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THE POWER RELATIONS BETWEEN NEWS PROGRAMS ON TV STATIONS IN INDONESIA

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This article outlines the contestation among television stations in Indonesia; the dynamics between agents and structures namely journalists and media owners in the process of news broadcasting on television in Indonesia.

This study is a qualitative research by taking the research focus on two television medias (Metro TV and TV One) in Jakarta and Makassar. The data collection techniques were literature study, observation and interviews. Data analysis was conducted in three steps, namely data processing, data reduction, and presentation in the form of descriptions.

The results showed that this contestation begins at the stage of view in which television programs also involve the interests of a number of institutions such as the interest of television stations, advertising agencies, and corporate advertisers, as well as the interests of the viewers' survey institution. The next stage is the Post-serving stage which involves interests of a number of institutions and individuals namely the interests of KPID as well as the interests of KPID on behalf of independent institution formed by the state to monitor the contents of broadcasting.

Keywords: Television, Broadcasting, and Relations authority.

Introduction

Television newsroom is not vacuum sterile space (Ishadi, 2014). Ishadi even cites a sentence: "Are you a businessman or news man?"; a fragment of dialogue from a film entitled *The Insider* (1999) a production of Buena Vista production directed by Michael Mann. The sentence pronounced by Lowell A. Bergmann (played by Al Pacino), A producer of a News TV station called *60 Minutes* on CBS, New York, United States, when arguing with the head of News department who prohibit him from airing Bergman's exclusive interview.

The fragment of dialogue in this film reminds us of the "dramaturgy" between the two News television stations (TV One and Metro TV) during the Presidential elections on July 9, 2014. Indonesian people, at that time, were "confused" to seek the trustworthy Quick Count resources in order to find a valid result of the voting. TV stations such as Metro TV, Trans TV, Trans 7, Reuters TV and TVRI announced that according to their quick count process, the candidate Number 2 Jokowi-JK had gathered the most votes over the candidate Number 1 Prabowo-Hatta. Instead, other television stations namely TV One, ANTV, RCTI, MNCTV, Global TV announced a contradictory result stated that their quick count result showed that candidate Number 1 Prabowo-Hatta had gathered the most votes. An interesting phenomenon which is already well known by the public is that the respective owners of television stations are affiliated with one of the contestants and the owner of the political party supporting one of the

candidates¹. As a person working in television broadcasting regulatory agency, and a student of anthropology doctoral program, I was interested in doing a research on “contestation of power” in the broadcasting culture on television stations.

The development of media in the context of information dissemination in this country is in line with the proliferation of private television stations serving a variety of broadcast. These television stations set their bases not only in Jakarta, but are extended to other cities throughout Indonesia. Inevitably in this era of reform, new media rapidly grow throughout the region. The demand of the 1998 reform has made the freedom of giving opinion as a basic right of all people. The presence of the new media is not only employed as a momentum in the spread of information, as had been predicted by Alvin Tofler; “Who controls the information will rule the world”, but also like a new game; media has become more interactive with the development of information technology. Convergence of media is a term that is frequently heard today. Information is spread not only through the mainstream media but also through branches of the affiliated media. This information network is the first target prior to the biggest target of the “domination of the world”.

Television as a medium of view and heard has transformed into the main ear of today’s informational society and has become the favorite which comes with three main concepts, namely as a medium of information, education and entertainment. The opening of the aspects of media investments which is guaranteed by the state had made its development even more massive. The Act number 32 Year 2002 on Broadcasting, is the starting point of the intervention of the state considering the effects of the growing power of broadcasting media. Indication of the mastery of information is the basis of some current regulations.

Research Methods

This study utilizes qualitative research methodologies, emphasizes more on process rather than outcomes, and tends to involve a trust relationship between researcher and informants. The subjects of this research are the news reporters at television stations in Jakarta and Makassar, especially those directly involved in the production process of news in the television station.

The informants of this research are television media workers and owners. The characteristics of informants in the study include News producer, Legal Officer, Chief of News Bureau, Broadcasting Regulators, and Broadcast Content Monitoring Team.

The research will be conducted on two national television stations that is TV One and Metro TV in Jakarta Head Office and Regional Offices Makassar. The data collection techniques that I use is observation, interview and documentation study. Then the data analysis is done in three steps, namely data processing, data reduction, and presentation in the form of description and explanation / interpretation, and conclusion of the study.

Contestation of Power

The political development has undergone a change in the mechanism of democracy; it will have profound effects on the change order of information. Political mechanism should elaborate the imaging process. This condition will surely involve media institutions as a channel of information. The important existence of the media in the context of imaging has become a favorite.

On the television they broadcast scenes of “dramatic”, “touching” and “evocative”. For example, Wiranto, the Chairman Hanura, eats parched rice in a crowd in a poor family in Serang, Banten (SCTV Liputan6.com, 03.20.2008). He felt himself how parched rice unwell and unfit to eat. What Wiranto did is

¹ The owner of TV One and ANTV is Abu Rizal Bakrie which is also the Chairman of Golongan Karya (Golkar) Party; RCTI, MNCTV, and Global TV belong to Hari Tanoesoedibyo, the supporter of Prabowo-Hatta; Metro TV belongs to Surya Paloh, the Chairman of National Democrat Party who supported Jokowi-JK.

obviously not something natural, but rather is part of political contestation to meet the 2009 presidential elections.

In a study of political anthropology, Wiranto's scene eating parched rice is one form of the politics of Symbolism. Political symbolism is an act to represent a social phenomenon-in this case the reality of poverty in the community-which is embodied in symbols that reflect a specific political meaning (Geertz, 1992).

The rising democratic process in this country, has established the position of the media, especially those of the television media as popular imaging tools. In every political moment in this country, the election in the district/city level, provincial level and the elections of legislative and the election of president and vice-president of the republic of Indonesia, Television have played a dominant role in the socialization process and imaging information. Without hesitation, some televisions have portrayed themselves with political matters for instance Metro TV "knowledge to elevate", TV one "Election TV", and even regional TV station such Celebes TV in Makassar.

Television is a capital intensive industry which in the process of dissemination of information is utilizing frequency. Frequency is a public sphere which in the legislation is mentioned that its beneficiaries should be as much as possible for the benefit of the public. In the implementation the frequency regulation and what is presented in the frequencies is regulated by Law No. 32/2002 on broadcasting. Supervision on this regulation is conducted by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) in accordance with the mandate of the Act.

Television media nowadays has enthused many parties, thus the presence of regulations and even the formation of the regulator such as KPI is almost undeniable. The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) now exists in each provincial capital in this country and its mission is obviously to extend the eyes and the ears of regulator in the context of doing control of the information delivered to the public. And, it is still not enough; the television industry is currently controlled by the capitalists who have created this industry and who have also instilled ideology to any information submitted.

According to Graeme Turner (1991: 128-129), television shows essentially accommodate social practices, which always produces a representation of social reality. Some television shows have been able to produce social reality. Thus, they have involved complex and dynamic interactions and negotiations among a number of actors. Unexceptionally, with the presence of programs packed in the context of political imaging has become the target of complex and dynamic political interaction and negotiations.

This interaction and negotiations work through three stages, namely the pre-delivery, delivery, and post-delivery. At the stage of pre-serving, for example, will involve a team both in-house production and off-house production². In each of the production team there are actors who have their own interests, such as editorial director, producer, executive producer, executive producer assistant, coordinator of the coverage, the documentation section, section editor, the visual part and quality control, the secretary of the editorial and news team, and even news sources.

At the stage of delivery, a television program also involves the interests of a number of institutions; the interest of television stations, advertising agencies, the corporate advertisers, as well as the interests of the institutions deciding the viewers' survey. While the post-delivery stage will also involve the interests of a number of institutions and individuals namely KPI and KPID's interests on behalf of an independent institution formed by the state to monitor the contents of broadcasting. Even at the stage of the post-delivery, presentation of a show will also receive a reaction from a number of institutions, such as political parties, civil society organizations, religious organizations and other parties depend on the content of the broadcasting. Starting from this stage is the driving force of different interests - whether political, economic or other interests among the actors who produce and respond television shows will be seen. The process of interests may take the form of cooperation or even a form of conflict (McQuail, 2000).

² Programs on TV stations are generally created by creative team who are administratively attached to the respected TV stations. The programs they created are called *in-house*. Meanwhile, programs produced by creative team beyond the TV stations' management, usually production houses sell their productions to TV stations, are called *off-house*.

Television Media and Power

Development of television media is now in line with social development. Social development today, has essentially gone beyond modernity thought (characterized by the emergence of industrial goods and services) to the idea of post-modernity which tend to be more organized by the consumption culture, competition of mass media and information technology development (Smith, 2001: 214-232). The presence of television media in the era of post-modernity has a strong influence in marking the social and economic dynamics of society, especially in consuming symbols and lifestyle rather than a function of production of goods that characterized the industrial era. Consumption of symbols, lifestyles, and community dynamics occur because television as a mass media has constructed the social reality (Berger and Luckman, 1990). Social reality is constructed by media starting from the reproduced information. This information reproduction is, indeed, the content of a media.

Nowadays, television media has actually built a social reality from a capital-intensive industry and is presented to the dynamic and contemporary community. Through the medium of television broadcasters is currently ongoing clashes that shook the structure of culture and communications systems that have been established (Kottak 1990).

Starting from this argument, the information presented in television, which then generates the content of media presentation, is determined by the management who own control over the broadcasting media. Moreover, the content of the television media presentation today will always keep processing experience changes in line with the interests of the actors involved in it. Therefore, it is interesting to examine the content of the television show which affects the audience.

For this reason, a more focused approach on the subject of the actors will determine, direct and create the communication process. Discussion on human action can be seen from the clash and tug of war between the normative and pragmatic rules, and the drive between knowledge and social action.

Tug of war between the pragmatic and normative rules will move from another situation continuously. This situation Movement will be more meaningful if it is interpreted and defined. The interpretation process will be the intermediary between the tendency to act and the action itself. Then, the actors involved, define their social actions differently because of differences of their position and situation. Conversely, if the perpetrators are able to define their actions in the same situation, then it is more due to the similarities of interpretation, not because of the ability of organizational structure to define and regulate the actions of the perpetrators (Goffman, 1974)

Meanwhile, according to Bourdieu (1977), the pull between knowledge and social action is reflective and reproductive activities. This is a *habitus* that work either between objective social relations and subjective interpretations, or between the cognitive structure (ideas) and social reality (action), as well as between the structural and cultural. For *habitus*, according to Bourdieu (1977), is between the subjective structure or interpretative schemes that work implied, which are formed from individuals experiences in their relation to other individuals in the objective structure network in the social space. *Habitus* is dispositions that can change based on the situation at hand, and make every actor to react efficiently in all aspects of his life, which works unconsciously and non-reflectively (Bourdieu, 1984)

In connection with the presentation of television shows, *habitus* of the actors involved can be identified from the schemes which are the representation of conceptual objects in social reality. These schemes relates in such a way to form cognitive structures that provide a framework of action to each player in order to establish relations in the social realm. The sphere is not an inter-subjective bond between individuals, but a kind of relationship that unconsciously and spontaneously formed the positions of individuals and groups in a society (Bourdieu, 1977). In this realm is the ongoing struggle for positions deemed to be capable of transforming or maintain power. Sphere as a means of competition of various types of capital (economic, political, and symbols) are used and disseminated by the actors to build their power relationships.

Newsroom as Arena of Contestation

Television newsroom is not a sterile black box because there are business and political interests that involve in determining the news broadcasted. Even the news production activities, has become constructing reality activities rather than merely describing reality (Ishadi, 2014).

Newsroom has become an arena of contestation. Activities such as the construction of reality already involves capital mobilization which later become power relation between the economic, political, ideological and even the media's ideology has lost in the contestation with the owners of capital (economic and political). In terms of editorial policy (read: the editorial culture), Waren Breed in Ishadi (2014) says there is an editorial policy that must be followed in every news. The owners of capital have the entire capacity (power relations) and even impose their will on editorial policy.

Journalist or news actors in the production process in the newsroom are directly influenced by the great powers; first, news suppliers who help journalists obtain news and supply news from news agencies, internet, stringers, as well as other news agencies; second, the implied norm or regulation (Ishadi, 2014).

News broadcasting is basically a culture (including the sense of identity / self) which is formed by the interaction with other parties/other world. In this case I borrowed the concept of Bruner (2005) on border zone becoming news production space (culture). Reality or human experience (journalist / media owners) or even the news, can be analytically distinguished into three domains, namely; first, news as lived means that various things in the news actually occur or reality; second, news as experienced, how news is experienced by people, which can consist of a variety of imaging, emotions (feelings), desires and thoughts as well as meanings that exist in individuals and are associated with the news; and third, the news as told.

Furthermore, in the case of broadcasting contestation, news can be generative and has a sort of "ability" to construct meaning, or can "behave" and not as a kind of text that dumb, but active in a single action or a social practice which is a response to a specific context for instance political context. The news itself has agency. The Narratives that born with regard to the News is not only structures of meanings but also structures of power because the news and narratives that arise in regard with it are mutually contested.

Closing

The newsroom is also very dependent on institutions which control hardware to deliver news product, such as the transmission of radio and television and transportation to the media. The newsroom is also very dependent and maintaining a relationship with the structure of advertising agencies, advertisers, and other institutions.

Speaking of the working conditions, especially the broadcasting media in Indonesia, journalists have to work in two strong conflicting pressures. On one side is the pressure of conscience which is reflected in the spirit of idealism. This spirit has pushed them to convey facts honestly and objectively. Another pressure is the fact that the media is a business entity as well as the industries that depend on the business spirit of the brush. Business spirit prompted the media to set the agenda and construct such realities gained so it will be exciting to be offered to the market. Through the legislation, codes of conduct, and the pressure of public opinion, the interaction between business interests and the objective structure can achieve balance.

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