domestic violence or domestic violence, and sexual harassment.

Although very costly, almost every community in the world has social institutions that legitimize, obscure, and deny the occurrence of violence against women. When violence happened to workers, neighbors, or acquaintances, the perpetrator can be punished, but the same thing is often not questioned or punished when the violence done by men against women, especially in the family

With the formation of the institutional Office of the Provincial women’s empowerment in 2004, it has established a partnership network of stakeholders in a forum Handling Victims of Violence Against Women and Children (PK2PA Forum) by involving various government agencies, the private sector (NGOs) who is always trying menagani victims of violence against women and children.

Based on a Forum for Victims of Violence Treatment for Women and Children, the emergence of various forms of violence against women and children caused by the existing power inequalities in society. The forms can be categorized as crimes of violence against women include rape, domestic violence or domestic violence, and sexual harassment. In 2006 there were 560 cases of victims of violence are handled by members of the forum PK2PA (Source: Statistics of Provincial Gender and Analysis of DI. Yogyakarta, 2006).

From the data available, cases of violence against women showed an increasing trend, which is based Data Violence against Women in 2005-2006 the following:

Table 5 Data Victims of violence against women in the Integrated Service Center for Women and Children “Dyah Rekso Utami” Yogyakarta Special Province in 2005-2006

No	Case categ
(1)	(2)
1	Violance toward wife
2	Violance toward child
3	Sexual harrasment
4	Unwanted pregnancy
5	Violance in relationsh
6	Rape
	Total

Sources: Statistical Analysis of Provincial Gender, Yogyakarta, 2006

The above data suggests that cases of violence against women showed an increasing trend or tendency. Therefore need to watch out carefully and the need for wise and handling wise so that the problem of violence against women is an issue more complex.

PUG program implementation in the province of DIY has run since 2000 can be seen from the seven basic requirements that the successful implementation of Gender Mainstreaming: (1) political support, (2) policy, (3) resources, (4) data and information systems, (5) institutional, (6) gender analysis tools and (7) support civil society.

### Political Support

Support to Gender Mainstreaming is poured in the manufacture of SK Governor / Mayor / Head of Team / Working Group, PUG or other similar names.

Before the implementation of Permendagri No PUG. 15 of 2008:

A. Gender Development Coordination Team, established by Decree of the Governor Governor’s Decree No. 33/Tim/2003 jo 11/Tim/2006 Number.

Made up of working groups, namely:

- a. Working Groups PUG
- b. Improved Quality of Life of Women Working Group
- c. Working Group Protection of the Rights of Women and Children.

Duty TKPBG: (more emphasis on the empowerment of women)

- a. Identify and anticipate problems of women's empowerment and child protection in the province of Yogyakarta.
- b. Coordinate the implementation of development programs gender perspective.
- c. Support the Annual Work Program for Women's Empowerment and Five Year.
- d. Implement an evaluation program for Women's Empowerment in the province of Yogyakarta.
- e. Report the results of the implementation of women's empowerment program to the Governor of Yogyakarta.

**B. Facilitating Gender Development Council**

**C. Forming and Facilitating Coordination Forum include:**

- a. Coordination Forum PUG evaluation
- b. Improved Quality of Life Women's Forum (PKHP)
- c. PUG Forum Religious Organizations
- d. Female Actors Economic Forum
- e. Management Forum for Victims of Violence Against Women and Children

Post-implementation Permendagri No PUG. 15 Year 2008 on General Guidelines for Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the Region.

1. Gender Mainstreaming Working Group formed by the Governor Decree No. 52/KEP/2009 on the establishment of the Working Group on Gender Mainstreaming in the Province of Yogyakarta (Ninth Dictum does not mandate the enactment of the Governor Decree No. 11/Tim/2006 on the Establishment of Gender Development Coordination Team.

2. Forming and Facilitating Coordination Forum include:

- a. PUG Forum Coordination with the Governor Decree number: 107/KEP/2009 on Forum Coordination and Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming in Special Region of Yogyakarta.
- b. Improved Quality of Life Women's Forum (PKHP) by Decree number: 105/KEP/2009 on Improving the Quality of Life Women's Forum (PKHP) in Special Region of Yogyakarta
- c. PUG Forum Religious Organizations with DIY Decree number: Mainstreaming Gender 106/KEP/2009 about the Forum of Religious Or-

ganizations in the Province of Yogyakarta Special Region

d. Management Forum for Victims of Violence Against Women and Children.

DIY support from the provincial government has been given, but its implementation in the field formed groups are not able to perform its role. Constraints faced by, among others, there are gender differences in perception among government officials in the province. There are agencies that have a true PUG perceive the education office. They have made the work program, implement, and monitor gender-responsive programs. This is related to the commitment the Department of Education (center) which has implemented a PUG.

The results of this study found that most of the staff offices in the province still has a perception of gender bias or gender neutral. For example, when there is an invitation or a discussion of gender training, leadership is always recommended that women should follow the event, their assumption, equated with the female gender, but it is less precise. The occurrence of false perceptions about gender resulted in a work program related services or any gender bias is still just a gender-neutral, not gender responsive.

Of the five districts in the province, the highest commitment to implement the PUG is a city of Yogyakarta. Yogyakarta's commitment, demonstrated by the formation of working groups with the Mayor of Yogyakarta no 292/KD/Tahun SK 2003.

### **Policy Framework**

The cornerstone policy in the conduct of the provincial government PUG D, I, Y, including the City, both the legal basis (which binds to the District & Sub = new SK) and the operational basis (Guidelines - guidelines) does not exist.

The absence of such grounding Operational guidelines and technical instructions, resulting from, among others, the perception of gender differences in each and every department in the province. In addition it was found also constraints in the form of the strong patriarchal culture among employees, so it's only natural (plain)

if the policy is dominated by men rather than women.

Regional Development Policy of Yogyakarta is gender neutral, such as REPETADA CITY YOGYAKARTA / Short-Term Development Policy (Not included in the compile GAP).

### **Structure and Government Mechanism**

The organizational structure of local government varies a structural unit such as section/subsection/section in the Bureau, Agency, with not too high echelon. Education in the Department of DIY, there is a sub section under the coordination PNFI Gender Mainstreaming. In most of the other agency has not given specific tasks to handle the Gender Mainstreaming.

Organizational Structure of the Government of Yogyakarta and Welfare Section Gender Mainstreaming.

Unit PUG Ad Hoc Working Group on the government as DI. Yogyakarta still have to continue its role as the involvement of activists working dioptimalkan. Jaringan PSW, NGOs, concerned gender should still continue to be able to be optimal.

Constraints experienced by agencies of DIY among other cases, mutations employees. There is a long-PUG dikader handle in one department, suddenly transferred to another department. In the agency considered it was he who had the most correct perception about PUG but in a new place, he was not placed on the section PUG, even given another assignment.

### **Sources**

#### **a. Human resource**

HR has had a gender sensitivity and the correct perception of gender, is available, although not evenly distributed in every department and existing courses. Generally they have not been able to empower gender equality and justice as well as championing the work environment. Educational inequality and economic (employment) is still happening, this can be seen from the literacy rate and labor force on Gender development Index (GDI) in 2006 in DIY. Lit-

eracy rate, male while female 81.6 92.7. Labor force, male and female 57.45 42.55.

In addition to these circumstances, malnutrition and access to health services:

- High rates of maternal mortality. Every hour, two maternal death in Indonesia (Indonesia Demographic and Health Survey, IDHS).
- Population without access to safe water (%) 1999:53,7; 2002:42,3%
- Population without access to health facilities and 1999: 9.6; 2002: 4.2
- Young children undernourished 1999: 24.0; 2002: 17.0 (IPM, 2004)

The above conditions exacerbated by lack of budget realities for women and children.

#### **b. Fund sources**

Source of Funds from the budget are available at City Yokyakarta of 2008 by 2.3% (already including the PKK funding, Related Services).

- Budgets are the most concrete manifestation of policy and program planning because it involves the allocation of government resources.
- gender responsive policies in the budget is a budget that responds to the needs of women.
- The policy will appear if there are concrete proposals from women's groups associated with the proposed issues and needs.
- Hopefully, any budgetary policy to consider the practical needs and strategic gender minority groups.
- So far, women and children are categorized into groups so that the minority gender in development planning and implementation must be responsive to the needs of women and children.
- The magnitude of the health budget needed to solve health problems make the local government needs to make a priority in their activities.
- Priorities are not independent of the budget whichever is required by residents.
- Priority can be seen from the allocation set forth in every rupiah.
- Other efforts need to be considered to address the limited health budget is the effec-

tiveness of every dollar that rains so there is no waste.

With an informative and RKA SKPD measurable and away from the impression waste in each activity is expected to achieve the expected activities and division of labor to clear the size of the escort.

Constraints experienced were the lack of disaggregated data in each province DIY service, making it difficult to make budget program with a gender perspective.

### **Data and Information System**

Gender profile of Yogyakarta have been prepared either on their own initiative as well as orders from the center. Gender profile in contrast to the DIY government still neatly arranged. This is because System Information (Profile Gender) has not been communicated to the Department or District, Village / Village. The obstacles are a very limited budget because of regional autonomy in the community must use the appropriate budgetary revenue (PAD), while the PAD DIY recent years is not too high.

### **Gender Analysis Instrument**

Gender analysis tools in the form of access, control, participation, and the benefit program for women was not optimal. Access of women in decision-making is one indicator of whether a lot of interest as well as women's issues can be resolved by a process of public policy. Parties can access the public policy the first time in the village, among others, officials and disbursing them BKM. Of the existing institutional administrators in the quantity of women still in the share of 24%. Of 24% is not much of a strategic position held. Most of these 24% are in the position of the back office or support, not decision makers.

### **Role of Society**

Involvement of community leaders, especially the NGOs are optimal, only a few other figures such as religious leaders have not been optimal. Patisipasi Women in the Planning, Budgeting, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation Office is still relatively small the Ministry of

Women Affairs (now the Agency for Women and Community Empowerment = BPPM).

### **Discussion**

The results above are relevant to the opinion Tannent (Griffin, 2006:474) who believes that there is a gap between men and women, because each is in a position of cross-cultural (cross culture). It can be observed in different speaking styles, such as: (1) The tendency of male employees are superior and women inferior. Female employees tend to build relationships and male employees to complete the task and get the power. (2) Employees desiring to connect women versus men desire for status. Closely related to the proximity of the connection, the status is closely linked to power (power). (3) There is a linguistic cultural differences play a role in arranging verbal contact between men and women. Rapport-talk is the term used to assess the chatter of women who tend to seem sympathetic. Report talk is the term used to assess male chats likely it is, just up. With regard to these values, women are more talkative in private conversation. While men more involved public speaking, men are using the talks as a statement of the command functions; convey information; for approval. Employees more men than women, in particular talked about the joke. Story jokes are a way of negotiating masculine status. Female employees tend to keep their views, often nodded, muttering as the sign has to listen and express togetherness. Male employees in terms of trying to blur the impression of listening to it as an effort to maintain his status. Female employee saw the conflict as a threat and should be avoided while male employees usually start conflict but less happy to maintain it.

These results are relevant also with Standpoint Theory (Griffin, 2006:482), Sandra Harding and Julia T. Wood assumes that men and women have separate perspectives, and do not see it as something equivalent. Positions and different positions in the social hierarchy affects communication between men and women. People assume that women as a minority perceive the world differently than the ruling or the

majority of men. Standpoint is a place from which the view of the world and any point of view.

Sandra Harding and Julia T. Wood recommends the struggle against gender discrimination. The figures do not characterize gender differences in biological or instinct or intuition, but the difference was as a result of cultural expectations and treatment groups in terms of accepting other groups. Culture is not experienced identically, culture is a hierarchy of rules that groups that have tended to offer a position of power, opportunities to its members. In this case this theory states that women are positioned on a lower hierarchical positions than men. Gender is a system of meaning, the point of view through a position in which most men and women are separated in the environment, material, and symbolic.

The results of this study is also relevant to the assumption of Muted Group Theory or the Theory Group of Silence (West and Turner, 2008: 200), that the talks between officials of men and women as unequal exchange between parties who have power in government offices and the Provincial no. Women are less able to articulate themselves or fight for themselves than men in the public sector. This is due to the constraints of gender differences in perception that has been controlled by men, male dominant position more secure. Silence of the female respondents seen as responding to the world of women employees differently than men because of different experiences and activities, which are rooted in a different division of labor. Based on its political dominance, the perception that men are more dominant, inhibiting the free expression of alternative thinking woman. In order to participate in society, women have to change perspective into the system an acceptable expression of male.

### **Conclusion**

Dimensions of gender equality and justice still has not become mainstream in all program policies, and development activities in the DI regional autonomy. Yogyakarta.

Constraints are:

1. The correct perception of Gender Equality and Justice (PUG) has not been evenly distributed to all Department and Government Study at DIY, so the result of public policies that produced less gender responsive.
2. Communication within the community still supports the existence of a patriarchal culture shows the difference between the roles of men and women, so that hampered the implementation of Gender Mainstreaming.
3. The absence of data disaggregated between men and women can prevent gender-responsive programming.
4. Yet dioptimalkannya gender analysis tools in the planning, implementation, and evaluation program.
5. Not optimal performance of the Working Group was established by decree of the Governor.
6. Competent human resources issues dealing with very little PUG
7. Problems that have not been gender-responsive budgets.

### **Recommendation**

- The importance of legislation and regulations that ensure the involvement and representation of women in the entire development process of regional autonomy.
- Dissemination of the correct perception of gender mainstreaming in the budget.
- The need for women's representation in the institutions of policy maker budget (the Budget Committee of Parliament, the Executive Budget Team, SKPD)
- Should Gender Mainstreaming in Planning and Budgeting
- There should be gender responsive budget transparency.
- Keep the data disaggregated by gender
- budget policy in all sectors based on gender analysis.
- Indicators of output and a specific budget beneficiaries, and disaggregated by gender.
- the budget needed to encourage men's involvement in domestic affairs and reproductive.

- Increase women's share of the budget, the support for empowerment, not perpetuate the stereotype that women are lower than men.
- Need to approach gender responsive programs.

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# The Content Analysis of the *Kompas* Daily Headlines Concerning the Cases of Polri and KPK in the Period of October to December 2009

Dwi Purnama Puspita Sari

Communication Departement FISIP UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta

Kampus II Jln. Babarsari no. 2 Yogyakarta 55132

## Abstract

The results of this study indicate that the SKH *Kompas* tends to portray the way National Police (Polri) and the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK) reviews the problems using the political dimension and the dimension combinations. Topics canopies tend to review SKH *Kompas* legal process, provided information and the combination is more dominant on the use of canopies in SKH *Kompas*, techniques tend to be dominated by discussion of editorial excerpts, but also combine with technical explanations, examples, statistics, and combinations. While for the type of editorials, many use a type of giving of information and types of combinations. It shows that the SKH *Kompas* more comprehensive media in conveying the editorial policies of the problems police and KPK.

## Introduction

Various aspects of life have been discussed in the headlines, such as economy, socio-culture, politics, etc. The politic aspect becomes the problem which can be avoided by the Government of Indonesia. An uprising frequently occurred in the government structure thus the political system in Indonesia may not run very well. One of the triggers of the political system imbalance is due to the power and position in the governance. There have been many ways to pursue the power. If the apparatus pursue the power the country may not be able to live in prosperity and the poverty is abounded. The phenomenon has occurred in many places; even the corruption, collusion and nepotism have been committed in all the country's institutions.

Indonesia is one of the most corruptive nations in the world. Amid the dispute among the law enforcement institution, that is, KPK and Polri, a new progress emerged about the Corruption Index in Indonesia. The Index if Indonesia corruption is in the order of 111 from 180 surveyed countries in the world. Several modes of corruption develop among the officers in many organization structures, both central and local government structure. Several cases of corruption are even planned by the head of the local

government or the member of legislative institution clearly and rudely. The corruption in Indonesia may be difficult to eradicate given the malfunction of the law enforcement institution- the policemen and the prosecutors.

Since the establishment of KPK, it has taken care of 59 cases which then given to the corruption crime. The doers are sentenced with the average of 4.4 year in the jail. All the doers, after determined as the suspects, cannot run away or lost the prove. The performance of KPK yields the fruit which leads KPK become the only hope of the society of getting the justice in Indonesia. The effort and the performance of KPK during this time is positively responded by the people of Indonesia. For that reason, KPK is assumed to have weaken which then accept many criticism from the public (<http://cetak.Kompas.com/read/xm1/2009/11/06/04003571/isu.beralih.ke.century>). Talking about the performance, the Polri's success to uncover the terrorist network should be appreciated. In fact, Polri has succeeded to uncover the crime such as the drug syndicate worth hundreds of million rupiah, and other crimes in Indonesia.

Nonetheless the performance of Polri accepts no response from the public, Even, the

attachment of Polri in eradicating the case of Century bank. Beginning with that, the name of Polri and KPK is at risk and touched the name of the officer of Polri such as Susno Duadji. From the back up fund for Century until the uncover of cases broker.

The role of press is needed as the mediator and social control to review the phenomenon of KPK and Polri in several cases which involve the institutions. Through the headline, the attitude of media to KPK and Polri can be seen.

The function of media and press is not merely spreading the information but also educating, correcting, recreating and mediating. The functions can be explained as follows:

a. Information

The first function of the press is to convey the information as soon as possible to the public in large.

b. Education

The information spread out by the press should be in the frame of education (to educate). Press should be able and be willing to play role itself as the nation's teacher.

c. Correction

Press is the fourth pillar of democracy, after legislative, executive and judicative. In this framework, the existence of the press is intended to control and supervise the power of legislative, executive and judicative to ease the potency of being corrupt.

d. Recreation

The fourth function of press is to entertain. Press should be able to play itself as the recreation media which is exciting and refreshing for all level of society.

e. Mediation

Mediation means the link. It is also called facilitator and mediator. Press should be able to link one place to another, one event to another or a person to another person in the same time or simultaneously (Sumadiria, 2005: 34).

### The communication Theory of Media Content

Pamela Shoemaker and Reese (1996), in *Mediating The Message : Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, arranged sev-

eral factor influencing the decision making in the news making area. They identified five factors which influence the editor's policy in determining the content of the media, as follows:

1. Individual factor. The factor is related with the professional background of the media manager. Individual level sees how the effect of personal aspect of the media manager Level influences the news which will be displayed to the public. Individual background such as gender, age or religion to some extent may influence what will be displayed. The educational background or orientation tendency in the political party also influence the professionalism in the news coverage.

2. Media routine is related with the mechanism and the process of news decision. Every medium owns its size about what is called news, what are the characteristic of good news or what are the feasibility of the news. The measure represents the routines which occur every day and become the standard procedure for the media manager inside. The routine of the media is closely related with the mechanism of how the news is shaped. When important news is needed to be covered, how is the duty delegated, through what process or whose hands before it arrived at the printing process, who will be the editor etc.

3. Organization. Organization level is related with the organization structure which hypothetically influences the news. The media manager and journalist are not single actor who reside in the news organization. In contrast, he is only a small part of a media organization itself. Every component in the media organization may have their own interests. In the media organization, for example, beside the part of the editing, there is also marketing, advertisement, circulation division, etc. Every division has their own interest thus their goals may not compromise to one another. They have their own goals and diverse strategies to pursue the target. The editor may want a certain news is presented, while the circulation division want the other news to be highlighted as it is proved to increase the sales. Every organization, besides having man elements, goal and philosophies , has several elements

which influence on how the journalists behave, and how the certain news should be presented,

4. extra-media. The level is related with the external environment to the media. Although residing outside the media organization, these matters also impose the influence on the news coverage. There are several factors found outside the media:

a). The source of news. The source of the news is not a neutral party who gives the information as the way it is. The party may have its own interest which influences the media for some reason: to win the public opinion, to create certain image, etc. For a party with a certain interest, the source of news represents the means of political goals. The party may give the information which serves its goals. The interest of the news source is frequently unrecognized by the media.

b). the source of media income, such as advertisement, or the media subscriber/consumer. Media should survive and for this objective, it should compromise with the resources which support it. For example, certain media refuse to present a certain case which is related with the advertiser. The advertiser has the strategy to force its version to the media. Of course, they want their interest are fulfilled, it is fulfilled by forcing the media to embargo the news that is unfavourable to them. In many cases, the consumers also influence the news coverage of the media. Certain interesting themes which increase the sales are continuously presented in the media. Media take the advantage of the important event which is interesting for the public.

c.) external party such as government and business environment also influence the news coverage. The effect is surely determined by the mode of each external environment of media (refer to the normative theory of mass communication and macro-theory). In the authoritarian country, for example, the influence of the government becomes the dominant factor in determining which news will be presented. This situation is surely different with the democratic countries or the countries that follow the liberalism. There is hardly any intervene from the state. The largest influence is in market and business realm.

5. Ideology is defined as the thinking framework or reference framework used by individuals to view the reality and how they face it. Unlike the previous element which seems to be concrete, the ideological level is abstract. It is related with the individual's conception or position in interpreting the reality.

### **The theory of Assessment Criteria of Media Appearance**

Referring to what McQuail (1991:123-132) proposed, there are several criteria which can be used to assess the media performance, namely:

Firstly, the freedom and independence. These principles should be defined as the absence of the regulation or control which limits the media. In the level of media organization, the freedom is usually assessed based on the level of control presented by the owner and the manager to the communicator (editor, producer, etc) and control imposed on the communicators to their subordinates (journalist, writer, artist, etc) in the organization which is bureaucratic and hierarchic. As for the content of the media, it takes the form of deleting the certain news so that it leads to the difference between the original content and the edited news presented to the public. The principle gives hope that media will be able to do any active effort to create and maintain the independent and refuse the external control imposes on them or compromise with the group with self-interest.

Secondly, the orderliness and solidarity. Most media run in the acceptable limit and were tied by the hope of the society to refuse a certain conduct, which lead to social disorganization, or ruin the individual, group or society itself. The form can be the prove presentation or the estimation concerning the negative impact. While the manifestation of the solidarity is still identify in some forms, for example the support of editor committee to the disputing group; the suggestion about the shared interest and peace; the identity reinforcement, interest and nation's spirit and support to the value of local community.

Thirdly, the diversity and access. Diversity represents the condition required by the pub-

lic to determine the choice. Reflective diversity, which means that the diversity in media should be the reflection of social diversity proportionally. While the opened access means that all the views and sectors in the society are considered similar.

Fourthly, objectivity and information quality. Objectivity is generally related with the news and information.

**Analysis Unit and the Categorization of Headline**

The content analysis is a research technique which illustrates the real communication content objectively, systematically and quantitatively. The content analysis is a formal system to do something which is frequently done in a informal way, by making decision from the content observation. We state the argument about the accuracy of various environments of the newspaper, magazine, radio and television.

For Every analysis unit which is determined, we need to determine the categories. Category is a nature of a unit which is formu-

**Table 1**  
**Analysis Unit and Category**

No	Analysis Unit
1	Media
2	Rubric
3	The dimension of headlines

5	Type and nature of headlines		
6	Technique of discussion		

lated. It means that category exists in every unit which is analysed. And with this nature, it will be counted every quantitative on the real message conducted on the category. (Setiawan, 1982:71).

**The Dimension of Editor Opinion of Kompas Daily**

Dimension represents the life aspect contained in every information presented by the mass media, both in the form of news and opinion (Views). Every press publishing has its own news concept and editorial policy, so the dimensions emerge in the publishers are diverse.

The data obtained from the research of editorial dimension about Polri and KPK in the daily *Kompas* from October to December 2009 can be seen in the table 2. Based on the data from the above table, from 22 headlines, the dimensions which emerged in the daily *Kompas* were dominated by politic and combination, that is 6 headlines or 27.27 %, the relationship of Polri and KPK cases triggers the higher political aspect in the government so that daily *Kompas* gave comment on the political aspect about Polri and KPK news. The headlines represent the media attitude on the political aspect about the corruption eradication during 3 months. Head-

Table 2  
The Analysis on the dimension of headline of daily *Kompas*

lines involved the political dimension and also include United Indonesia II cabinet, case mafia, bureaucracy reform, which were analysed by the researcher, the encoding 1 and 2 during October–December of 2009. The number law dimensions were 5 or (2272 %) several law processes were commented by daily *Kompas* concerning how the processes were run to uncover the corruptor syndicate. The social dimensions were 4 or (18.18 %) daily *Kompas* gave strong comment on the social aspects concerning the corruption eradication cases which received the criticism from the society that voiced the justice and the truth in the cases of Bibit-Chandra capture. Four headlines including into social dimension were kenapa jadi begini, bangkitnya dunia maya, wajah bopeng hukum kita, antara antikorupsi dan HAM, and economic dimension is 1 headline of (,54 %) with the title of Indeks Korupsi Indonesia, Bibit-Chandra capture made daily *Kompas* gave comment on the success of KPK in eradicating corruption which represents the form of media which gives influences on the readers.

### The Category of Headline Dimension of Daily *Kompas*

The result of category for the unit analysis of headline used by daily *Kompas* in the headlines relating with the issues of Polri and KPK

from October to December 2009 can be seen in the table 3.

Based on the category in the above table, of 22 headlines, the category which emerged in daily *Kompas* was dominated by the category of politic and combination dimension. In the daily *Kompas*, the category of United Indonesia II cabinet and was related with the court mafia became the opinion which was discussed in the headline of politic dimension.

The law dimension focused on Polri and KPK cases thus the headlines of daily *Kompas* focused on how the law process was in the media attitude such as law subcategory, namely perpu (regulation) material test, the decision or decree of the prosecutor, the Supreme Court's policy. Daily *Kompas* tried to examine the attitude in detail in November since the news coverage in this month were dominated by the law process.

In the subcategory of social dimension, daily *Kompas* tends to discuss the social support to KPK with the percentage of 9,09% or 2 headlines, the society's support became the focus of daily *Kompas* to view the public reaction to Polri and KPK cases.

### Analysis Unit on the Headline Topic of Daily *Kompas*

Topic was the main problems which became the focus of the society about an important

Tabel 3  
The Category of Dimension of Headlines of daily *Kompas*

Month Dimension	October	
	F	
<b>Political issues</b>		
- United Indonesia cabinet.	0	II
- Law Conspiracy	1	
- Court Mafia	0	
- Bureaucracy reform	0	
<b>Economical issue</b>		
- Corruption Perception Index	0	
	0	

Source: Analysed primary data

event. The selection of topic in the headline should contain the actual, phenomenal and controversial elements. In discussing Polri and KPK cases which were still in dispute until today. The headlines of daily *Kompas* discussed several topics related with the problems such as about the cause of the dispute, the law process, the government's

intervention, the movement in the society and other topics.

The data obtained from the research on the analysis unit of headline topic in daily *Kompas* from October to December 2009 are illustrated in the table 4.

Table 4  
Analysis on the Topic of headlines of daily Kompas

Topic Month	The cause of dispute		Law Proses	
	F	P	F	
October	1	4,54	0	0
November	2	9,09	6	27
December	0	0	1	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>13,64</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>32</b>

Source: Analysed primary data

The table of unit analysis result about headline topic in the daily Kompas illustrates that of 22 headlines, 7 were about the law process (31,82 %) or as many as 7 headlines were analysed from the total of 22 headlines for 3 months based on the cases of corruption eradication, particularly concerning the law process are more interesting to discuss given that the conflict lead to the dispute in the government, these 7 headlines were *Hope for Solution (berharap ada solusi)*, *Not Bring to Court (tidak dibawa ke pengadilan)*, *Trap on Procedur (terjebak pada prosedur)*, *Reengineer of a Case (rekayasa sebuah perkara)*, *A Big Obstacle (sebuah sumbatan besar)*. As for the headlines about the Government’s intervention, that is 4 headlines (18,18%) the result showed that the title of headline with the topics of the govern-

ment intervention were *Scandal of Law Upholding (skandal penegakan hokum)*, *Indonesian Corruption Index (indeks korupsi Indonesia)*, *Between Anti Corruption and Human Rights (antara antikorupsi dan HAM)*, *The Controversial Detention (penahanan yang kontroversial)*. The topic about dispute factors, society’s movement, etc were about 3 headlines (13.64%) from the analysis result, it is found that the title of 3 headlines included *Bad Image of Our Law (wajah bopeng hukum kita)*, *The Controversial Detention (penahanan yang kontroversial)*, *Lesson frm Bibit-Chandra Case ( pelajaran kasus Bibit-Chandra)*. While in relation to the topic of society’s movement the titles were *How Come (kenapa jadi begini)*, *Support from Net world (dukungan dari*

Table 5  
The Analysis on the type of Headlines of Daily Kompas

Source: Analysed primary data



*jagat maya*), *Rise of the Net World* (*bangkitnya dunia maya*).

**The Analysis of Headline type of Daily Kompas**

The result about the type of headlines in daily *Kompas* from October to December 2009 was as follows:

The result about the types of headlines in daily *Kompas* indicated that daily *Kompas* tends to use the type of giving information. From the table, it is clear that the type of giving information dominates all the headlines which were examined, that is 8 headlines (36.36%) from the coding *sheet* between tested coding, the counting process for 8 headlines which are categorized according to the type of the headline were divided by the total number of headlines -22 headlines- then were multiplied by 100%. In the daily *Kompas* during October to November 2009, there was a combination type for 6 headlines and were found in the title *Test Our Commitment* (*menguji komitmen kita*), *Gaining the Trust* (*meraih lagi kepercayaan*), *Not Brought to Justice* (*tidak dibawa ke pengadilan*), *Trap within Procedure* (*terjebak pada prosedur*). The type of argumentation proposal for 4 headlines was analysed to find any title which gave the argumentation, namely *Law Upholding Scandal* (*skandal penegakan hukum*), *People's Conscience via Media* (*nurani rakyat via media*), *Moment to Change* (*momentum untuk berubah*), *Regulate the Tap-*

*ping* (*mengatur soal penyadapan*). The type of explaining were 3 headlines with the title of *Rise of Net World* (*bangkitnya dunia maya*), *A Big Obstacle* (*sebuah sumbatan besar*), *Hope for Solution* (*berharap ada solusi*), and *the argumentative type of title was 1 headline with the title of Support from Net World* (*dukungan dari jagat maya*).

**The Analysis Unit of Discussion Technique in Kompas Daily**

The result concerning the unit analysis on the discussion technique in the headlines of daily *Kompas* from October to December 2009, is as table 6.

In table of discussion techniques above, it can be seen that daily *Kompas* more likely to use the quotation discussion technique with the procentage of 40,91% or 9 headlines. In its headlines, daily *Kompas* frequently used the quotations uttered by the public figure or politicians and the quotation from the news itself. In addition to the quotation technique, it also adopted the explanation discussion technique from October to December 2009, that is (18,18 %) or 4 headlines which were analyzed and identified. The headlines were skandal penegakan hukum, menguji komitmen kita, tidak dibawa ke pengadilan, antara antikorupsi dan HAM. Daily *Kompas* also gave many explanation about the background of the cases and explained the related news. The example technique was also adopted in (18.18 %) or 4 headlines with the title of headlines were pelajaran kasus Bibit-

Technique	Explanation	Q <sub>1</sub>	Q <sub>2</sub>
Month	F	F	F
October	1	5	1
November	2	9	0
Desember	1	4	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>18,18</b>	<b>9</b>

Table 6  
The analysis of Discussion Technique of Headline of Daily *Kompas*

Source: Analysed primary data

Chandra, bangkitnya dunia maya, sebuah sumbatan besar, nurani rakyat via media. Furthermore, the combination technique was found in (13,64) or 3 headlines with the titles of momentum untuk berubah, tidak dibawa ke pengadilan, pelajaran kasus Bibit-Chandra. In the later technique, Daily *Kompas* used the combination technique as shown above. Statistic Technique was used in 2 headlines (9.09 %) of

The result concerning the functions of headlines in daily *Kompas* is as follows:

As seen in the table, the functions of headlines in daily *Kompas* were explaining the news 31,81 % or 7 headlines, stating the background 22.73% or 5 headlines with the titles; skandal penegakan hukum, menguji komitmen kita, sebuah sumbatan besar, tidak dibawa ke pengadilan. The function of conveying the con-

Table 7  
The Analysis on the function of headlines of *Kompas* Daily

Source: Analysed primary data

22 headlines analyzed. The titles of the headlines which used the statistic technique were dukungan dari jagat maya and indeks korupsi Indonesia.

**The analysis on the Headline Function of Daily *Kompas***

sideration was 22.73% or 5 headlines which were analyzed and the titles of the headlines were nurani rakyat via media, berharap ada solusi, pelajaran kasus Bibit-Chandra, mengatur soal peyadapan. The function of forecasting the future was found in 3 headlines of 13,64% with

Table 8  
Analysis Unit of the Editorial Orientation of *Kompas* Daily toward KPK

Source: Analysed primary data

the titles; kenapa jadi begini, indeks korupsi Indonesia, terjebak pada prosedur. The combination function was found in 2 headlines of 9,09% with the titles pahlawan kini siapa, sebuah sumbangan besar.

### The Analysis of Editorial Orientation in Kompas Daily on KPK

The editorial orientation represents the evaluation from the headlines through the media attitude which was shown through opinion and editorial response. In discussing the case about KPK and Polri, the headlines of daily *Kompas* had its own orientation which was conveyed to the readers. The category which represented the trait of a unit was formulated to find the opinion and the attitude of *Kompas* daily on KPK.

The tendency emerged was used as the indicator to identify the media attitude toward the case of KPK. The result concerning the attitudinal orientation presented in the headline concerning the KPK cases was described in the table 8.

It is clear from the table that the neutral attitude was found in 10 headlines or 45,45% . The neutral attitude means that the headlines include the opinion which is not favourable to both institution – Polri and KPK. One headline was favourable to KPK (4,54 %) and 11 headlines were favourable to Polri. Finally the attitude which is favourable to the effort exerted by KPK was 11 headlines or 50%.

### Conclusion

The headlines of Kompas Daily tend to discuss the problem about KPK and Polri, not only from one dimension. Rather it discusses several dimensions since it considers the case of KPK and Polri as the event which is needed to discuss in detail to give the satisfying information to the readers.

The headlines in the daily *Kompas* discuss the politic and law aspects to invite the public to give their attention to the importance of KPK and Polri cases, thus the public gives more care and concern on the problem faced by the law institution in Indonesia. Political dimension is used by daily *Kompas* since in its subcategory there

are conspiracy, the weakening of KPK, material test on the regulation, court's decision, the policy by the Supreme Court and several category which become the background of the analysis on the headlines dimension.

Daily *Kompas* uses the headlines to educate, to give information, to correct and to impose the influence. The headlines of the newspaper use it as the device to control the government in its effort to resolve the problem about the case of KPK and Polri. In addition, the headlines are used to inform and influence the government and public and also to educate the law enforcer to investigate the cases related with corruption. Daily *Kompas* discusses the law process as it is considered important to correct and control kabinet bersatu SBY. Through the headlines, daily *Kompas* show its attitude which is pro-KPK although the attitude is still transparent. However, viewed from the topic highlighted in the headline, the cause of dispute, the law process and the effort of the government to get the attention from daily *Kompas*, it is proved to be high. This represents the form of attitude of daily *Kompas* in commenting the law enforcement in Indonesia.

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# Editorial Policy and Manuscript Writing Style

## Editorial Policy

The Indonesian Journal of Communication Studies (IJCS) is a journal published by the School of Communication Studies, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional “Veteran” Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The IJCS published twice a year, and invites manuscripts in the areas of media and journalism, broadcasting, advertising, public relations, corporate communication, interpersonal communication, international communication, intercultural communication, new media technology, media and culture, popular culture, publishing, and communication theories. The IJCS accepts articles on any critical thinking of communication issues as well as research report that meet the standards established for publication in the journal. The primary audience of the journal includes academicians, graduate students, practitioners, and others interested in the communication studies.

## Abstract/Introduction

An abstract should be presented on the same page as the title preceding the text of the manuscript. The abstract should inform the reader of the manuscript’s topic, its methods and procedures adopted and a condensed summary of the findings. Key words should be provided at the end of the abstract. The main section of an article should start with an introductory section which provides more details about the paper’s purposes, motivation, research methods and findings. Both the abstract and the introduction should be relatively non-technical, yet clear enough for an informed reader to understand the manuscript’s contribution.

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All manuscript should be typed on one side of 8 ½” x 11” good quality paper and be double-spaced, except for indented quotations.

To assure anonymous review, authors should not identify themselves directly or indirectly in their papers.

A cover page should include the title of the paper, the author’s name, title and affiliation, mailing address, phone and fax number, email address, any acknowledgements, and a footnote indicating whether the author would be willing to share the data.

All pages, including tables, appendices and references, should be serially numbered.

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