

# Satellite Television in Indonesia



LEKNAS/LIPI



EAST-WEST CENTER  
Communication Institute

Alfian  
Godwin C. Chu  
Editors

## **LEKNAS/LIPI**

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The creation of LIPI is aimed at obtaining maximum efficiency and effectiveness in carrying out scientific and technological research for the welfare of mankind in general and the Indonesian nation in particular. The main tasks are: to promote the development of sciences and technology in Indonesia for the benefit of mankind in general and of the Indonesian people in particular; to search for scientific truth, while scientific freedom, the freedom of conducting research, and academic freedom are recognized and guaranteed within LIPI insofar as it is not in contradiction with *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution.

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**Indonesian Institute of Sciences,  
National Institute of Economic and  
Social Research (LEKNAS/LIPI)**

# **Satellite Television in Indonesia**

*edited by*

**Alfian**

**Godwin C. Chu**

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## PREFACE

In 1976 a longitudinal research project on the social and cultural effects of satellite communication was initiated in Indonesia. This project is sponsored by the Indonesian Ministry of Information and undertaken by the National Institute for Economic and Social Research, Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LEKNAS/LIPI), cooperating with the East-West Communication Institute, East-West Center. The work presented here is a part of that longitudinal research project, supported in part by the National Science Foundation of the United States.

This work originates from a cooperative research endeavor between Indonesian social scientists and their American counterparts. The project is unique because Indonesian and American scholars cooperated closely by pooling their insights, experiences, and methodological contributions. It is probably one of the few international research cooperations in which Indonesian scholars have played a major role in all phases, from the initial conception to the final output.

It is difficult to acknowledge adequately the contributions of many individuals, both in Indonesia and in the United States, whose advice and help have enriched this research. We express our thanks particularly to Professor Dr. Tb. Bachtiar Rifai, chairman of the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), Dr. Taufik Abdullah, former director and now research associate of LEKNAS/LIPI (National Institute of Economic and Social Research), Dr. Suharso, director of LEKNAS/LIPI, Mr. Syamusu Sugito, head of the Research and Development Division of the Department of Information and his staff, and Mr. M. N. Supomo, former director of Indonesian Television (TVRI) and his staff, and Dr. Astrid Susantoso, of the Indonesian National Planning Board (BAPPENAS).

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*Alfian  
Godwin C. Chu*

Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A.  
April 1981



# Communication and Development— An Indonesian Experiment

*Afflan  
Godwin C. Chu  
Taufik Abdullah*

Indonesia is at the crossroads of traditionalism and modernization. Its 13,677 islands constitute the largest archipelago in the world and have a total land area of about 735,000 square miles stretching across a territory some 3,200 miles from east to west and 1,100 miles from north to south.

Indonesia is also the most populous country in Southeast Asia, with almost 140 million people of diverse cultural, religious, and ethnic backgrounds. Rich in natural resources, Indonesia was occupied by the Dutch for about 350 years until its independence in 1945. For the last 36 years, the country has been endeavoring to promote a national identity built upon its traditions and to improve the standard of living through various programs of modernization and development. Both objectives rely on popular support for their success.

Cultural diversity and sheer size, however, present formidable obstacles. The situation is further compounded by a relatively low rate of literacy, currently estimated at 54 percent.<sup>1</sup> In the early 1970s, the government of Indonesia was confronted by a problem of communication between Jakarta (the capital) and the rest of the country: the people needed to know the various development programs and the government wanted feedback.

A major solution to this problem has been the Indonesian domestic communications satellite, known as Palapa I, which was inaugurated on 17 August 1976, in commemoration of Indonesia's independence.<sup>2</sup> Before deciding on this program, the Indonesian government had considered several other options.<sup>3</sup> Repeater submarine cables were one alternative that might have provided the desired expansion of communication capability, but were rejected because of the high initial cost and the difficulty of planning the terrestrial networks in anticipation of industrial and commercial development. Radio had been the major channel of communication for years, but the available band was considered too restricted and transmission too erratic to meet increasing

demands. A communications satellite thus appeared to be the most feasible option. The choice was then between leasing space from an existing international organization, such as Intelsat, or acquiring Indonesia's own satellite. Because Intelsat was considered unlikely to be able to provide sufficient transponders with spot-beam facilities to meet Indonesia's many requirements, the decision was to launch Palapa I. A replacement satellite, Palapa II, is scheduled to be launched in about 1983.

Palapa I has 12 transponders, each capable of transmitting one color television channel or 400 circuit telephones with two-way communication or 800 circuit telephones with one-way communication. The satellite is connected with 40 ground stations, one for each of the 27 provinces and 13 for industrial areas (see Figure 1-1). The capability of transmitting television signals opens up the possibility of using the satellite for public information and education for the approximate 81 percent of the population who live in rural Indonesia, as well as urban dwellers.<sup>4</sup>

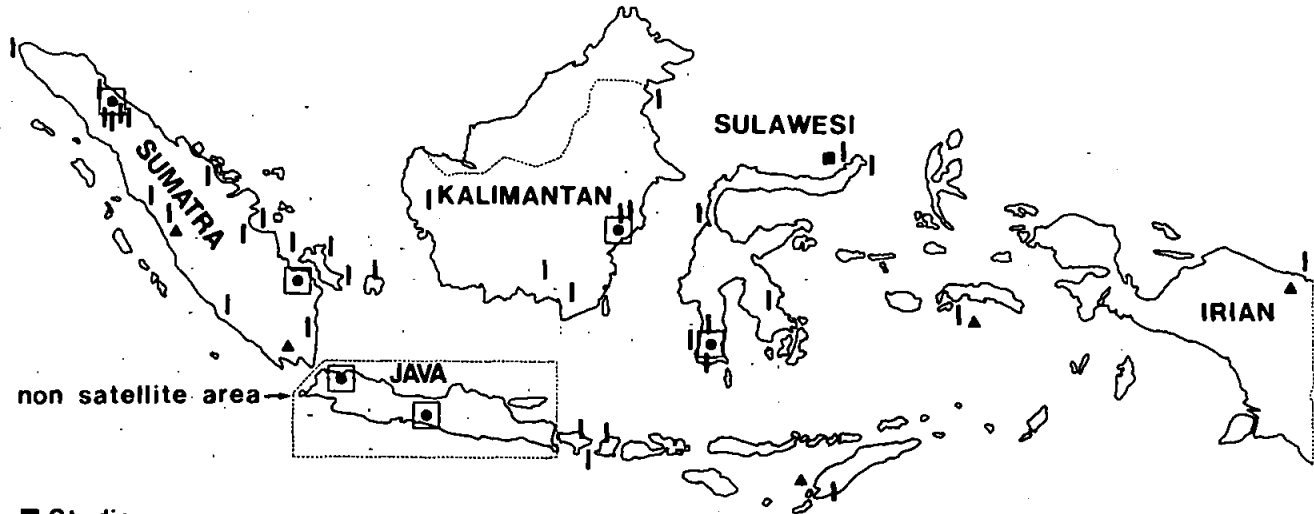
Nearly two decades of research have demonstrated that the potential of mass media, including television,<sup>5</sup> can help a developing country close the rural-urban gap, accelerating social and economic progress. What empirical knowledge we have, however, comes largely from correlational research and a few experimental studies that were either limited in sample size or of relatively short duration.<sup>6</sup> The Indonesian satellite provides one of the few opportunities anywhere in the world to use an experimental research design for studying the long-term social impact of television on a developing country.

This rare opportunity prompted the Communication Institute (EWCI) of the East-West Center and the Indonesian National Institute of Economic and Social Research (LEKNAS/LIPI) to initiate in 1975 a series of discussions that have resulted in a six-year cooperative research project between the two institutions. The objective is to assess the impact of satellite-transmitted television on rural development in Indonesia by using a longitudinal research design. Funding for the fieldwork has come largely from the Indonesian Ministry of Information, with supplementary grants from the East-West Center.

## **Concept of Development**

Traditionally, development was considered to be primarily an economic problem. To Joseph Schumpeter, the economic development of Western countries gained impetus from profit-seeking and thrived on entrepreneurship.<sup>7</sup> John Keynes saw Western economic development as a result of investment—the pooling of resources for productive activities.<sup>8</sup> The perspectives of economists came into question when their theories were applied to non-Western countries in the years after World War II. Large amounts of economic aid were pumped into some

# TVRI-BROADCASTING NETWORK OF INDONESIA



■ Studio

□ Studios existing in 1975

| Transmission (Satellite ground station)

▲ Relay station

1. radius of transmission/relay stations is 60-80km

2. 78 million are in viewing areas

3. 130 million total population

Figure 1-1

underdeveloped countries, with no appreciable results. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Western-oriented economic model of development began to be challenged and modified. The works of Everett Hagen and Bert Hoselitz, among others, illustrate convincingly that economic development must have its foundation in cultural values and social organizations.<sup>9</sup>

At about the same time there emerged an awareness that communication—the diffusion of new ideas and knowledge—can play a role in the development process. Pioneering research in communication and development was undertaken in the early and mid-1950s.<sup>10</sup> An important milestone came in 1958 with the publication of *The Passing of Traditional Society* by Daniel Lerner.<sup>11</sup> Using data collected from the Middle East, Lerner saw the mass media as one of the major channels by which people learn about the strange new modern world and acquire a mobile personality, or empathy, which may be essential if they are to cope with new opportunities and challenges.

Lerner's work stimulated a wide range of research, some of which has been summarized and synthesized by Wilbur Schramm.<sup>12</sup> While stressing that the structure of communication is an important reflection of the structure and development of society, Schramm proposed that communication be used to contribute to the feeling of nationhood, to help teach the necessary skills and technology, to extend the effective market, to aid the process of national planning, and to prepare people to play new roles in a modernizing society. The work of Everett Rogers and other rural sociologists in the United States further raised the hope that mass media could be used to promote adoption of agricultural innovations in developing countries as well.<sup>13</sup>

The decade following the works of Lerner and Schramm was a period of lively social research designed to demonstrate the roles of mass communication in teaching new knowledge and technology, promoting the diffusion of innovation, and changing traditional attitudes. We shall note briefly some of the more recent cases. In Niger, with aid from France, an educational program using television was initiated in 1964 to improve the standard of teaching in elementary schools. For seven years, educators and technicians from France helped set up the new curriculum and the instructional television program.<sup>14</sup> A similar venture undertaken in American Samoa also began in 1964. During the first eight years of this program, which is still in progress, the U.S. Department of the Interior provided \$2.5 million in capital funds for television, in addition to aid appropriations for new schools, technicians, and teachers.<sup>15</sup> Soon afterward, in 1969, the El Salvador educational television program was inaugurated with support from the U.S. AID mission. The World Bank provided a loan, with supplementary financial support from Unesco, Unicef, Britain, and Japan.<sup>16</sup> The Ivory Coast, like Niger, received aid from France in 1971 for use in instructional television for the improvement of teaching in elementary and middle schools.<sup>17</sup>

Mass media, including television, have been used for nonformal education for the rural poor as well. In Guatemala, radio has been used in a carefully designed Basic Village Education Project to induce change in agricultural practices and to increase production among the Ladinos and Indians of rural Guatemala. The relative costs of different mixes of communication media were examined.<sup>18</sup>

An extensive program for rural development has been undertaken in Colombia. Known as ACPO (Popular Cultural Action), this church-inspired program has made use of its "radiophonic schools" over the last quarter of a century to teach literacy, modern agricultural techniques, and ethical and religious principles.<sup>19</sup> In Tanzania, radio has been reaching the villages with practical instruction in agriculture and health, as well as talks on national policies and priorities, as part of President Julius Nyerere's self-reliance movement.<sup>20</sup>

A prominent use of radio for rural development has been the radio rural forum which was first begun on an experimental basis in Canada before World War II and combines group listening by farmers with follow-up discussion of radio programs.<sup>21</sup> Since the late 1950s, this approach has been adopted with some success in a number of countries, including India, Indonesia, Togo, Malawi, Ghana, and Dahomey.<sup>22</sup>

An elaborately planned program of satellite-transmitted television is India's Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE). During its first experimental year from 1975-1976, SITE made use of NASA's ATS-6 communications satellite for direct television broadcasting to a segment of Indian villages. The project carefully measured the socioeconomic characteristics and needs of the audience. Television programs were pretested, evaluated, and revised. Various research projects were undertaken, both by SITE staff and by other academic researchers, to assess the impact of television broadcasting on rural India.<sup>23</sup>

This line of inquiry has been productive. A major criticism, which has become more vocal in the 1970s, has to do with the fundamental process of development. The emphasis on cultural and psychological factors is important and laudable, the critics say, but this should not obscure the fact that development, after all, relates to productivity, which is often curtailed due to underutilization of resources and inequitable distribution of rewards. A low level of development usually has its roots in economic and social structural constraints that have both cultural and historical dimensions. Facilitating changes in certain cultural and psychological factors alone, without attention to inequities in the economic and social structure, will not be sufficient to initiate the development process.

In seeking a remedy, one school of thought is the Marxist approach, which contends that the solution would be to transform the social and economic fabric of a nation through revolutionary means. Communication can aid the transformation process. For instance, Godwin Chu has analyzed how the Chinese used communication

strategies to introduce structural changes and stimulate a massive process of development.<sup>24</sup> While China's achievements have been widely recognized, the transferability of the Chinese experience to other countries is open to debate. For example, the mistakes made by radical factions during the ten years following the Cultural Revolution have now been acknowledged in China. A crucial issue seems to be the question of human cost involved in the Chinese approach.

In between the largely cultural and psychological approach advocated by some Western scholars and the radical structural transformation model as practiced in Mao's China, there is a middle ground, which is exemplified by the work of Chu and others at the East-West Center.<sup>25</sup> This approach recognizes the importance of the psychological model, but believes that a more efficient utilization of resources and a more equitable distribution of rewards for development can be achieved through limited modification of relational patterns in the local communities. Psychological changes can support such relational modifications. Cases have been cited from a number of Asian and Latin American communities to illustrate the efficacy of this middle-ground approach without having to resort to radical changes of the entire social and economic structure. In other words, development is more than individual attitude change and dissemination of new knowledge, but can be achieved by realigning resource utilization and reward distribution in the local communities, rather than transforming them at the national level.

As we shall see, the experiences of Indonesia in seeking an independent course of development represent, in the initial stage, an agonizing and aborted experimentation with the transformation model (which failed), and more recently, a return to the cultural and psychological approach in support of concrete, change-oriented action programs in the local communities.

## **Development in Indonesia**

Those who have studied Indonesia closely since independence was won in 1945 will have little difficulty in comprehending the nature of the struggle for development. There has been a series of development plans, but not until the emergence of the present New Order Government were any of these plans seriously executed. In 1947, the new republic established a committee for economic policy (Panitia Pemikir Siasat Ekonomi) headed by Vice President Mohammad Hatta, an economist by training. Even though the committee succeeded in drafting the first plan for Indonesia's economic development, it was not implemented because of the ongoing revolution.<sup>26</sup>

After the revolution, in the early 1950s, a Development Council was established and it produced the first Five-Year Development Plan in 1956. In 1959, that plan was discarded, largely due to a serious political crisis

originating from intensified ideological conflicts and armed revolt against the national government. President Sukarno emerged from that crisis as the winner because he was able to secure the support of the military on the one hand, and the even stronger support of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) on the other. Following a series of political disagreements with Sukarno, Mohammad Hatta resigned as Indonesia's vice president in 1956, and nobody was appointed to fill his seat for years afterward. The situation led to Sukarno's rise as the most dominant holder of political power in the country, and enabled him to establish his Guided Democracy.

With such power in his hands, Sukarno changed the course of Indonesian politics radically. He was obsessed with revolutionary ideas and tried to transform Indonesia into a modern and strong nation. His radical nationalism made him increasingly anti-Western, especially anti-American, in foreign policy, and dictatorial in domestic rule. To realize his revolutionary ideals, in 1961 Indonesia formulated another development program called the Eight-Year Development Plan. The tragic termination of Sukarno's power, together with the banning of the Communist Party in 1966, told the story of how that plan and his Guided Democracy were discarded.<sup>27</sup>

The present New Order Government, under General Suharto, inherited from Sukarno a country in disarray. Indonesia's economy was probably in its worst state in modern times. The new leaders, largely dominated by the military, preoccupied themselves with the task of finding ways and means to rescue the economy. They invited several of Indonesia's leading economists to participate in such a rescue mission and in further development of the country. These economists drafted an emergency plan that succeeded in stabilizing the economy. Later, they became the architects of a series of Indonesian Five-Year Development Plans, known as the REPELITA.

The first REPELITA, inaugurated in 1969, was aimed basically at solving a number of serious problems in the economy, with a central emphasis on agriculture in order to overcome Indonesia's increasing dependence on imported rice. The government implemented the BIMAS (Mass Guidance) program in agriculture, through which a new system of growing rice—using new high-yield seeds, fertilizer, and pesticides—was introduced. In addition, the government executed a program to develop the infrastructure by constructing new roads and irrigation systems. Though it did not achieve the original target, the first Five-Year Plan succeeded in increasing the production of rice by 20 to 30 percent.<sup>28</sup>

Another aspect of Indonesia's problem has been the rapid growth of population. To curb it, the government undertook an active effort to implement a family-planning program, which was intensified under the second REPELITA. Initial research findings indicate success in the implementation of this family-planning campaign.

But, like many other developing countries, Indonesia's success in

achieving some of its development goals has been accompanied by a number of unintended results. It has been confronted by serious problems of corruption, a high consumption of imported luxury goods, a widening gap between the haves and the have-nots, and increasing social and political tensions. The implementation of development programs appears to have generated new problems. Aware of this, Indonesia's planners have made serious efforts to solve the newly emerging problems, which are basically social and political in nature. Greater attention has been given to such problems in the third REPELITA, currently in progress. The emphasis on economic development is accompanied by a desire to improve social and political conditions. New steps have been taken to eradicate corruption, and efforts have been made to distribute more equitably rewards such as income, housing, health facilities, education, business opportunities, and legal aid. Accordingly, the basic aim of national development has been reformulated under the third REPELITA to achieve economic progress, political democracy, and social justice. The new emphasis is on development with equity,<sup>29</sup> on reaching the people through tangible programs at the community level.

A closer look at Indonesia's various development plans reveals different lines of thought behind them. They show how Indonesian leaders have experimented with different ideas to develop their nation. Herbert Feith has found two major lines of thought. The first originates from those who put heavy emphasis on emotional political appeals as the best way to engineer revolutionary changes or radical transformation of society. They are the "solidarity makers," symbolized by Sukarno. The second school of thought consists of those who prefer evolutionary transformation through rational plans and pragmatic methods. Feith labels them "administrators," symbolized by Mohammad Hatta.<sup>30</sup>

Hatta's line of thought had considerable influence on the development plans drafted prior to the emergence of Sukarno's Guided Democracy. However, none of these plans were implemented, mainly because of the revolution and the ensuing political instability. Sukarno, under his Guided Democracy, had a chance to realize his revolutionary line of thought, but he failed too.

The rise of the New Order Government has brought a revival of Hatta's ideas. The economists who have drafted the REPELITAs have adopted a similar line of thought that is rational and pragmatic. It is true that until his death in March 1980, Hatta had on several occasions criticized some aspects of these development plans, but his criticisms were aimed at problems arising from development activities or at other aspects that he considered neglected or ignored by the planners.<sup>31</sup> Generally speaking, however, the basic strategy and approach of the present planners have been quite similar, if not identical, to Hatta's own line of thought. Like Hatta, they believe in evolutionary changes through rational planning. In contrast to Sukarno's idea of radical structural



transformation, they consider that evolutionary and peaceful development may be successfully generated through social, cultural, and psychological changes in society. They have come to realize that successful implementation of a development plan is very much dependent on the value orientation of the people as well as resource utilization. Development means changing the value system; that is, adopting new modern values and discarding some of the traditional values that are detrimental to the development process.

These economists may have been partly influenced by the works of a number of social scientists who have shown the relevance of social, cultural, and psychological conditions to development. In 1969, one of Indonesia's leading anthropologists, Koentjaraningrat, wrote a treatise on these aspects.<sup>32</sup> Influenced by the works of other social scientists, such as Kluckhohn, Strodbeck, and McClelland, he showed that psychological obstacles to development exist in three different groups within Indonesian society—the peasants, the gentry (*priyayis*), and the transitional class.<sup>33</sup> These psychological obstacles originate from value orientations. For example, the peasants in the villages accept their poor condition as a sealed fate. They live on a day-to-day basis; their life is an intense struggle to meet their needs *today*; they will think about tomorrow only when it comes. They see no point, and probably have no time to think about a better future.

The *priyayis* are obsessed by their upper social status originating in the traditional past. They often dream of the much-glorified old days. Their main concern is power and all the symbols that go with it. They are status seekers who look down on people who do manual work. Like the peasants, the *priyayis* are not future oriented. The value orientations of both groups have made the idea of change alien to them, so that it is difficult to motivate them to contribute to the development of their society.

The transitional people are obsessed by their desire to get rich or go to the top quickly, but instead of working hard, they want to fulfill their aspirations in the easiest possible way. This leads them to do things that are detrimental to the process of development, such as producing low quality work, misusing power and authority, engaging in corruptive activities, and living in excessive luxury. It is clear that their value orientation has psychologically inhibited them from playing a major and positive role in developing the whole society. Their greedy and irresponsible behavior appears to have a negative impact on the whole development process.<sup>34</sup>

In January 1970, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) initiated a national seminar on the sociocultural aspects of development that was widely publicized. The results strengthened the strategy for development that emphasizes the need to change value orientations, and it has been commonly accepted.<sup>35</sup> The New Order leaders have come to realize that the government must initiate development programs at the community

level, but in order to motivate the various groups to participate actively in these efforts, value changes will have to be generated.

Here lies the role of communication in support of development programs in Indonesia. Effective ways must be found to reach the various groups of people, to explain to them the objectives of the programs, to enlist their support for a new set of goals and values, and to ensure their active participation. It is from this general perspective that the Palapa satellite was launched to provide a means of communication that can reach the entire nation at a cost the Indonesian government can afford, and at a speed that is considered desirable. Our cooperative research on the impact of satellite-transmitted television has been undertaken within this framework.

## **Research Objectives**

After more than two decades of research, there is no longer any doubt that mass media can be used for instructional purposes to teach a variety of subject matters.<sup>36</sup> The media can be used to disseminate technical knowledge such as agricultural technology. Through the mass media, people can learn about the strange new world beyond their villages, aspire to new ways of life, and develop new values and attitudes, as Lerner has suggested.<sup>37</sup>

To ascertain the effects of television in Indonesia, our longitudinal research addressed four questions:

1. How does television contribute to or change the acquisition of knowledge and technology, new attitudes and behavioral orientations, aspirations, and role expectations?
2. In what way does television contribute to the adoption of innovations, health and hygiene practices, physical mobility, and more active participation in community affairs?
3. How does television change relations within the family and within formal and informal groups in the local community?
4. How does television change relations between family and school, producer and marketing institution, and village and town?

## **Cognitive and Cultural Effects**

Cognitive and cultural effects will have behavioral manifestations. Acquisition of knowledge and agricultural technology can lead to adoption of innovations when the social and economic environments are supportive. Knowledge about health and hygiene can facilitate acceptance of modern practices. New aspirations can motivate the younger generation to seek a productive way of life away from agriculture, which in turn contributes to greater physical mobility between rural and urban areas. Knowing more about public affairs can

foster new role expectations and lead to more active participation in community affairs.

## **Behavioral and Relational Effects**

All behavior has a relational context. Participation in community affairs, by attending village meetings or joining in discussions of public affairs, for example, undoubtedly takes place within the framework of the existing social relations in the village. However, if we characterize behavior on a scale from discrete to continuous, then it seems that behavior like adoption of innovation or attending village meetings would be more toward the discrete end, whereas interactions within the family would be closer to the continuous end, as would interactions within various kinds of informal and formal groups. We would like to refer to interactions like the latter as *relational*, while reserving the term *behavioral* for such discrete behavior as adoption of innovation, voting in an election, attending village meetings, and the like.

Viewing television has at least two implications in a relational context. Television brings in new information that shapes a person's perceptual field, and thus may modify the person's relations with others in the group he or she belongs to. For example, the information a young man acquires from television may prompt him to question the knowledge and authority of the village elders. But viewing television has a physical aspect as well. The very fact that someone spends hours in front of the television every day can reduce the time available for interaction with peers and family members. On the other hand, group viewing, which is common in some developing countries, may foster new patterns of friendship within the local community.

## **Institutional Relations**

We are also interested in possible changes in relations between and within institutions. As television begins to share with school the task of bringing new knowledge to children, will it change the relations between children and their school and indirectly between the family and the school? Schramm, among others, argues that modern communication must be used to help extend the effective market.<sup>38</sup> When villagers who are producers acquire more knowledge about outlets and current marketing trends, will it affect their relations with existing marketing institutions? We may also ask whether the increased physical mobility and improved communication might affect the relations between village and town.

## **Overall Conceptualization and Research Design**

The main objectives of this cooperative research were to assess the four types of impact of television on rural Indonesia. With these

objectives in mind, we chose a longitudinal field experiment, using a before-and-after comparative design with an experimental group and a control group. The initial data were collected in a benchmark survey in late 1976, based on a sample of 2,248 respondents drawn from villages in five provinces: Aceh, Bali, West Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and North Sulawesi. These provinces cover a wide range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, including Muslim, Hindu, Christian, and Confucian. In each province, respondents were interviewed in villages that were soon to have television, as well as in comparable villages that would not have television until after 1983. Initial results of the benchmark survey and the methodological details have been reported elsewhere.<sup>39</sup> Comparison of the initial data with findings from a follow-up survey to be conducted in 1981 will produce evidence on the kinds of impact television broadcasting will have on rural Indonesia.

### **Program Content**

In order to make the empirical data on change meaningful, however, we must know which television programs have caused the change. This requires a detailed analysis of program content that will help us interpret the results from the longitudinal research. These may indicate changes in certain aspects of Indonesian village life, but not in others.

### **Policy Goals**

Television programming in Indonesia is guided by government policy and plans. Those who assume responsibility for TV programs undoubtedly have kept in mind the objectives of the Palapa satellite project. It is therefore important to document the policy goals in order to assess the development-oriented television broadcasting.

A number of other institutional factors that are relevant to the incorporation of policy goals into actual programming will be discussed briefly.

### **Organizational Capabilities**

Production of television programs for education and development requires coordination between the agency in charge of production and other government departments that have specific responsibility for content substance—public health, agriculture, adult education, and others. The kind of programs and their quality will depend to a great extent on interdepartmental cooperation. The related question of producing Indonesian programs versus importing foreign programs also involves coordination among the various agencies for the allocation of funds and resources.

### **Software Production Technology**

In television programming, the availability of qualified production

personnel is essential. Asian countries that have tried to produce their own programs have encountered a shortage of trained personnel in practically every field—filming, processing, recording, writing, acting, design, and directing. Professional training is thus of critical importance. Unless there is a cadre of adequately trained professionals, there cannot be high quality television programs.

## **Resources**

These include not only materials and supplies but also human resources. The national development-oriented television enterprise does not necessarily benefit from the availability of talent when the private film industry is competing for artists and production personnel. If the movie industry pays higher salaries, for example, the more talented persons will probably not be available for development and educational programs. The basic problem here is one of reward allocation in public enterprises as compared with private industry.

## **Systems Approach**

The research in Indonesia was conceptualized to extend from a longitudinal assessment of the social impact of television to an analysis of television program content and an examination of policy goals and institutional factors relevant to programming.

In our conceptualization, we followed a systems approach, using Schramm's definition of systems.

When we refer to a system, we mean a boundary-maintaining set of interdependent particles. The key words are boundary and interdependent. By interdependence we mean a relationship of parts in which anything happening to one component of a system affects, no matter how slightly, the balance and relationship of the whole system. By boundary-maintaining we mean a state in which the components are so related that it is possible to tell where the system ends and its environment begins . . . and, usually a system is made up of component systems and itself belongs to a system . . . . It is necessary to keep clearly in mind whether, at any given moment, we are looking at a given entity as a system of component parts or as one of the many units in some larger system.<sup>40</sup>

Our general premise is that the structure and content of television in a country is very much related to the components making up the national system, and these components place considerable constraints on the

nature and extent of the impact of television. Our contention is that we cannot expect to understand the impact of television unless we have sufficient knowledge about the various system components to which television is closely related.

The lack of attention to systems analysis in previous work on the effects of mass media is discussed by L. R. Beltrán in a critical review of the concepts of communication and development. He makes the following observations:

If a researcher, in attempting to study the social behavior of ants, is denied the influence on them of their environment, he would be seriously criticized by his colleagues for his obvious blindness—the gross artificiality of his optics. Yet when a researcher studies the communication behavior of humans with an almost total disregard for the determinant influence of the organizational factors of their society, few of his colleagues condemn him. Is this way of conducting research realistic, logical, and scientific?<sup>41</sup>

Beltrán then offers further elaboration:

... it is indispensable to acknowledge the fact that some remedial steps are being taken in Latin America to reformulate communication research activities in terms of the realities of the region. ... In principle, the new approach stems from understanding communication integrally and dynamically as a process in which all components deserve comparable and undislocated attention. It also stems from the conviction that such a process is inextricably interwoven with the structure of total society and, particularly with the economic determinants of this structure.<sup>42</sup>

This echoes Schramm's assertion that

... the structure of social communication reflects the structure and development of society. ... Only by the most brutal surgery, therefore, can social communication be separated from society, and when the operation is completed both parts of the organism are dead.<sup>43</sup>

Gerbner has similarly emphasized the steadily increasing role of social and institutional structures in shaping the symbolic environment, and has proposed a conceptual framework for the comparative analysis of media policies, content, and effects in different social systems. Our research on the impact of television in Indonesia parallels his framework.<sup>44</sup>

## **Reporting the Research**

This monograph, which is the first of a series of four research reports, will concentrate on the analysis of policy goals, institutional constraints, and television program content. The second report, scheduled for completion in 1982, will present the results of detailed statistical analysis of the 1976 benchmark survey. The assessment of the impact of television through a before-and-after television comparison will be the focus of the third report, which we plan to complete in 1983. The last of the series, scheduled for 1985, will present the results of holistic analysis of the institutional impact of television in rural Indonesia.

This monograph is organized into three sections—institutional policy analysis, message content, and audience response.

### **Institutional Policy Analysis**

A number of questions can be raised: What are the policy goals for Indonesian television? What are some of the institutional factors that affect the process by which policy goals are translated into television programs? Chapter 2, by Alfian and Chu, suggests answers to these questions.

While policies and institutional constraints are factors outside the television system, there are internal issues, characterized by resource constraints and organizational capabilities, that may impinge on programming. Chapter 3, by Ronald Pyszka, examines these issues.

Alfian, Chu, and Alwi Dahlan then look at the processes by which television programming decisions are made (Chapter 4).

### **Message Content**

In the next section, we analyze the *message content* of Indonesian television—What are the programs that reach the heterogeneous audience in accordance with policy guidelines?—beginning with an overview by Maswadi Rauf that covers the salient features of Indonesian television programs (Chapter 5).

Alfian, Tony Nnaemeka, and Mochtar Pabottinggi then analyze the presentation of news, an important factor in national integration and development (Chapter 6). They trace the changes in television news programs from the time of President Sukarno, and present a content analysis of domestic and international news.

This is followed by Chapter 7, on television commercials, by Alfian, Arno, and Chu. Advertisements were part of the Indonesian television message system, often providing information that viewers found practical and useful. What products were advertised on Indonesian television? What image did they present to viewers? What motivational appeals were used to promote these products?

The last chapter in the section (Chapter 8) has to do with cultural values, as reflected in popular television dramas known as *sandiwara*. What values are being portrayed? What value conflicts can be detected? Using quantitative value analysis, Chu, Alfian, and Pabottinggi analyze a selection of television dramas for manifest themes of cultural values, and compare them with data from the American culture.

### **Audience Response**

Section three deals with audience feedback, mainly from urban dwellers, and initial perception of television in Indonesian villages. These are the first steps toward assessing the social effects of television, in what Gerbner calls *cultivation analysis*. Alfian, Chu, and Pabottinggi analyze letters to newspaper editors in which the writers expressed either criticism or approval of TVRI (Chapter 9).

The introduction of television to Indonesian villages is then analyzed by Alfian (Chapter 10), who makes use of findings from the interim survey completed in early 1978 in seven Indonesian provinces in the aftermath of the 1976 benchmark survey. The objective of the 1978 survey was to assess the initial response of the villagers to television, rather than to analyze a wide range of effects. Some tentative observations on the impact of television on informal communication networks in the villages are discussed by Alfian in this chapter. Then S. Budhisantoso presents Chapter 11, with additional information from the same 1978 survey on viewing patterns and program preferences on the villagers.

In the concluding chapter, Chu and Alfian review some of the basic issues of the institutional constraints on communication technology that have emerged from this research and discuss a few major policy issues.

We want to emphasize that it is not the primary objective of this report to analyze and evaluate the communication policies of Indonesia, even though we hope our findings will be useful to policymakers and scholars alike. Our objective is to understand the various institutional factors, including the existing policy goals, that can help us to view Indonesian television content in its proper context. This in turn will enable us to interpret our eventual findings on the social impact of television in that country. These findings, when interpreted in their own social and cultural context, can then become the basis for choices of future policy alternatives in Indonesia.



# NOTES

1. Biro Pusat Statistik, *Sensus Penduduk 1971* (Jakarta: BPS, 1972).
2. *Palapa*, a native fruit of Java, is a symbol of unity. When Prime Minister Gadjah Mada of Majapahit assumed office during the fourteenth century, he took an oath that he would not eat *palapa* until he could bring the Nusantara Islands under Majapahit sovereignty. When Indonesia launched its satellite in 1976, Palapa was chosen as the name.
3. Syamsu Sugito, "The Indonesian Domestic Communications Satellite System" (paper read at East-West Center Conference on Evaluation of Communication Satellite Effects, Honolulu, June 21-25, 1976).
4. The percentage of rural population is based on Indonesia's current Five-Year Plan. See Harsono Suwardi, "From Radio to Satellite Broadcasting: Problems and Prospects Toward Indonesian Development Process," in *Institutional Exploration in Communication Technology*, ed. Godwin C. Chu, Syed A. Rahim, and D. Lawrence Kincaid, Communication Monograph no. 4 (Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, 1978), p. 117.
5. A pioneering work on the development effects of mass media is Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1958). Many of the practical issues involving the use of mass media for development programs are discussed in Wilbur Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development: The Role of Information in the Developing Countries* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964). For a comprehensive synthesis of 15 years of empirical research, see Everett M. Rogers, *Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969).
6. Rogers, *Modernization Among Peasants*, pp. 112-23.
7. Joseph A. Schumpeter, *The Theory of Economic Development: An Enquiry into Profit, Capital, Credit, Interest and the Business Cycle* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934).
8. John M. Keynes, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1936).
9. Everett E. Hagen, *On the Theory of Social Change* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1962); Bert F. Hoselitz, "Noneconomic Barriers to Economic Development," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 1 (1952): 8-21.
10. See for example Arno G. Huth, *Communication and Economic Development* (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1952); Y. B. Damle, "Communication of Modern Ideas and Knowledge in Indian Villages," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 20 (1956): 257-70; and Gordon K. Hirabayashi and M. Fathalla El Khatib, "Communication and Political Awareness in the Villages of Egypt," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 22 (1958): 357-63.
11. Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*.

12. Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development*.
13. Rogers, *Modernization Among Peasants*.
14. Emile McAnany, *Radio Clubs of Niger* (Palo Alto, CA: Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1972).
15. Wilbur Schramm, *ITV in American Samoa: After Nine Years* (Palo Alto, CA: Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1973).
16. John K. Mayo, Robert C. Hornik, and Emile G. McAnany, *Educational Reform with Television: The El Salvador Experience* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976).
17. S. Grant, *A Report on Television in the Ivory Coast* (Washington, DC: Academy for Educational Development, 1974).
18. Edgar G. Nesman, "The Basic Village Education Project: Guatemala," in *Non-Formal Education and the Rural Poor*, ed. Richard O. Niehoff (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1977), pp. 121-31.
19. Luis R. Beltrán, "Social Structure and Rural Development Communication in Latin America: The Radiophonic Schools of Colombia," in *Communication for Group Transformation in Development*, ed. Godwin C. Chu, Syed A. Rahim, and D. Lawrence Kincaid, Communication Monograph no. 2 (Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, 1976), pp. 217-49.
20. Julius K. Nyerere, "Education for Self-Reliance," in *Freedom and Unity* (Dar es Salaam: Government of Tanzania, 1967).
21. J. Nicol, A. Shea, G. Simmins, and R. Şim, *Canada's Farm Radio Forum* (Paris: Unesco, 1954).
22. P. Neurath, *The Radio Rural Forum: Report on the Pilot Project* (New Delhi: Government of India, 1960); Harsono Suwardi, "From Radio to Satellite Broadcasting," pp.117-26; Friedrich Kahnert et al., "Radio Togo's Educational Programme," in *New Educational Media in Action*, ed. Wilbur Schramm, Philip H. Coombs, Friedrich Kahnert, Jack Lyle, Case Studies no. 2 (Paris: Unesco, 1967), pp. 209-26; G. Klónglan, *Radio Listening Groups in Malawi, Africa*, Rural Sociology Dept. Report no. 70 (Ames, IA: Iowa State University, 1967); T. Coleman, A. Opaku, and H. Abell, *An African Experiment in Radio Forums for Rural Development: Ghana 1964/1965*, Reports and Papers on Mass Communications no. 51 (Paris: Unesco, 1968); E. McAnany, *Rural Radio in Dahomey* (Palo Alto, CA: Institute for Communication Research, Stanford University, 1972).
23. Romesh Chander and Kiran Karnik, *Planning for Satellite Broadcasting: The Indian Instructional Television Experiment*, Reports and Papers on Mass Communications no. 78 (Paris: Unesco, 1976).
24. Godwin C. Chu, *Radical Change Through Communication in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1977).
25. Godwin C. Chu, Syed A. Rahim, and D. Lawrence Kincaid, eds., *Communication for Group Transformation in Development*, Communication Monograph no. 2, (Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, 1976).

26. For a brief history of Indonesia's development plans, see Bintoro Tjokroamidjojo, *Perencanaan Pembangunan* (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1977), pp. 34-39.
27. See Herbert Feith, *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962); Daniel S. Lev, *The Transition to Guided Democracy in Indonesian Politics, 1957-1959* (Ithaca, NY: Modern Indonesian Project, Cornell University, 1966); Alfian, *Pemikiran dan Perubahan Politik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1978).
28. See Gary E. Hansen, "Bureaucratic Linkages and Policy-Making in Indonesia: BIMAS Revisited," in *Political Power and Communication in Indonesia*, ed. Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978); Bruce Glassburner, "Indonesia's New Economic Policy and Its Sociopolitical Implications," in Jackson and Pye, *Political Power*.
29. See Alfian, "Memahami Strategi Pembangunan Nasional" (Jakarta: LEKNAS/LIPI, 1980).
30. Herbert Feith, *Decline of Constitutional Democracy*, chap. 1.
31. Koentjaraningrat, *Rintangan2 Mental Dalam Pembangunan Ekonomi Indonesia* (Jakarta: Bhratara, 1969). See also Alfian's review of this book, "Masalah Mental Dalam Pembangunan," *Pedoman*, 20-22 (September 1969).
32. See for example, Mohammad Hatta, "Kata Sambutan," in Bintoro Tjokroamidjojo, *Perencanaan Pembangunan*.
33. Koentjaraningrat utilizes the framework and concepts introduced by F. R. Kluckhohn and F. L. Strodbeck in their book, *Variations in Value Orientation* (Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson and Co., 1961). Among several other works he cites is David C. McClelland, *The Achieving Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1961).
34. The importance of sociocultural and psychological change has also been recognized by, among others, Ali Moertopo in his book, *Akselerasi Modernisasi Pembangunan 25 Tahun* (Jakarta: CSIS, 1973).
35. See Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia, *Perkembangan Sosial Budaya Dalam Pembangunan Nasional* (Jakarta: LIPI, 1970); Alfian, *Masalah Perkembangan Politik dalam Pembangunan Nasional* (Jakarta: LEKNAS/LIPI, 1970).
36. Godwin C. Chu and Wilbur Schramm, *Learning from Television: What the Research Says*, 4th ed. (Washington, DC: National Association of Educational Broadcasters, 1979). We did not study instructional television in Indonesian schools because this was still in the planning stage.
37. Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society*.
38. Wilbur Schramm, "Communication Development and the Development Process," in *Communication and Political Development*, ed. Lucian W. Pye (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963), pp. 30-57.
39. For a full report in Indonesian, see Alfian, S. Budhisantoso, and Parsudi Suparlan, *Sistim-Sistim Komunikasi Dalam Masyarakat Indonesia* (Jakarta: Indonesian National Institute for Economic and Social Research, 1977). For a condensed English version of the same report, see "Rural Indonesia Before Television: A

Benchmark Survey," prepared by Indonesian National Institute for Economic and Social Research, Jakarta, and the East-West Communication Institute (Honolulu, 1978).

40. Schramm, "Communication Development and the Development Process," pp. 30-31.
41. Luis R. Beltrán, "Alien Premises, Objects, and Methods in Latin American Communication Research," *Communication Research* 3 (1976): 110.
42. Beltrán, "Alien Premises . . . ." p. 127.
43. Schramm, "Communication Development and the Development Process," p. 34.
44. George Gerbner, "Comparative Cultural Indicators," in *Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures*, ed. George Gerbner (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), pp. 199-205.

## Policy Goals and System Constraints

*Allian  
Godwin C. Chu*

Having television is one thing; making the most of it is another. This is the key problem faced by any country or society where this mass medium exists. However, each society has its own way of looking at and dealing with the problem. In a free and competitive society like the United States, where the major television networks are owned and operated by private companies, the market economy appears to be the most important determinant of the solution. The main goal of the competing television networks is profit. Programs are seen as economic goods or services that can be sold to anyone interested. Various private companies buy and become sponsors of the shows appearing on television, and television commercials become the lifeblood of the competing networks. The networks' major concern is to get the largest number of viewers. They often produce programs that exploit hidden desires for, say, sex and violence.

Competition has contributed to improvement in the technical quality of the programs because it stimulates creativity. The programs, by being more satisfactory, are more appealing to the public. However, improvement in the quality of production does not necessarily run parallel with improvement in the quality of content. As profit is the main goal, popular shows are preferred over those of higher intellectual quality. The latter attract only a select minority of highly educated viewers. For better or for worse, it is the goal of profits that determines the kinds of programs produced in the United States.

Indonesia offers a distinctively different picture and perspective. TVRI, owned and operated by the government, is the only network operating in the whole archipelago. It is not a private enterprise, and profit is certainly not the goal. But the goals assigned to it by the government can appropriately be called policy goals.

## **Introduction of Television**

The introduction of television in Indonesia was directly linked to the sports event known as the Asian Games. Indonesia was honored as the host country for the Fourth Asian Games held in Jakarta in 1962. The late President Sukarno's apparent wish to make the most of this event led to his desire for television coverage. The preparations for the Asian Games were carried out through a specifically named national project, of which television became a subdivision. The inauguration of TVRI thus coincided with the opening ceremony of the Fourth Asian Games on 24 August 1962. No permanent studio had been established, and no permanent television tower was constructed. The future of television was to be considered after that sports event had finished. For many years afterward, until Indonesia bought the communication satellite, Palapa, TVRI had to use equipment dating from this first broadcast. For several years, television operated under the supervision of the Radio Service within the Department of Information, but in 1966 it became a separate subdivision under the newly formed Directorate General of Radio, Television and Film.<sup>1</sup>

For several months after the Fourth Asian Games, TVRI was able to broadcast for only 30 to 60 minutes a day, primarily for the purpose of avoiding frustration on the part of the 10,000 television set owners in the capital city of Jakarta. At that time no specific or written policy goals were assigned to it. However, as a tool of the government, its programs were guided by the existing policies of Sukarno's Guided Democracy, which was increasingly anti-Western. In 1963, the first official policy goal statement was issued as a presidential decree. Television was declared to be for the development of the Indonesian nation—mentally, spiritually, and physically. It was regarded as a means of "nation and character building." This was directly in line with Sukarno's perception of himself as the unifier and builder of the Indonesian nation. Sukarno was quick to realize the importance of this new mass medium for his political purposes, and made the best of it by appearing frequently on the screen to deliver rousing speeches. He eventually became the prima donna of Indonesian television.

## **New Policy Goals**

The present New Order Government under President Suharto also recognizes the importance of television as an instrument for achieving national goals, and has been using it toward these same ends. There are, of course, distinct policy differences between Sukarno's Guided Democracy and Suharto's New Order. The tragic downfall of Sukarno and the banning of the influential communist party created a drastic change in the political power structure. As a result, the emerging New Order Government abandoned and changed a number of Sukarno's

policies that were colored by radical nationalism and anti-Western foreign policy. Such dramatic changes in policy occurred in politics, and also in the economy. Assisted by Indonesia's leading economists, Suharto became genuinely interested in developing and modernizing his country. Accordingly, the present New Order Government assigned the following three policy goals to television:

- the promotion of national unity and integration
- the promotion of national development
- the promotion of political stability

The government sees these three major goals as interrelated—achievement of one of them depends on achievement of the other two. Ideally, all three of them should be achieved simultaneously. The interrelation of the three goals can be clarified through an understanding of the overall national development plan of which all three are essential parts.

The national development plan is a product of the People's Congress, whose membership consists of elected and appointed representatives of the people. Every five years, this People's Congress holds a general session for the purpose of, among other things, drawing up new General Guidelines of the State Policies, known by its abbreviation, GBHN. This procedure conforms to the constitutional requirement that has been carefully followed by the present system. In the GBHN, the major national policy goals are stated in the national development plan. Since the GBHN is decided by the People's Congress every five years, the national development plan is also subject to the same process; there has been a series of Five-Year Development Plans in Indonesia since 1969. In 1979, the country began its Third Five-Year Development Plan.

Under the New Order system, the GBHN is initiated by the government, which provides the People's Congress with a draft. The People's Congress deliberates, reviews the draft, and, if necessary, makes changes before finally approving it as the new GBHN of the country for the next five years. The draft must be in line with the five principles of the national ideology, the *Pancasila*, and the 1945 Constitution. The five principles of the *Pancasila* are:

1. Belief in one God
2. Just and civilized humanity
3. The unity of Indonesia
4. Democracy led by the wisdom of deliberations by the representatives
5. Social justice for the whole Indonesian people

Since the GBHN is the product of the People's Congress, and is also solidly based in the national ideology and constitution, it becomes formally legitimate and binding. The president, as the head of the executive branch of government, is given a mandate by the People's

Congress to implement it. The mandate represents an enormous responsibility, but at the same time, provides the government with equally strong power.

Thus the three major policy goals of TVRI originated as essential parts of the overall national development plan which, in turn, arose from the GBHN. The three major policy goals can be thought of equally as the national goals of the Indonesian people, with the government holding the responsibility and power to achieve them. As TVRI is one of the media available to the government, it assists the government in achieving the three major national goals. From what we know, the government appears to be fully aware of what television can contribute, and has become increasingly interested in developing the national communication system, notably television, since the first Five-Year National Plan was inaugurated in 1969. To the surprise of many people, it made a dramatic decision in February 1975 to purchase from the United States a communication satellite that was supposed to speed the spread of television throughout the archipelago. The launching of the satellite in July 1976 marked the beginning of that revolutionary change. Let us now discuss what this meant just two years after the launching of the Palapa satellite.

## **Growth of TVRI**

For the first few years, the services of TVRI developed very slowly and were still very much limited to Jakarta. The number of television sets increased by an average of fewer than 8,000 sets per year from 10,000 in 1962 to 65,000 in 1969.<sup>2</sup> With the expansion of television facilities to other major cities, which mostly occurred after Indonesia entered its first Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974), the size of the audience has been growing steadily. As we see in Figure 2-1, by 1972, ten years after the inauguration of TVRI (but only two years after the inauguration of the first Five-Year Development Plan), there were 212,580 registered TV sets, mostly concentrated in Jakarta and Java. Only 5 percent (11,220) of the sets were outside Java.

The size of the audience grew steadily over the years, but until 1975 there were still relatively few sets outside Jakarta and Java. The first major breakthrough in the outer islands came in 1976, when stations in South Sumatra, North and West Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Kalimantan began to expand their services. In that year, more than half a million sets were registered. This trend continued until the launching of Palapa, when the number of registered sets totaled 895,196 (as of March 1978). By then, television had reached more islands, including Bali, Maluku, and Irian Jaya (West New Guinea).

Palapa is significant because for the first time in Indonesian history the government has the means of reaching the entire country with messages intended to promote a sense of national identity and to stimulate concerted efforts toward self-reliance and development.



# NUMBER OF RECEIVERS IN INDONESIA FROM 1971-72 UNTIL 1977-78



\*DKI = DAERAH KHUSUS IBUKOTA (Special area of Capital)

\*\*DIY = DAERAH ISTIMEWA YOGYAKARTA (Special area of Yogyakarta)

Figure 2-1

Some technical aspects of satellite broadcasting, and the Indonesian satellite in particular, should be noted. First, Palapa does not broadcast directly to television sets. The weak satellite signal is picked up by ground stations (see Figure 1-1), which amplify the signal and rebroadcast it from a tower to antennas in surrounding homes. A satellite is an alternative to ground linkages, such as microwaves. In Java and Madura (Figure 2-2), where the majority of the Indonesian population is concentrated, there is no need for satellite broadcasting because all linkages are made by microwaves.

The decision to launch the Palapa satellite was reached with the full awareness of its cost. As Figure 2-3 shows, the expenditures for constructing television facilities in Indonesia were low from 1969 to 1974, but began to increase in 1975, and peaked in 1976 when Palapa was finally decided upon. The total expenditure for that year was nearly one hundred times that for 1974 because of the foreign currency payments amounting to US\$73 million for Palapa. For 1977, expenditures were still high because of the construction of ground stations for Palapa.

In terms of the additional audience to be reached, Palapa would appear to have a relatively poor cost-benefit ratio. A commercially oriented television network, like those in the United States, would probably not undertake such a major venture just to reach a fraction of the potential audience. To policymakers in Indonesia, however, the fundamental national objectives simply cannot be measured in economic terms. (It should be noted that the satellite is also being used for other telecommunication purposes.) It is in this context that we can begin to understand the importance of the policy goals of national integration, development, and political stability assigned to TVRI.

## **National Development**

From the point of view of policy goals, the government has a strong incentive to develop the communication system at a rapid pace. National unity and objectives constitute a problem that is not yet solved satisfactorily. Indonesians take pride in the achievements of their ancestors, while recognizing their apparent weaknesses. Historically two major kingdoms united the Indonesian archipelago. The first, the seventh century Sriwijaya, had its center in Sumatra. The second, the Majapahit kingdom centered in Java, became very powerful in the fourteenth century. Both kingdoms went through a process of disintegration and final collapse. The demise of Majapahit was caused partly by the spread of the Islamic religion, which succeeded in influencing a number of emerging small political units along the coastal areas. Within a century these various ministates were overrun by European invaders, primarily the Dutch. The colonists soon consolidated their position in the East Indies and ruled Indonesia,

# MAP OF TVRI BROADCASTING NETWORK IN JAVA AND MADURA

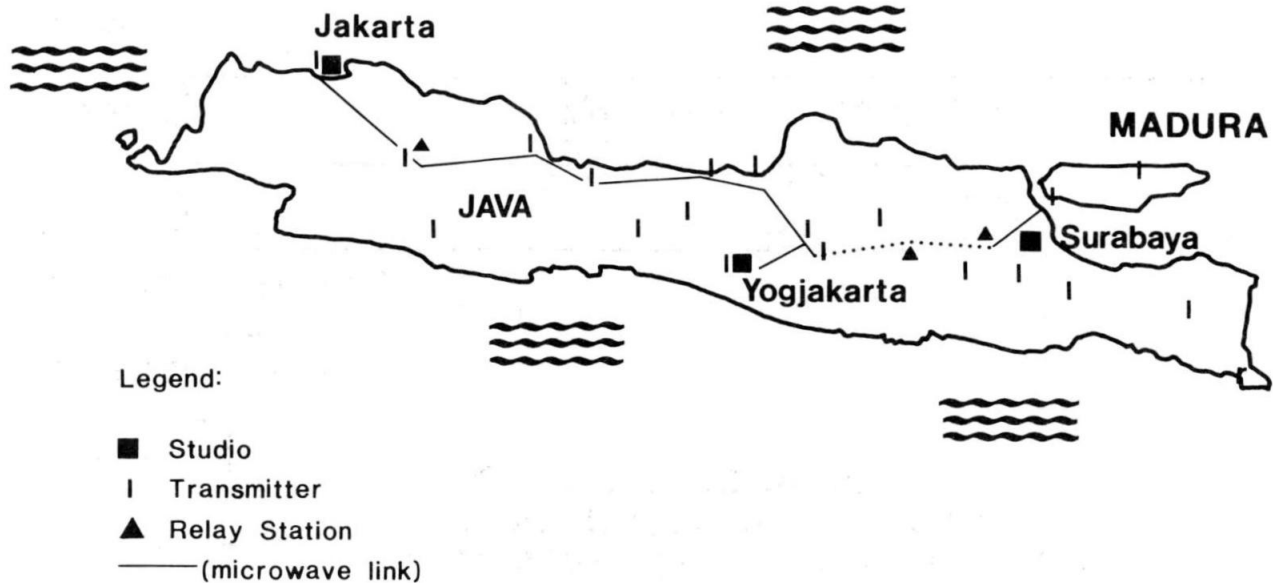
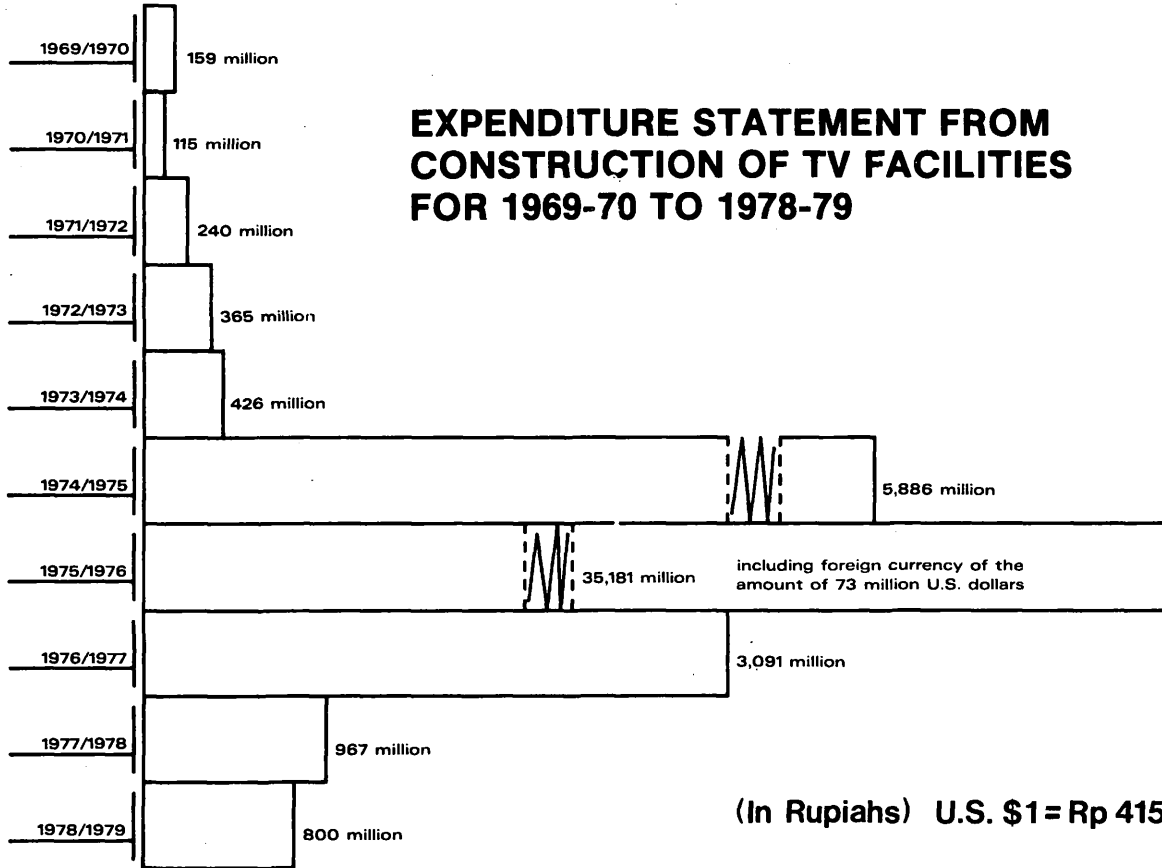


Figure 2-2

## EXPENDITURE STATEMENT FROM CONSTRUCTION OF TV FACILITIES FOR 1969-70 TO 1978-79



(In Rupiahs) U.S. \$1 = Rp 415

Figure 2-3

though not without internal opposition, from approximately 1600 until the Japanese occupation during World War II.

Modern Indonesian nationalism was born at the turn of this century and went through a long and difficult process. On one side it faced the Dutch colonists; on the other, the pluralistic nature of Indonesian society. Indonesia proclaimed its independence at the end of World War II in 1945, and had to go through a bloody five-year revolution against the Dutch, who wanted to regain control. The Indonesian people were victorious, but found themselves with numerous problems. There was the old problem of unity and integration in a pluralistic society. They could not escape the reality of being a nation of many religions, ethnic groups, political factions, traditions, and cultural values. A series of political crises, including bloody armed rebellions, have endangered the existence of the country. It is understandable that the present New Order Government, which emerged from the tragic "September 30, 1965 Affair," still sees the need to enhance the process of national unity and integration as one of its major and legitimate goals.

When the New Order Government came to power in 1965, Indonesia's economy was in very poor shape. The Suharto government decided, with the assistance of Indonesia's leading economists, to make the development of the country, with priority for the economy, its major task through the series of Five-Year National Development Plans started in 1969. The government sees the importance of political stability for enhancing national unity and integration on the one hand, and the successful implementation of the national development plan on the other. At the same time, it is recognized that political stability, the third goal, is dependent on the other two major policy goals. By emphasizing that the three major policy goals are interrelated, the government has been able to make them appear more politically sound and legitimate, which justifies the decision to speed up the development of the communication system by purchasing the highly expensive Palapa satellite to expand the television network to the whole archipelago. Television, which was basically an urban phenomenon in Indonesia until a few years ago, is now penetrating rural villages, even in remote hinterland areas.

## **System Constraints**

Rapid expansion of the television network is one thing, but making it effective for achieving major policy goals is more complicated. The effectiveness of television very much depends on the kind and types of programs it offers. Do these programs really help to achieve those goals or not? It might look easy and simple on paper to produce suitable programs, but the complicated reality of Indonesia with its pluralistic society has made it very difficult work. The role of a television program in Indonesia is not only to win the hearts of the general viewers, but also,

and more important, to stimulate their attitudes and behavior in favor of the major national goals. This demands a special kind of creativity among Indonesian television professionals—executives, technicians, scriptwriters, actors, reporters, and producers. Additionally, other factors must be considered, some common to television professionals around the world, and others found only domestically.

Compared to the United States, for example, producing television programs in Indonesia involves more factors and problems. The situation seems less conducive to creativity and improvement of the quality of production, but the work is more challenging. However, a person can only take so many problems. Beyond a certain limit the appearance of new or additional factors and problems tends to reduce the capability for producing good or suitable programs; they reflect what we refer to here as system constraints.

Some of the factors and problems faced by TVRI in producing and broadcasting its programs are in the fields of decision making, policy guidelines, professionalism, audience, organization, and budget.

## **Decision Making**

To appreciate the problems of decision making, one must first comprehend the nature of TVRI as a government tool or agency. As a directorate within the Department of Information, TVRI has to go through the bureaucratic decision-making process in that department. In addition, it has to satisfy the demands of various other government departments and agencies that are competing for their own interests and want the successful activities of their departments to appear on the television screen in the form of news, reports, interviews, or a play. Sometimes, usually in a television play on the activities of a certain department or agency, the involvement of other government departments and agencies penetrates high up in the decision-making process, especially in determining what is to be shown or not shown. The rule is that any information or recommendation about a government program intended for the public must originate from the department or agency that deals with that matter. That leaves little room, if any, for the emergence of divergent opinions. While many official presentations have been well coordinated, some officials have a tendency to present a partial picture that may be misleading. In short, TVRI has to operate under these various types of constraints.

## **Policy Guidelines**

The policy guidelines are intended to keep the content of television from being too divergent from the major national goals to be achieved. Five rules must be followed. First, Indonesian television should stimulate the process of "nation and character building," which includes, among

other things, strengthening national objectives and enhancing spiritual development. Second, television should play the role of preserver and protector of the national culture, meaning it should stimulate the development of various aspects of Indonesian culture. Third, television should support and promote the various development activities that are going on throughout the archipelago. Fourth, it should also carry on its educational function, including the promotion of public appreciation of cultural shows and other wholesome entertainment programs. Finally, television should be guided by what the general public wants to satisfy their needs and promote their welfare.<sup>3</sup>

All policy guidelines, including the last, are intended to define what can and what cannot be shown on the television screen, and are considered legitimate restrictions. However, since the policy guidelines are usually general and vague in nature, they invite multiple interpretations. This might appear to allow the program producers to be more creative, but it does not necessarily do so. The existence of such a complicated decision-making process leads to a situation where the various sides involved must be considered. Interpretation of the policy guidelines is bound to be compromised by such circumstances, which often persuade TVRI to play it safe; it produces programs that are less likely to invite criticism from various policymakers. That tends to reduce creativity.

In order to avoid uncalled-for misinterpretations of the policy guidelines, TVRI issued in 1973 what can be called operational guidelines for its various studios and stations (see Appendix 1). These operational guidelines for broadcasting and programs define in detail what should and what should not be broadcast, and also regulate the content of the various programming categories. The first item on the list is the stipulation that, as a governmental means of communication, TVRI should stimulate society to support government policies and programs. Another item stipulates that TVRI should be able to accommodate positive and constructive public opinions to encourage support of government policies and programs, while at the same time it should not broadcast programs discrediting the government. TVRI is also not allowed to broadcast programs that are incompatible with national ideology, the 1945 Constitution, and all other formal stipulations or rules of the government.

A number of guidelines are intended primarily for the enhancement of national unity and integration. For example, TVRI is discouraged from broadcasting anything interpreted as sensitive concerning ethnic groups, religion, and race. It is also prohibited from broadcasting programs that are incompatible with Indonesian norms, cultural values, and philosophy of life. TVRI is encouraged, on the other hand, to broadcast programs that foster national unity and peace and a spirit of cooperation among the people. There are also regulations concerning religion, cultural values and norms such as the need to portray marriage

as a sacred institution, and to discourage illicit sexual relationships, suicide, and violence. Human rights must be respected, provided they are not contrary to Indonesian morality. Law and order should be encouraged by portraying the effectiveness of law.

Numerous items specify the various categories of television programs. Concerning public information programs, there are guidelines which state that an explanation of a particular government policy or program should be delivered by the official concerned. At the same time, TVRI is encouraged to produce information programs persuasive in content and scene, yet not indoctrinating the audience.

The guidelines for children's shows stipulate that they should be adjusted to particular levels of intelligence and understanding, should encourage children to think positively and constructively, should avoid negative characters, excessive feelings of fear and stress, and cultivate a sound and strong spirit. Guidelines for encouraging positive attitudes or behavior and discouraging negative ones are also listed for the categories of education, arts and culture, sports, and entertainment. All of them can be found in Appendix 1.

## **Professionalism**

Professionalism is very dear to Indonesian television personnel. They take pride in their profession and, naturally, want to enhance it, but, being relatively new to it, they need further training. There are 24 professional categories in TVRI, and a large number of personnel have gone through some kind of training, at home or abroad. Even though most of them could still improve the quality of their work through further or advanced training, they have been able to carry out their duties satisfactorily, especially considering the outdated equipment they must use.

A serious problem in television is the difficulty of finding professionally qualified scriptwriters. Another is that of improving the quality of the actors. These and other problems are caused by a number of factors, and a key one appears to be the educational system, where specialization in scriptwriting, acting, and the like has not been satisfactorily developed. Another is the budget, which will be discussed below.

Indonesian television professionals see three major functions of television—to inform, to educate, and to entertain—which are also recognized by the Department of Information. However, the implementation of these functions has not been easy. Even though TVRI is encouraged to make all programs persuasive rather than indoctrinating, television professionals often have great difficulty in doing this. They are expected to follow a policy and operational guidelines that tend to discourage new ideas in the format of a production. For example, the producers of news and information



programs are not supposed to put on any news events, no matter how newsworthy, that can be considered as discrediting the government or detrimental to the maintenance of political stability. Here, judgment has to give way to existing political constraints and television professionals sometimes find themselves creating a credibility gap between themselves and the audience.

## **Audience**

The audience is another complicated factor. Until a few years ago television was very much an urban phenomenon in Indonesia, and even now it is still largely that way. Those who are involved in television, government officials and television professionals, are urban people, influenced by values not always congruent with those held by the rural population. Indonesia is rich in cultural traditions. Based on the preliminary findings of our longitudinal research project, the various ethnic groups covered by our study want to see their own cultures on the television screen. This creates the problem of balancing the traditional cultural shows satisfactorily. The existing policy and operational guidelines also stress the importance of balancing the programming of modern and traditional shows, classical and popular shows, and the various religious programs.

All television programs must also observe the values and norms of the various cultures and religions. Cultural factors are important to the content of television programming in any country, in the sense that no station can get away with seriously violating them, but the degree of tolerance varies. In the United States, for instance, homosexuality is no longer a forbidden topic for the media, and extramarital sex is almost glamorized in daytime soap operas.

On Indonesian television, one finds a stricter adherence to normative values. The official guidelines for television broadcasting specifically state that TVRI is not allowed to broadcast programs at the expense of Indonesian norms, cultural values, and philosophy of life. We shall cite one example to illustrate how seriously the guidelines are taken: it would not be appropriate for an entertainment program to show a character coming in from out-of-doors and sitting down to begin a meal; the program should make it clear that hands are washed before food is eaten.

As we have mentioned before, because Indonesia is a country of ethnic and religious diversity, broadcasting of sensitive issues concerning ethnic groups, religions, and races is particularly discouraged. TVRI avoids anything in its programming that may cause the slightest uneasiness for any ethnic or religious group. In programs on family planning, for instance, the producers have to consider very carefully the different values of the various religious groups so that the content will be acceptable to all. TVRI has used humor and songs to get

the family-planning message across, but the producers must consult the leaders of the different religions to make sure that there is no unintended slip that may be objectionable to a particular religion.

TVRI has to be particularly careful about the vocabulary used because sometimes a seemingly innocuous word can cause ill feelings; the same word can have entirely different meanings for different ethnic groups. In one drama program, for instance, the word *pajajaran* was used in a context that means "bastard." A viewer in West Java wrote a strong letter of protest because "Pajajaran" happened to be a kingdom in historical West Java where the State University of Pajajaran is now situated.

Several other guidelines are noteworthy. Marriage is to be presented as a sacred institution. Any suggestion of premarital sex is strictly taboo, except as a negative example to be condemned. Divorce may be portrayed, but only as a just reprimand for wrongdoing by a spouse. There must not be any programs that idealize illicit relations between men and women, or treat sexual relations lightly. There must be no programs that could be interpreted as providing encouragement for suicide as a solution to personal difficulties. Depiction of crime and violation of law as something natural or rewarding must be avoided.

The requirements for morality apply to advertising as well. The regulations on commercial broadcasting prohibit any advertisements that contain "sexually enchanting scenes, actions, or words which may arouse sexual excitement." TVRI is not allowed to advertise any goods or medicines that "titillate the sexual passion." Advertisements for alcoholic beverages are banned from television.

An interesting aspect of the television viewers is how they react to the various programs. In the past few years there has been a steady increase of audience feedback, mostly from the urban viewers. This is usually in the form of letters to the editor sent to the various newspapers, especially those published in Jakarta, which will be discussed in Chapter 9. As we may recall, one of the policy guidelines stipulates that television should also take into account what the general viewers want in order to satisfy their needs and promote their welfare. TVRI has to take the letters to the editors seriously as well as other kinds of feedback from the general public. The views of the various groups in the society are also solicited through an advisory body for national television broadcasts, which was formed by the Minister of Information in 1975.

An example of viewers' feedback is the criticism voiced by a number of people concerning a typical musical show for children that appeared in 1978. The show was a beautifully done production of "Cinderella," performed and sung in Indonesian by a number of popular child singers. It was a commercial show, because the producer also made cassettes of it to market. It was very popular among children, who urged their parents to buy the cassette. The criticism voiced by a number of people was highly nationalistic in nature. They were amazed that Indonesia was able

to produce such an impressive program, with beautiful Western costumes, but at the same time they questioned the selection. Aware of the treasure of Indonesia's own children's stories, they could not understand why a Western fairy tale was produced and shown on national television. Ironically, in a survey conducted in Jakarta in 1974, seven of the ten most popular programs watched by urban viewers were shows imported from the United States.<sup>4</sup>

## **Organization**

Organizational constraints are discussed in Chapter 3. Here we shall briefly mention two related issues. First, TVRI is an agency within a government department and has to operate under the existing bureaucratic norms of that department. There are no clearly defined boundaries between professional functions and administrative functions. Unlike many other government agencies TVRI employs a great number of specialists who need criteria different from those usually applied to administrative personnel. The absence of such professional criteria has made it difficult to develop career opportunities in the profession. The only way open for the enhancement of one's career is via the administrative ladder, and that often means a television professional has to sacrifice a particular specialization for a better job within the structure of the organization.

The second problem is that TVRI is obliged to serve all government agencies. From our discussion of the policymaking factor, we know that each government agency wants to be as deeply involved as possible whenever there is a program connected with it. TVRI finds itself with a great many chiefs because it is involved in such a complicated network of government agencies.

## **Budget**

An important and complicated problem is the budget. TVRI is not a commercial network and is not subject to pressure from business enterprises to the extent that American television networks are. Its main source of revenue is license fees collected from the owners of television sets. In the fiscal year 1977, license fees amounted to 59.7 percent of the total revenue of TVRI. The remaining income was derived from commercial advertising, a substantial 38.8 percent, and a government subsidy, which amounted to only 1.5 percent (see Figure 2-4).

On 20 December 1976, in the wake of the Palapa satellite broadcasting to rural villages, the Indonesian government put all commercials into one hour from 5 to 6 p.m., prior to satellite broadcasting. This made it possible to leave the commercials out of the satellite-transmitted programs to the outer islands. The purpose was to avoid unnecessarily arousing the material desires of the rural audience.

# INCOME AND EXPENDITURE STATEMENT OF INDONESIAN TV FOR PERIOD 1977-78

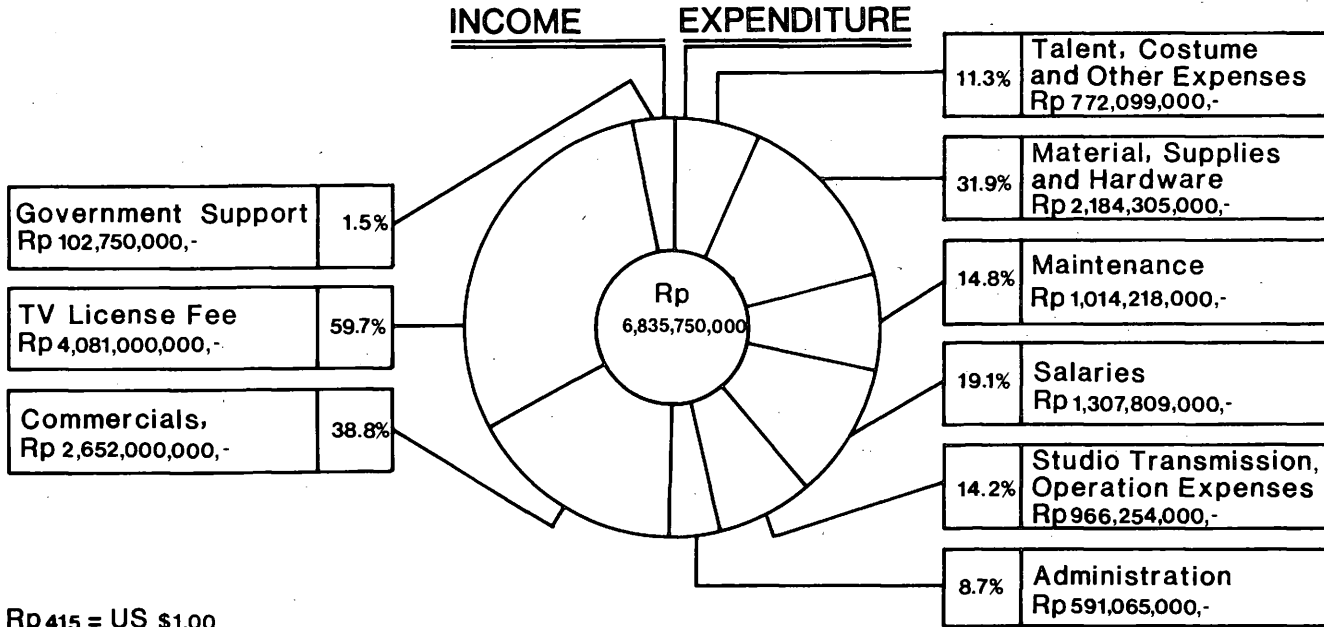


Figure 2-4

Commercial advertisers were apparently not very happy. As one observer put it, before 20 December 1976, TVRI had more commercials than it could find time for. After 20 December 1976, there was more time available than commercials. On 1 April 1978, the government altered its position slightly, and allowed commercials to be broadcast in two half-hour segments, before and after the regular satellite transmission.

Even so, revenues from television commercials have dropped from 38.8 percent of the total revenue in 1977 to 32.1 percent in 1978 (Figure 2-5). The 1978 commercial revenues were still high because most contracts had been signed before the 20 December 1976 announcement. The effect began to show up in the 1979-80 fiscal year, despite modification of the original decision.

On the surface, TVRI appears to be unhampered by financial problems, but in reality, the budget imposes unintended constraints. On the average, it costs TVRI about one million rupiahs to produce a one-hour program on location, and about half a million rupiahs for a one-hour program in the studio. At the exchange rate of 415 rupiahs to one U.S. dollar (prevailing at the time we collected our data), a one-hour program would cost approximately US\$2,500 on location and US\$1,250 in the studio. In comparison, popular cartoons like "Woody Woodpecker" cost about US\$180 per program, and imported programs like "Lucille Ball" or "Tom Jones" cost from US\$400 to US\$500 each. Even very popular shows like "Mannix" or "Kojak" cost only about US\$1,000 per program.

If a program like "Mannix" was to be produced locally, it is estimated that even at Indonesian wages the cost would run anywhere between 10 and 50 million rupiahs, that is, about US\$125,000 for each show. These are highly conservative estimates. In the motion picture industry, a popular actress would charge about three to five million rupiahs for one feature-length film and the salary for a popular actor is about the same. Given a total budget of one million rupiahs for one hour, TVRI is simply not able to produce programs of a technical quality comparable to that of "Mannix." In January 1978, the director of TVRI offered the price of one million rupiahs for one-hour musical shows to anybody who would do it. There were no takers.

As a result, nearly 25 percent of the air time is filled with imported programs, mostly from the United States, which are neither dubbed nor subtitled in Indonesian because of the additional cost involved. As the chapters by Alfian and Budhisantoso in this volume indicate, these are the programs the rural audience is least interested in. This lack of interest may be fortunate because, if we follow the Indonesian guidelines for television broadcasting, these programs apparently violate some of the Indonesian principles of morality. Illicit sex relations are openly portrayed; violence abounds; shooting, killing, and murder are constantly paraded in front of the audience. While Indonesian television commercials must exercise extraordinary caution to avoid titillation of passion, American girls walk about in bikinis on the video screen.

# BUDGET PLAN FOR 1978-79 INDONESIAN TV

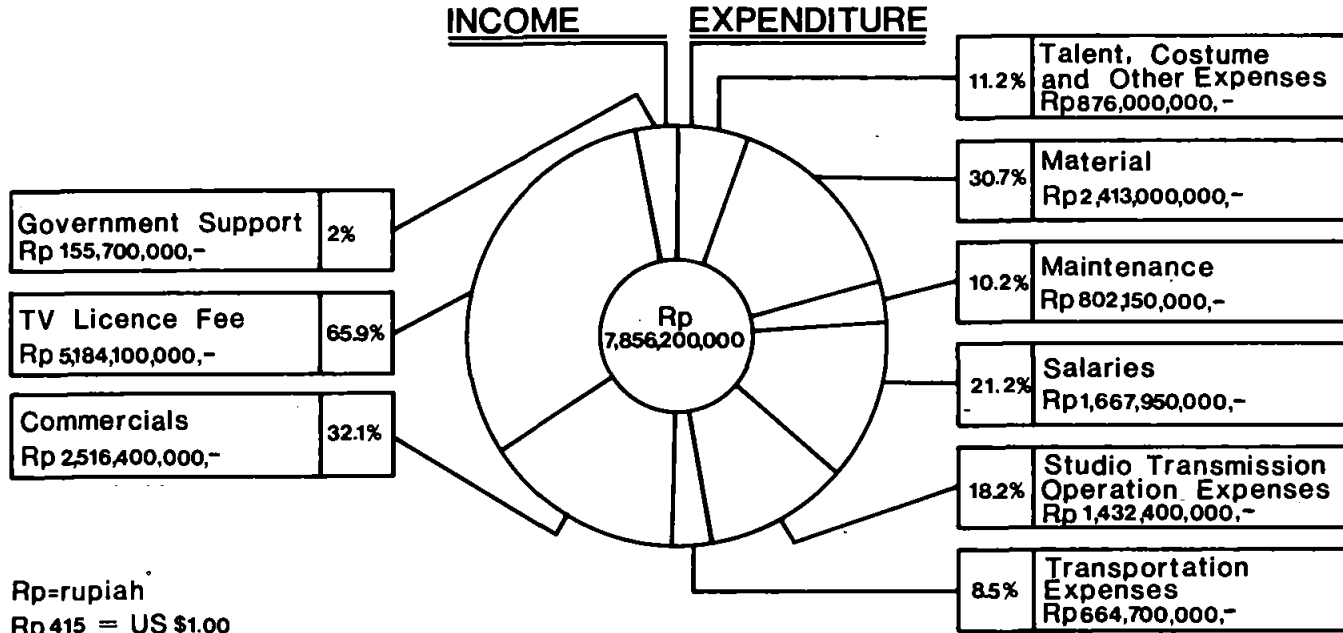


Figure 2-5

These episodes assume an air of blatancy in comparison with the extreme care TVRI takes in its own programming to protect its young audience. For instance, an entertainment program showing a small boy crossing a busy street alone was considered inappropriate because the impression should not be given that young children are allowed to cross a street without adult help. Yet the American serials show people kicking and beating each other in an excessively violent manner. Material aspirations pose another difficulty. The Indonesian authorities are quite right to be concerned with the possibility of raising material aspirations beyond the means of the audience. Luxury items, including expensive automobiles, are not permitted to be advertised on television. Yet in the American programs the Indonesian viewers see a life-style so luxurious that it befits only a small minority even in the United States. The caution TVRI is exercising to guard the integrity of Indonesian culture is negated by a powerful competitor, who enters almost unnoticed through the back door, due to the economic constraints we have discussed.

## Summary

We have identified four major institutional constraints—political, sociocultural, economic, and organizational. Decision making, policies, and operational guidelines are manifest in political constraints. The audience is predominantly a sociocultural constraint, but it also has political implications. The budget is undoubtedly an economic constraint. Organizational constraints are reflected in problems related to professionalism and organizational functioning.

We have outlined the three major policy goals assigned to Indonesian television and studied how they came to be and why they are legitimate national goals. In pursuing them, however, TVRI has to function in the context of other major factors—political, sociocultural, economic, professional, and technical. All of these sometimes create constraints on television, while sometimes they might be found useful for other purposes.

The key problem faced by TVRI concerns its responsibility as an instrument of the government and its credibility with the general audience—that is, how to produce programs that are both useful for attaining policy goals and attractive to the various viewers. It is not an easy job, especially considering the various factors and problems of day-to-day operation.

In addition to the above, there are other latent, largely economic factors that are relevant because Indonesia as a country does not exist in isolation but must relate to elements beyond its boundaries. We are referring here to the multinational media industry that supplies many developing countries with inexpensive television programs from the West. Because of these economic constraints, most of the developing countries, including Indonesia, have found it attractive to purchase

Western programs whether or not they are aware of the unintended contradictions of the original policy goals assigned to television.

Overstressing the policy goals might in itself become a factor in their self-destruction. For example, overemphasis of the results of the development program might induce people to have unrealistic expectations, and might also persuade policymakers to become less realistic about the actual conditions. As an effective medium, television can easily portray a highly unrealistic situation, misleading both the government and the general public, that will eventually result in a widening of the credibility gap. When the television-induced revolution of expectations of the people cannot be materialized, given their meager income, Daniel Lerner's concept of "Want and Get Ratio" appears to apply.<sup>5</sup> The failure to achieve a favorable ratio between what people want and what they can get tends to bring frustration, which might lead to the emergence of undesired social and political problems, that in the final analysis might destroy the original policy goals.

Like any other powerful tool, television can be both useful and destructive, depending very much on who uses it and how. A developing country like Indonesia, which has a pluralistic society and is now undergoing rapid changes in many fields, including a dramatic development in the communication system, is prone to various unintended or unpredictable problems. That alone already seems to strongly suggest caution in using television.

## NOTES

1. For the historical background of Indonesian television, see: Departemen Penerangan, Republic of Indonesia, *Televisi di Indonesia: TVRI 1962-1972* (Jakarta: Direktorat Televisi, 1972); and Alex Leo Zulkarnain, "Peranan Iklan dalam Pembiayaan Televisi," Republic of Indonesia Monograph (Jakarta, 1977).
2. Alfian, "Some Observations of Television in Indonesia," in *New Perspectives in International Communication*, ed. Jim Richstad (Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, 1977), p. 55.
3. Departemen Penerangan, Republic of Indonesia, *Radio, Televisi, Film 1977* (Jakarta: Deppen, 1978), p. 134.
4. Alfian, "Some Observations of Television in Indonesia," p. 57.
5. Daniel Lerner, "Managing Communication for Modernization: A Development Construct," in *Politics, Personality and Social Science in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Harold D. Lasswell*, ed. Arnold A. Rogow (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 189-90.



## **Resource Availability: Opportunities and Constraints**

*Ronald Pyszka*

The successful operation of a mass communication medium requires three categories of resources—physical resources, software or programming resources, and organizational capabilities. This chapter describes briefly the present state of Indonesian television with respect to each of these three categories, which are major elements in the systems approach set forth in Chapter 1.

This chapter is based largely on information collected in interviews with officials of the Ministry of Information, TVRI, and various agencies concerned with national development.

### **Physical Resources**

#### **Capital Equipment**

As seen in Figure 2-2, Indonesia has made a very large investment in television broadcasting facilities in recent years, especially in the period from 1974 to 1977. Funding has come from the national development budget rather than from money generated internally by TVRI. In addition, the satellite usage budget for TVRI is highly subsidized.

The broad outlines of the television broadcasting system are shown in Figure 1-1, and the infrastructure of TVRI is shown in Figure 3-1. Currently, the system consists of nine studios—one in Jakarta and eight local studios. More than 80 percent of the population is estimated to be within the range of television reception.

TVRI officials indicate that no new stations will be added until they are better able to absorb the recent additions to the system. However, they also indicate that there is considerable pressure to expand. They cite the president's 16 August 1978 speech calling for "equal distribution of development opportunities and facilities." They feel that if they wait too long to add additional stations in areas not presently covered by the

# INFRASTRUCTURE OF TVRI

**80 Stations**

**10 Regions**

**34 Sectors**

<b>Hectares of Ground</b>
<b>691,246.30 m<sup>2</sup> = 69.1 ha</b>

<b>Access Roads</b>
<b>160,373 km</b>

<b>Cumulative Height of Towers</b>
<b>8,797 mt</b>

<b>Wattage</b>
<b>184,562 watt</b>

<b>Generating Capacity</b>
<b>3850 kva</b>

<b>Building Area</b>
<b>32,852 m<sup>2</sup></b>

Figure 3-1

system, the people in those areas will begin to complain about being second-class citizens. Furthermore, there is political pressure to expand the system to assist in uniting the diverse cultural and political groups that make up Indonesia.

In general, the feeling among TVRI officials is that transmission facilities are excellent but studio facilities and equipment are lacking in some respects. For example, in 1979 TVRI had no dubbing equipment even though it must accommodate a large number of regional languages in programs broadcast from the eight local stations. In the new Bali station, there was no mobile unit, no sound camera, and no color camera. The latter was a particularly important shortcoming for attempts to adapt colorful local dances to television.

## **Maintenance**

While capital equipment is funded from the national development budget, maintenance is funded from the TVRI operating budget. As seen in Figure 2-3, most of the operating budget comes from receiver license fees and from the sale of advertising time. As such, the operating budget has grown at a substantially slower rate than that at which capital facilities have been expanded. TVRI apparently has difficulty in maintaining its equipment and equipment failures are commonplace. For example, all three studio cameras are sometimes out of order by the end of a brief newscast.

## **Production Costs**

As with maintenance, film and other supplies are funded out of the TVRI operations budget, with a consequent shortage of supplies. The result is that government agencies wanting television coverage of an event or wanting development-oriented programming must pay for the cost of film, as well as for such expenses as the travel of the cameramen. Because salaries are low, it apparently is not unusual for other government agencies to pay TVRI staff to work after hours. Some agencies, such as the Ministry of State, simply have their own production facilities and supply TVRI with finished material.

One result of the restricted operating budget of TVRI is unequal access to television on the part of the various government agencies concerned with development. Given that more requests are made of TVRI than can be accommodated, those agencies with political clout and those with enough money to pay for film, travel, and overtime salaries are the ones most likely to receive television coverage. For example, the Ministry of Rural Affairs supposedly has a large budget; the Ministry of Social Affairs, a small budget. A special committee is currently studying the problem. One solution suggested by the Ministry of Information is to provide each government agency with a media budget that could be used

only with their approval. Some agencies have attempted to overcome the access problem by creating "news" events. For example, one agency indicated that it routinely asks important officials to serve as introductory speakers at relatively unimportant meetings so that TVRI cannot ignore them.

The restricted operating budget of TVRI also affects the quality of programming. Lack of money for travel means less programming on location. Also, when an agency pays for film and travel, there is always the likelihood that it will influence content. Some feel that this situation leads to an emphasis on "ribbon-cutting." They feel that government agencies are more likely to pay for film and travel when there is personal political advantage to be had, as there is when an agency official presides at the completion of, for example, a new dam.

The lack of operating funds is affecting the overall operating policies of TVRI. One policy had been to avoid the broadcast to outlying areas of commercials originating in Jakarta via microwave and satellite links to the local stations. As of September 1978, that policy was changed, primarily to provide revenue to finance the operation of a third channel, a metropolitan Jakarta channel that would operate in addition to the national and local channels. The purpose of the sacrificed policy prohibiting broadcast of Jakarta commercials to outlying areas had been to avoid generating wants that villagers would have difficulty satisfying.

## **Software Resources**

### **TVRI Personnel**

As of 31 March 1978, the Directorate of Television had a total staff of 1,730, including 570 for broadcasting, 663 for technical operation and maintenance, and 497 for administration (see Figure 3-2). Considerable attention has been given to the training of television management and operations personnel during recent years, but as with capital equipment, this training has been financed from the national development budget rather than from operating funds.

The Ministry of Information has run a training program for managerial-level staff of the various communications media, with technical and financial support from the West German government. More than 1,000 persons were being trained before the program was completed in May 1978. The program involved approximately 600 to 700 hours of instruction and participants attended full time. The participants were categorized as in Table 3-1.

TVRI operates a training center in Jakarta for professional staff training that employs lecturers from Germany, Japan, and other countries. Trainees attend for periods from three months to two years. The curriculum is shown in Table 3-2. Figure 3-3 shows the percentages

**NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED  
IN DIRECTORATE OF TV  
AS OF 31 MARCH 1978**

**Total = 1730**

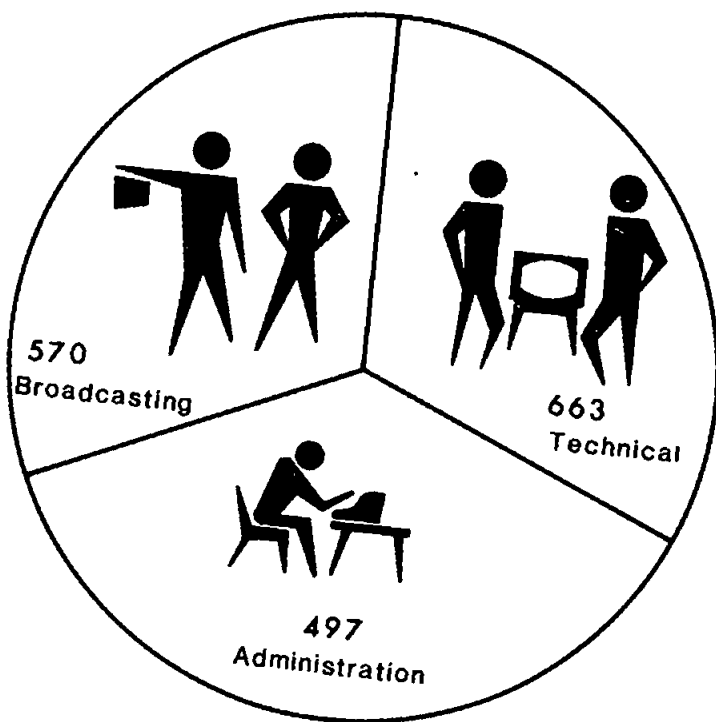


Figure 3-2

of TVRI personnel who have attended the center and Figure 3-4 shows the number of TVRI persons trained abroad.

**Table 3-1**  
**Participants in Training Programs by Category**

	Management training (%)	Technical training (%)
Directors and bureau heads	80	20
Subdirectors and subbureau heads	60	40
Section heads	40	60
Administrative staff	20	80

In general, the training of management and technical personnel seems to have kept pace with the rapid expansion of the television broadcasting system. The greatest problems have been in training staff to run the local stations. It has been difficult to find adequate numbers of local persons with sufficient basic education to qualify as candidates for professional training. Although politically undesirable, it has been necessary to send staff from Jakarta to operate the local stations, and this has had the negative side effect of draining top people from the Jakarta station and thereby slowing its development.

While the Ministry of Information and TVRI have managed to train an adequate staff of managerial and technical personnel, they have not yet succeeded in training a sufficient number of well-rounded communications professionals. TVRI's greatest need at present is for persons who not only have technical skills but also have substantive knowledge of the development subjects with which they are dealing, and sensitivity to the sociocultural factors underlying social change. The need is for communication professionals capable of developing complete, coordinated information campaigns rather than technicians capable of producing a piece of programming. Currently, the various agencies responsible for development have substantive specialists who for the most part lack an appreciation of the complexities of using television effectively. TVRI has production technicians who have little understanding of the problems addressed in development-oriented programming.

### **Outside Talent**

Because TVRI lacks an adequate number of professional broadcast journalists, it has to supplement its staff of reporters and newscasters with outsiders. As in most developing countries, the number of qualified persons is small and most are heavily committed. Nevertheless, TVRI

## Table 3-2

### Curriculum of TV Training Center (Operating since 1970)

#### I. Basic Sciences:

1. *Pancasila* (State's five basic principles), the 1945 Constitution, the Basic Outlines of State Policies.
2. Main tasks of Department of Information of Republic of Indonesia.
3. Policies in programs, technique and administration of Directorate of Television.

#### II. Supporting Sciences:

- Basics of management
- Office administration
- Introduction to psychology
- Introduction to law
- Introduction to sociology
- Introduction to demography (population science)
- Introduction to ethnology (anthropology)
- Introduction to economics
- Principles of mass communication
- History
- Cultural history
- Planning, programming, and budgeting system

#### III. Professional Sciences:

1. Basic knowledge of TV production/programming
2. Basic knowledge of TV technical operations
3. Basic knowledge of maintenance of equipment of TV studio
4. Basic knowledge of TV, film, laboratory, editing and production

# RESULTS OF TV TRAINING CENTER JAKARTA FOR THE PERIOD OF 1970-78 AND PLANNING FOR 1978-79

Year	Programming		Technical		Film		Total
	COL	BW	COL	BW	COL	BW	
1978-1979	25	32	65	90	15	15	
1977-1978		29	19	112	18		178
1970-1977	250		469		108		827
							1247

COL = color  
BW = black and white

Percentage of TVRI  
People who attended  
Training center

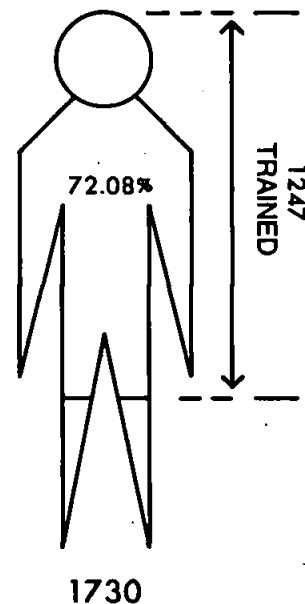


Figure 3-3



# NUMBER OF PERSONS TRAINED ABROAD FOR TVRI

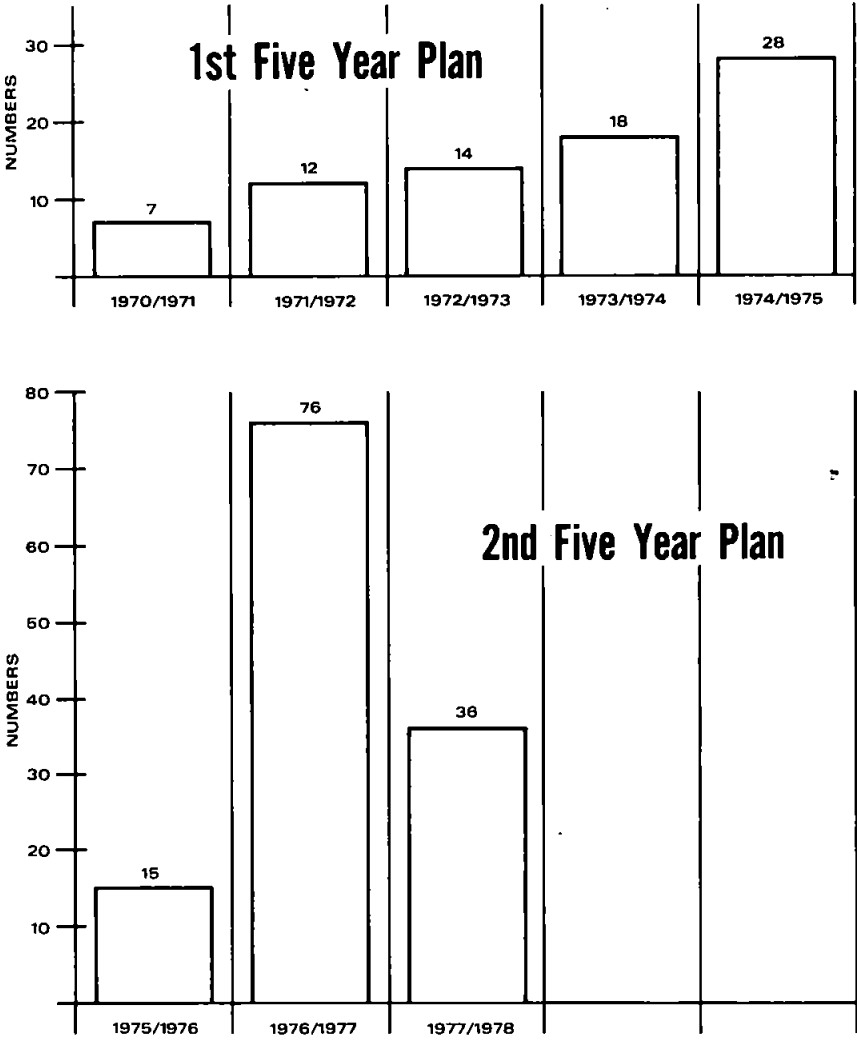


Figure 3-4

appears to be relatively successful in employing outsiders to fill these positions on a part-time basis. In part, this is because in order to be hired on a full-time basis by the Indonesian government (which includes TVRI), a person must not exceed a certain age limit, and many qualified persons are older.

Although independent producers account for a great deal of the television programming in many developed countries, in Indonesia they are virtually nonexistent, which places the burden for all production on TVRI. In an attempt to encourage the development of independent producers, in 1979 TVRI contracted for two music programs, "Telorama" and "From Time to Time." The "producer" had the responsibility of finding performers.

Good scriptwriters are also in short supply. While there are many writers in Indonesia, TVRI personnel say that many are unqualified and inexperienced in writing for television. They point out that they have a particularly difficult time in getting scripts that work development themes into drama and entertainment effectively.

The situation with actors and actresses is much the same. While there are many actors and actresses in Indonesia, TVRI personnel say that there are not more than a hundred qualified artists they can call on. Moreover, they say that many of these artists have been nurtured by TVRI and almost all good artists are involved to some extent with TVRI. In places such as Bali, traditional dancers and musicians are widely available and inexpensive. However, TVRI officials question whether such entertainment will maintain interest when viewers can easily see the same performances live. Actors and actresses experienced in doing modern drama, however, are not widely available in Bali.

A fairly large film industry exists in Indonesia, but it is not a good source of talent for TVRI. Government regulations require that importers must produce one film locally for each three that they import, except that seven foreign films may be imported if the locally produced film wins an award. Therefore, most locally produced films, except those from the Indonesian National Film Company, are low-budget productions made only to obtain imports.

TVRI pays considerably less than the film and recording industries. However, according to TVRI officials, most artists are willing to appear on TVRI at least occasionally, because of the widespread exposure they receive.

## **Outside Programming**

TVRI receives some programming from sources within Indonesia. The Ministry of State provides it with coverage of presidential activities; the National Film Company produces 16 mm films for use in mobile projective units and provides excerpts to TVRI; various government agencies provide ready-made development programming. All in all,

though, these sources account for only a very minor fraction of all TVRI programming.

By far the largest amount of outside programming consists of United States series such as "Kojak" and "Hawaii Five-O," which are used primarily for audience appeal. Entertainment programming of this kind is more difficult to produce than development reports, news, and music. United States programming has a quality that cannot be achieved locally; it makes TVRI appear more professional. United States programming is used in particular because it is considered to have a "safe" political orientation; it is acceptable to the government.

## **Organizational Capabilities**

Indonesian television operates under the supervision of the Directorate General of Radio-Television-Film (see Figure 3-5 for its organization scheme). The Directorate of Television has five sections—broadcasting, news programs, technical engineering, technical maintenance, and program distribution (Figure 3-6). The Jakarta Studio, which is the largest, has five departments—program production, program facilities, finance, general affairs, and technicians (Figure 3-7).

## **Cooperation between TVRI and Government Agencies Concerned with Development**

In general, the lack of a well-developed structure for coordinating the activities of TVRI and those of the various development agencies has resulted in few complete, coordinated information campaigns. The Ministry of Information attempts to provide some coordination by doing such things as conducting one-month-long policy-oriented training programs for persons from the various development agencies, and holding seminars and discussion groups among TVRI personnel, religious leaders, teachers, and others to address such issues as ethnic balance. However, the Ministry of Information lacks authority over the development agencies and therefore plays a limited role at best. Each ministry has its own information bureau, which can, and frequently does, go directly to TVRI, bypassing the Ministry of Information. Also, TVRI initiates many development programs on its own without involving other agencies, working from a list of priority development projects issued more or less annually by the government. It also monitors statements made by the president as a source of ideas. The Ministry of State actually produces programs that present the president's views on various development topics.

Part of the problem, as mentioned previously, is that neither the Ministry of Information, TVRI, nor any of the development agencies has persons with combined expertise in mass communications and development planning, although such persons appear to be necessary

**ORGANIZATION  
SCHEME OF  
DIRECTORATE  
GENERAL  
OF RADIO-TV-FILM**

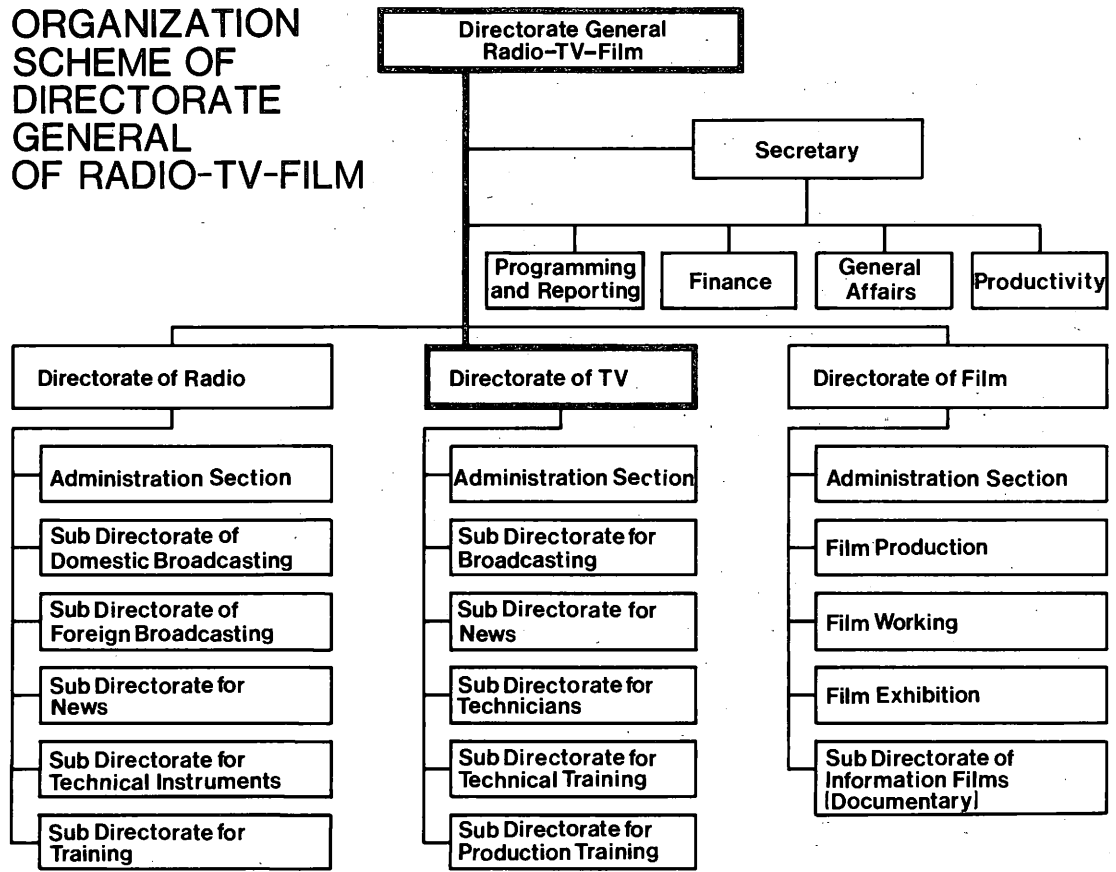


Figure 3-5

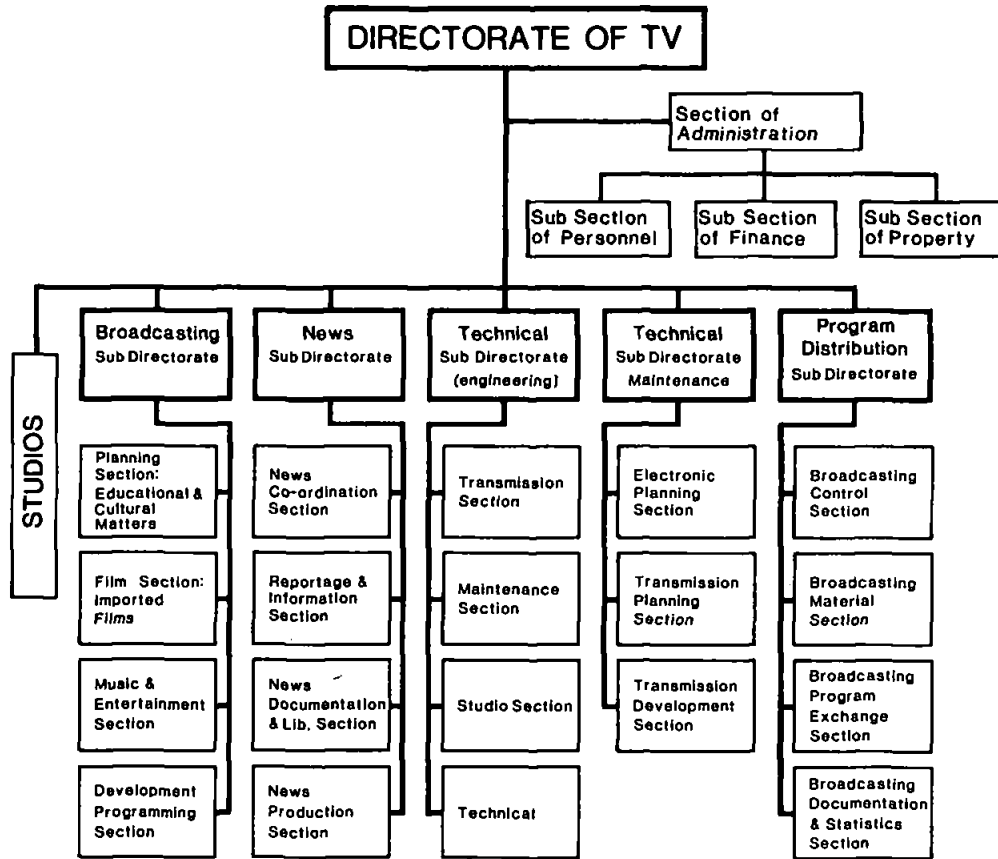


Figure 3-6

# JAKARTA STUDIO

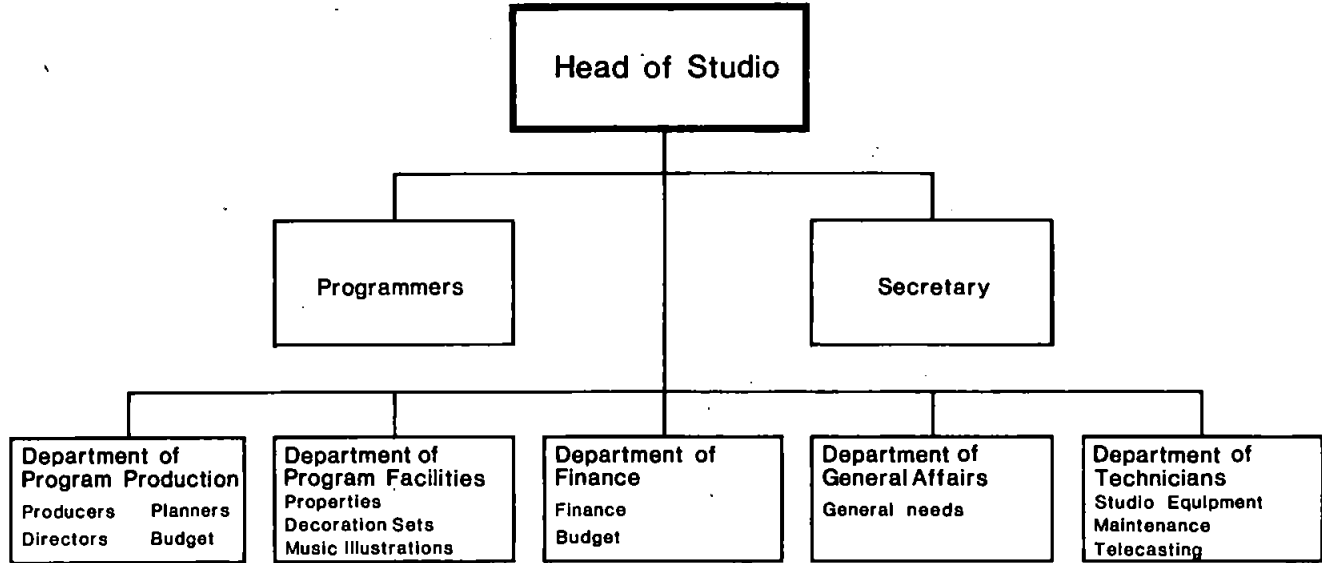


Figure 3-7

for effective coordination. Another part of the problem is that responsibilities are fragmented. TVRI, along with RRI (Radio of the Republic of Indonesia) and the State Film Company, has responsibility for mass communication but lacks responsibility for field follow-up activities, including interpersonal communication programs.

Political considerations are another factor. Several instances of interagency jealousies were reported among agencies working on different aspects of the same problem, making it difficult for TVRI to coordinate effectively with any of the parties involved.

Some development agencies have effectively taken the lead in attempting to coordinate their information activities. For example, the family-planning agency holds monthly meetings to plan information campaigns and invites representatives of TVRI, RRI, and others to attend. It also attempts to guide TVRI and RRI in introducing family-planning themes in entertainment programming.

Coordination between the local TVRI stations and the local offices of the various development agencies is even less structured. TVRI personnel in Bali, for example, indicated that there were no formal meetings with local development agency personnel, although there were some requests for development-oriented programming.

## **Coordination among Media**

The Ministry of Information has responsibility for all the mass media (see Figure 3-8). Hence, an organizational structure for coordination among media exists, but nevertheless, there are few examples of multimedia campaigns. This appears to be largely a result of the traditional professional independence of the media and the fact that the Ministry of Information does not have authority for the actual implementation of mass media campaigns.

In 1979, Unesco was doing a feasibility study for a multimedia training center for the Ministry of Information. If implemented, the center may produce the kinds of media generalists capable of facilitating closer media coordination.

## **Coordination within TVRI**

There appears to be good coordination among the various sections within TVRI, for example, news and broadcasting, that are responsible for entertainment programming. TVRI is small enough that relatively informal meetings seem to be effective.

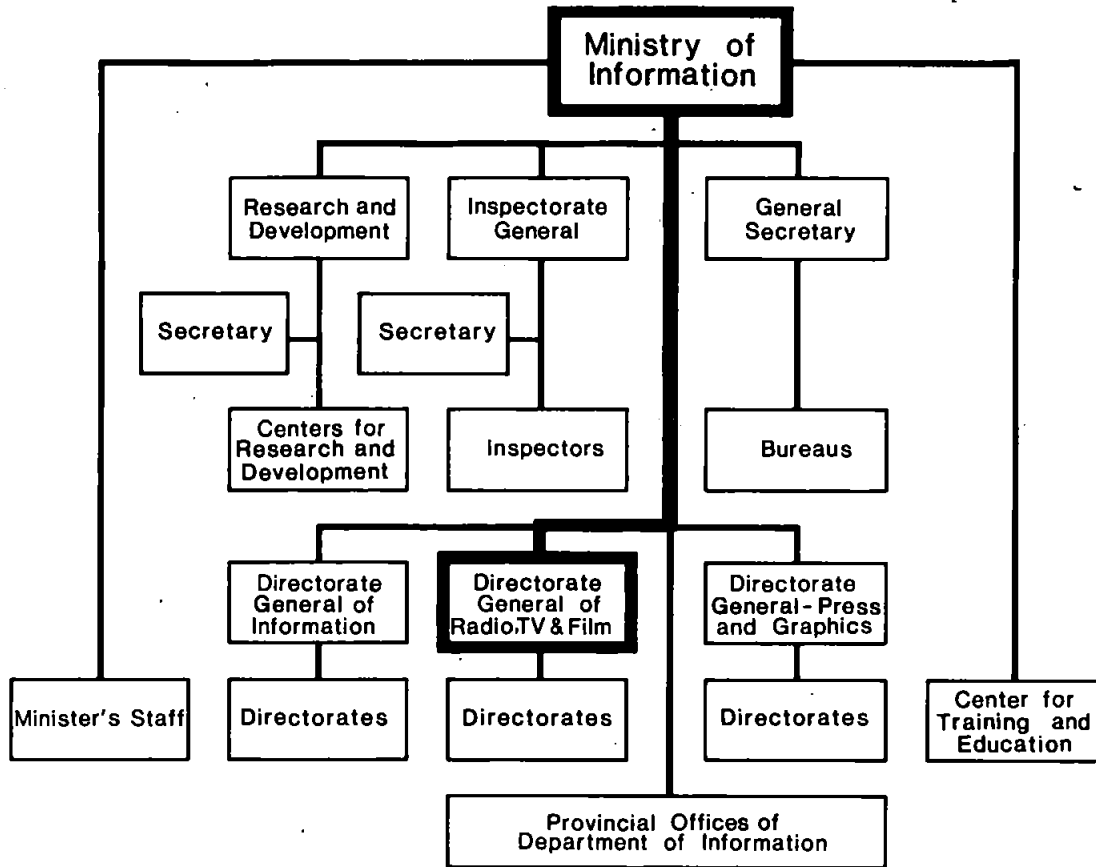


Figure 3-8



## **Program Decision-Making Process**

*Aiflan  
Godwin C. Chu  
Alwi Dahlan*

Television programming involves complex processes of decision making that are related to the political, the economic, and the cultural context of a country. Different kinds of programs entail different considerations. A television program has to pass through many "gates," much as a news item does, and at each gate there is a gatekeeper,<sup>1</sup> so to speak, who decides whether to approve a program as it stands, modify it, or disapprove it. Who are the gatekeepers? What considerations enter into the process of their decision making? To what extent are their decisions influenced by policy guidelines, by available resources, by interdepartmental relations, and by demands from the audience?

In this chapter we have assembled five examples of programs that illustrate the various factors considered by the Indonesian television gatekeepers when they decide what programs to produce. While it is admittedly difficult to select cases that would constitute a representative sample on Indonesian television programs, the five we have chosen do provide a range of diversity,<sup>2</sup> and reveal some of the subtle organizational problems faced by Indonesian television.

Our first example is a public affairs program called "Fragments of Development," which treats different topics each week. The topic of the week was transmigration, which is part of the government effort to move people from densely populated areas in Java to other, relatively underpopulated islands. Officially supported by the government, this program requires close coordination between TVRI and the ten departments involved in the transmigration movement.

The next example is a special news feature on the inauguration of a nickel-mining company owned by INCO, formerly the largest foreign investor in Indonesia. It is an example of cooperation between TVRI and the private sector in presenting what may be considered a success story.

The dramatic launching of the Palapa satellite at Cape Kennedy, an event in which Indonesia took considerable pride, is our third example.

Perhaps the single most expensive television program ever produced by TVRI was the live coverage of this event, which cost US\$50,000 and required close coordination with PERUMTEL (Directorate General of Postal and Telecommunications), which owns the satellite; Hughes Aircraft Company, the manufacturer; and NASA, which supervised the launching.

An educational quiz show for high school students is the fourth example. A very popular program, the show has drawn many schools into the contest attracting the attention of the Minister of Education and Culture.

Our last program is one that concerns the Indonesian film industry, demonstrating again the close relationship between the government and the private sector. Apparently because of poor box office receipts, Indonesian filmmakers have sought and obtained the support of TVRI in promoting national films.

For each program, we examine the source, the objective, the initial decision to produce it, the process of discussion and consultation, the various political, religious/cultural, economic, and managerial factors affecting the program, and the reactions of the audience, if any.

## **“Fragments of Development”—Transmigration**

This program was first presented in 1962 in order to give the people a clear idea of the development programs sponsored by the government, the goals, the advantages, and the obstacles. Initially, it featured interviews with government officials, however, audience response indicated that the viewers were bored and skeptical of what was being said.

The interviews were replaced in 1967 by comedy or humorous skits, but it was soon discovered that comedians were very hard to get along with, and that when performing they often improvised and used comical situations that could be interpreted as criticism of the government. The idea of replacing comedy with plays or fragments of plays came from the Dirjen RTF (Directorate General Radio, Television and Film), which believed that the religious forum on television that used dramatization had been very successful. Thus, drama became a means of presenting information on development. Originally, TVRI artists did not agree to this idea, because they wanted “art for the sake of art,” but because TVRI is a government entity, they accepted the idea.

To avoid the impression that the government might be exaggerating, and to enliven the program, TVRI decided to make the programs as factual as possible. For this purpose, the designated location for each program is carefully observed. Dramatizations were first televised in 1970.

## **Organizational Channels**

1. TVRI
  - a. decides the theme of the fragment
  - b. finds a scriptwriter
  - c. provides technical personnel
  - d. recruits actors
  - e. provides finance
  - f. scrutinizes the script, after it has been examined by the department concerned
  - g. schedules the program
2. The department supplies data and materials and examines the script.
3. The scriptwriter prepares the script.
4. The performers may be hired either within TVRI or from the film industry.

TVRI works out an annual programming schedule in April each year and allocates the time to various government departments, directorates general, directors, and development sectors for the whole year (52 weeks). Thus, every department is assigned its turn to fill the time slot.

## **Procedures**

The problem to be presented on television by the responsible department is the subject of consultation and discussion.

1. The concerned department submits materials or data to TVRI, which drafts a script.
2. The draft is then handed over to the department for examination to decide whether the content of the script is in line with its policy, its progress, and the worth of its activities.
3. After the script has been examined by the department, TVRI will further scrutinize it to make sure that there is nothing in the content that will lead to controversies on religious or ethnic matters or that will be politically unfavorable to the government.
4. Upon the approval of TVRI and the department, the producer makes the following decisions:
  - a. whether the script will be combined with film clips showing the sites under discussion, such as an area being used for transmigration
  - b. casting
  - c. director
5. One month prior to the presentation of the scene, the director completes the preparations by:
  - a. contacting the actors/actresses
  - b. acquiring props and costumes
  - c. choosing the set designer

**d. recruiting the technical crews**

When everything is ready, he reports back to the producer to discuss whether it is technically possible to complete the program. Then they further discuss the equipment required and the total expenditures.

**6. The program is implemented.**

There is no written and detailed statement on the objective of the transmigration program, which is intended to convince the prospective migrants that resettlement will improve their standard of living and that the new site is a better place for them to live. The program is not part of a broader campaign. Each department consults TVRI and plans its program in accordance with its purposes. Ten departments, including the Department of Information are affected by the transmigration program,<sup>3</sup> but the presentation of a television program on transmigration is coordinated only by the Directorate General of Transmigration.

### **Programming Considerations**

1. The budget provided by TVRI for each presentation of the program has a ceiling ranging from Rp50,000 (US\$80) to Rp75,000 (US\$120). The departments do not provide funding for the program.
2. Because departments have ruled that the program should portray only the successful aspects of their activities, the data and materials they submit are often incomplete.
3. In general, TVRI has to adjust to government policy and may not project anything that might give rise to controversy on religious or ethnic matters and may not emphasize failures.
4. As a medium, television also has some technical limitations, such as the time allocated to a program.

As noted above, some performers are from TVRI itself, and some are outsiders, from theatrical groups, religious forums or films. The maximum honorarium for each representation is Rp7,500 (US\$12) per person, which is very little remuneration.

Most departments prefer to use the actor Tiar Muslim as their leading man because he can play many roles and is popular with the audience. However, TVRI does not approve of this for fear that it might make outsiders envious, particularly because Tiar Muslim is a full-time TVRI employee.

Outside actors and actresses are selected on the basis of their being professionals active in theatrical groups, a religious forum, or films, and being qualified to play the role in the script.

If there are changes in the political situation, a program that is ready for broadcast might be cancelled if it is considered contrary to new policy.

Some viewers are in favor of the transmigration program, because they believe it is informative, while others believe that what they see on television is contrary to their own observation.

## **Larona Hydroelectric Power Plant—INCO**

The idea of a program on a hydroelectric power plant on the Larona River emerged from INCO when it was trying to publicize its efforts to improve community relations. INCO (PT International Nickel Company Indonesia), a subsidiary of INCO Canada, has a nickel-mining project and a processing plant at Soroako, in the middle of the forest of Sulawesi.

In conjunction with the mining project, INCO has built a large hydroelectric power plant with a capacity of 165 megawatts. (Jatiluhur, the largest government-owned hydroelectric power plant, has a capacity of only 125 megawatts.) This is the first such plant built and operated by a private company, as electric and public utility companies are usually government operated. The capacity is more than INCO requires and the excess electric power is distributed to the surrounding community through the state company Perusahaan Listrik Negara (State Electricity Company), which began its distribution network in 1978. No electricity was available to this rural area before Larona was operating.

After some years the Larona hydroelectric power plant will be turned over to the Indonesian government which expects other private investors in Indonesia to follow this example.

### **Organizational Channels**

1. INCO, as the owner of the Larona hydroelectric power plant,
  - a. supplied the data on the hydroelectric power plant
  - b. provided transportation from Jakarta to Soroako, accommodation, and local transportation for TVRI personnel
2. Inscore Adcom, a private advertising and communications agency, was asked by INCO to conduct discussions with TVRI, which, as official policy, does not broadcast publicly for private parties. Inscore Adcom managed to convince TVRI that a special show on the plant was in the public interest. The project was of such importance that it was to be dedicated by the Minister of Mines and Energy on 14 November 1978. All such dedications, public or private, are usually covered by TVRI. As the biggest foreign investor in Indonesia at that time, INCO did interest the Indonesian government. One indication of this concern was that on 31 March 1977 the nickel-processing plant was officially inaugurated by President Suharto, accompanied by six ministers. Accordingly, TVRI sent to Soroako two reporters and two cameramen, who were supplied with instructions, materials, data, and a map.

3. TVRI, after studying the situation, reached the following decisions:
  - a. The program should not be confined to the Larona hydroelectric power plant but should also show the development of the surrounding areas and the progress of INCO.
  - b. There would be no live coverage of the president's visit. Taking the film from Soroako to Ujung Pandang, then to Jakarta, and editing it would require much time.
  - c. The program would be broadcast on the day the president inaugurated the INCO nickel-mining project, in order to attract attention.
  - d. Coverage of the opening ceremony would be handled by the television station of Ujung Pandang to save money.
  - e. TVRI film crews would leave for Soroako earlier and stay for several days.

Everything ready, the crew left Jakarta. Since INCO also invited other newsmen, the crew departed with them so that INCO's management could brief all of them together.

The TV crew was then given a car to go to the location. In the process of shooting the film and conducting interviews on the site, the story was further expanded to incorporate new ideas; the crew thought that the new village for the INCO employees and the surrounding community needed to be filmed.

Upon their return to Jakarta, the reporters prepared a script and discussed it with other TVRI staff members. Inscore Adcom and INCO were consultants on the context. The program was supported by reports from journalists invited by INCO to observe the site. The audience reaction was favorable, as evidenced by comments addressed to INCO and the Department of Mines and Energy.

## **Launching the Palapa Satellite**

The idea of televising the launching of the Palapa satellite directly through TVRI originated in the Directorate General of the Postal and Telecommunications section of the Department of Communications, which was then headed by Major General Suhardjono.

The idea was based on the following factors:

1. The launching of the satellite was a historic event because, aside from the United States and Canada, Indonesia was the only country in the world to utilize a domestic communications satellite at that time.
2. Certain groups in Indonesia had to be assured that the Palapa satellite had been bought, not just rented or borrowed as they had alleged, and that the satellite really belonged to the Republic of Indonesia.
3. The Directorate General of Postal and Telecommunications considered the broadcasting of this event a manifestation of its

responsibility on a national scale. At the same time, it was intended to show the people the sophistication of the equipment.

4. For TVRI, the launching of the satellite would facilitate and accelerate the extension of its broadcasting network throughout the country. A microwave network has a transmission range of only 80 to 120 kilometers. To extend such a network throughout the country, multitudes of microwave stations would have to be constructed, requiring a large sum of money and much time. The construction work would also be enormous. But with Palapa I in orbit, much time and money could be saved. Construction would be easier, since only earth stations scattered in key locations would be required. Equipment and personnel could be conveyed by helicopters.
5. TVRI, an audiovisual medium of information, is in competition with radio and the press; the presence of Palapa I would be of great help to TVRI.

### **Organizational Channels**

1. The Directorate General of Postal and Telecommunications (PERUMTEL) provided all the necessary funds and facilities for the satellite.
2. Hughes Aircraft Company, which sold the satellite, helped maintain contact with the television station at Cape Kennedy. The rent was paid by TVRI, under the sponsorship of PERUMTEL. Hughes also provided technical material for the operation of the satellite.
3. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) provided directions on the procedures for launching the satellite.
4. The television station at Cape Kennedy acted as consultant in shooting this special event.
5. TVRI
  - a. conducted a survey of the shooting location
  - b. held discussions with the television station at Cape Kennedy on the technique and the cost of televising the event
  - c. prepared a draft script based on the data and instructions provided by Hughes, NASA, and PERUMTEL
  - d. conducted the shooting and the broadcasting of the event

### **Discussion and Consultation Processes**

1. As soon as the required data were collected, a script was drafted.
2. A meeting between TVRI and PERUMTEL was then held to discuss the draft script. PERUMTEL was not involved in the launching phase, but, as owner of the satellite, sent a representative to push the button marking the commencement of the launching ceremony. This scene was excellently presented on TVRI.
3. Prior to the launching of the satellite, the station at Cape Kennedy and TVRI consulted with NASA, and carried out further examinations to ensure the success of the launching.

Except for some unexpected technical defects, the program ran smoothly.

The personnel were well prepared. For four months prior to the launching ceremony, TVRI had sent two of its men to Cape Kennedy to make a study of the equipment of the local station. Expenses amounting to US\$50,000 were adequately covered by PERUMTEL.

The only flaw in the program was the failure of the camera to focus on the satellite just at the moment of launching. Only the commentator was seen on the screen. The audience was disappointed and criticized TVRI severely. Viewers thought the TVRI commentator sent to Cape Kennedy was a show-off.

Apart from PERUMTEL's request that the scene of pushing the button at the commencement ceremony should be exposed conspicuously, no other significant modifications were made in the script. The content was defined jointly by Hughes and PERUMTEL. After some discussion, both parties agreed that the program should include only the main points so that laymen might better comprehend the complex event.

Apart from the disappointment because of the technical failure mentioned earlier, there was no other negative reaction.

## **Junior and Senior High School Quiz Program**

The idea of presenting a quiz program for high schools on TVRI came from M. Sani, a former Director of TVRI's Jakarta studio, in 1972. Sani then asked T. Aryono, the producer, to design, plan, and conduct the program.

A similar program had already been presented by TVRI, directed by Mrs. Teddy Resmisari, but the format was too general. (Mrs. Resmisari is now directing a similar program for elementary schools.) Even the Radio of the Republic of Indonesia (RRI) had long before broadcast another such program named "Cerdas tangkas" (quiz show).

A meeting was held immediately after Aryono agreed to carry out the task and was attended by Sani, Djaslan, chief of the Broadcasting Department of TVRI, Suwardi Idris, chief of the Educational Department, and Aryono.

The conclusions of the meeting were as follows:

1. The program shall be presented once every two weeks. Each presentation shall last 30 minutes.
2. TVRI shall provide funding, technical assistance, and the facilities required for broadcasting the program.
3. TVRI shall be entitled to review the questions proposed by Aryono for the program before recording or broadcasting them.
4. Aryono may recruit his own staff or assistants. He may also collect all the necessary materials himself, formulate the questions and the



answers, stipulate regulations to be observed by the participating schools, and plan the dates for the contestants to make their appearances.

5. Participation in this program is currently restricted to junior and senior high schools located within the capital. (Later, provincial schools capable of financing their own trips to Jakarta may also enter.)

Aryono used many materials as sources for questions:

1. Textbooks, newspapers, magazines, encyclopedias
2. Radio and television broadcasts
3. Contributions from government and educational institutions

The selection of materials for the questions is based on the following:

1. Questions should predominantly feature the testing of general knowledge rather than a specific field.
2. Questions should be in keeping with the level of the knowledge of junior and senior high school students.
3. Questions should be general, popular, important, relevant, and practical, but where necessary could be interspersed with appropriate humor.

A question may not be posed more than once. Sixty questions are prepared for each presentation. They are first discussed by Aryono and his assistants, and later passed on to the Educational Department of TVRI for further scrutiny. If a question is considered contrary to government policy or inappropriate in the current political situation, TVRI is entitled to modify or discard it. For example, the term *devaluation* is taught in school—but is no longer permitted on the program. This is due to the 15 November 1978 monetary policies by which the rupiah was devalued. (The exchange rate of US\$ was officially increased from Rp415 to Rp620.) In public statements, the government has deliberately avoided use of the term *devaluation*. Instead it refers to the policy as merely an adjustment of the value of Indonesian currency to the value of foreign currencies.

Another example is the question posed by Aryono concerning South Vietnamese and North Vietnamese flags before the fall of South Vietnam. This question was discarded because it might have been interpreted to mean that the Indonesian government favored one country over another, whereas, in fact, Indonesia is a neutral country.

Formerly there was no philosophy underlying the presentation of this quiz program, which was an effort to continue already existing quiz programs. But now it is evident that there is, indeed, an underlying philosophy. Through this program the participants and the audience are

trained not to be passive. They are taught to be active and competitive in their pursuit of knowledge; their intellectual curiosity is aroused.

Every school taking part in the contest wants to come out the winner. Thus, the participants are obliged to learn more and read more. They have to be alert to every aspect of world development, and must be aware of the changes and events occurring in their everyday life.

This program should not be looked upon as part of a broader educational campaign, since the Department of Education and Culture is not involved in it. The role of the Department of Education and Culture, like that of other institutions, is restricted to contributing materials. It does not provide instructions in any form. The producer is free to select any materials he thinks appropriate for the program as long as the policy guidelines are followed. However, Daud Yusuf, Minister of Education and Culture, is impressed and has urged TVRI to improve and develop the program, and to televise it throughout the country. Efforts are now being made to enable the rest of the country to see the program or produce similar local broadcasts.

The average cost for each presentation of the program, Rp150,000, is borne by TVRI. As the producer, Aryono receives an honorarium of Rp22,500 for each presentation. The program has a sole sponsor, Tancho, at Rp600,000 per broadcast. Initially the program was to be jointly sponsored by several companies including Tancho, who later requested permission to become the sole sponsor. TVRI televises Tancho's commercial before and after the program.<sup>4</sup>

The program requires no professional performers, and features only the students representing the competing schools.

To achieve the best possible results, the program is constantly reviewed, and several modifications have been made:

1. When the program was first introduced to a TV audience, the questions were asked randomly. One contestant group might be asked about economics; another about mathematics; a third about sports. Later a systematic arrangement of questions was introduced. All of the questions asked during one broadcast were on a common topic. However, this was not well received by the schools or the audience, and consequently has been replaced by the former method.
2. At first, the three competing groups had to answer the same questions by writing on the blackboard. This was too time-consuming so questions and answers are now oral, allowing for more questions.

Audience reaction, as evidenced by the flow of incoming letters, is favorable. Some say that 30 minutes is too little time for such a program. Others suggest that this program be extended to university students.

## Monthly Previews of Indonesian Films

The idea of broadcasting this program came out of a discussion between the director general of TVRI and several prominent figures from the national film industry. The film people were aware that national films have never had an adequate audience. The director general of TVRI, Dr. Soemadi, realizing that one of the policies of the Department of Information is to promote national films in Indonesia, readily expressed his wish to cooperate. The result is a monthly program (begun in May 1976) meant to boost the national film industry in the face of foreign competition.

Representatives of the film industry worked together with television people. The film industry supplies the film directors and the stars on the program; TVRI supplies the interviewer and handles production.

A few days prior to the shooting of the program, the coordinator from the film industry suggests to TVRI who will appear on the program and what films are to be discussed. After studying the proposal, TVRI presents its suggestions, and a discussion ensues. Eager for as much publicity as possible, those representing the film industry tend to exaggerate the quality of the film to be discussed.

During the broadcast, the interviewer first introduces the film stars and directors to the audience. To make the show more interesting, the interviewer describes briefly the background of the film stars or directors. Then they start to discuss Indonesian films in general, their strengths and weaknesses. Later they will mention the Indonesian films to be released in the coming month, and trailers of the films are shown. TVRI's film crew comprises four people: a photographer, a sound recorder, a program director, and an interviewer.

This program is constantly evaluated and improved, with the interviewer and the coordinator working together. It is a controversial program, yet still very popular. Many believe that Indonesian films are below standard; others think that the film people are not being critical enough and are misleading the audience into believing that the films are worth seeing. Later they find the films disappointing.

## Summary

While generalizations from case studies can only be made with caution, the salient points in the decision-making processes of the five programs can be summarized by examining the four stages: How are ideas for new programs initiated? How are final decisions made on programs? How are programming decisions implemented? And how is new input entered into the decision-making process to modify a program? At each stage we shall refer to the role of TVRI as a primary gatekeeper.

## **Initiation of Programs**

In program initiation, a new idea can come from either the public sector or the private sector. In the public sector, the origin may be a policy decision, such as the desirability of promoting the transmigration movement. It may be a government decision to publicize a news event that is considered sufficiently important for the public to know about, such as launching of the Palapa satellite. In both cases, government departments communicate the ideas to TVRI through formal channels.

An idea from the public sector may be expressed informally, as was the high school quiz show. It was suggested by the person who was then director of TVRI because he thought it would be popular with the audience. It was a personal judgment rather than a policy instruction from a government office.

In two of our five examples, the ideas came from the private sector. One was the monthly publicity for Indonesian films. The commercial film producers faced a problem of dwindling audiences and sought the help of TVRI. The other was the inauguration of the nickel-mining company; INCO, the private industrial owner of the company, wanted publicity and made its request through an advertising agency.

## **Program Decision Making**

TVRI performed different gatekeeper functions, depending on whether the initiation of ideas came from the public or the private sector. In the cases of transmigration and the launching of Palapa, once the instructions were received, the role of TVRI was to find a way to carry them out. In the quiz show, both the initiation and the decision were made by TVRI. It was only when ideas were initiated from the private sector that TVRI played a major gatekeeper role, and even then TVRI was very much guided by government policies. TVRI is under government mandate to assist the national film industry. In the INCO case, TVRI first refused the request, but then agreed to provide coverage when it was pointed out that any development project dedicated by the president or a minister must be covered by television. The influence of the public sector thus far outweighs that of the private sector. In fact, except for the quiz show, which was a response to popular demand, all the other four programs were chosen according to government requests or policy guidelines.

## **Implementation of Programming Decisions**

Each of the programs we have examined required discussion by production staff and coordination with the various agencies concerned. The channels of communication flowing through the various internal gates in TVRI appear to be quite adequate. At the INCO nickel-mining company inauguration, the production staff showed sound judgment in planning the coverage. For the quiz show, the staff was able to handle a

rather complex production problem with a moderate budget. Coordination problems, if any, seem to relate to other departments, largely because not all departments are eager to present their programs in a less-than-favorable light.

Unlike television stations in the West, where commercial considerations are of paramount importance, TVRI deals with a host of other factors in implementing program decisions. These factors have significant impact on the gatekeeper functions of TVRI. Some are political, such as the avoidance of the term *devaluation*. Religious tolerance is strictly enforced; there must not be anything in a broadcast that can touch off a religious controversy. There are no examples of violation because the taboo is so strict. Indonesian television also demonstrates a high sensitivity to international conflicts, as evidenced by the case of the Vietnamese flags.

Cost is a significant factor. In the INCO event, the production crew decided not to provide live coverage because the cost was considered too high. TVRI was able to send a crew to the nickel-mining company site because INCO provided the transportation. Had it not, TVRI might have limited the coverage. Three of the four other programs we have examined were produced on a shoestring budget. The launching of the Palapa satellite was covered at a cost of US\$50,000 because it was a special international event.

## **Program Modification**

TVRI plays a vital role in receiving and screening input that may lead to program modification. It has to evaluate audience feedback constantly. It is largely in response to suggestions from viewers that the transmigration program has been repeatedly modified. The quiz show has also undergone several revisions in response to audience reactions. Input for program modification apparently also comes from official sources. It may be recalled that the transmigration program was once presented by comedians in humorous skits, but this format was dropped because comedians sometimes improvised and presented a comical situation that could be interpreted as criticism of the government.

On the whole, TVRI plays the delicate role of the most significant gatekeeper in the decision-making process for television programming in Indonesia. On the one hand, it must faithfully carry out policy guidelines and instructions from government departments. On the other hand, it must closely monitor audience feedback, not only to determine what programs are favorably received but also, perhaps more importantly, to stay alert to any audience reactions that may have political or religious and cultural implications. TVRI has to perform these duties with a limited budget and other resources and at the same time maintain its relations with the various departments that compete for air time on Indonesian television.

## NOTES

1. See Wilbur Schramm, "The Gatekeeper: A Memorandum," in *Mass Communications*, 2d ed., ed. Wilbur Schramm (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1960), pp. 175-77. For an illustration of the application of this concept to research, see Warren Breed, "Social Control in the News Room," in *Mass Communications*, pp. 178-94.
2. These program studies are based on interviews conducted by Dr. Alwi Dahlan and Yazier Anwar in February 1979.
3. The ten departments are Manpower and Transmigration, Home Affairs, Public Works, Agriculture, Health, Education and Culture, Social Affairs, Information, Defense and Security, and Communications.
4. Although TVRI has grouped most commercials in two half-hour slots before and after the satellite-transmitted programs, there are a few programs that still show commercials. The quiz show for junior and senior high schools is one of them. The others are a quiz show for elementary schools, "Silent Quiz," a television film serial, Saturday night movies, and Sunday afternoon movies. Formerly, commercials were broadcast at the beginning, middle, and end of the quiz show. This practice met with severe protest because the audience found the commercials objectionable and wanted them eliminated. TVRI then decided to mention the sponsor's name only, instead of showing the commercials. This was considered unfair to the sponsors, and TVRI compromised by showing the commercials at the beginning and end of the quiz show.

## Overview of Programs

*Maswadi Rauf*

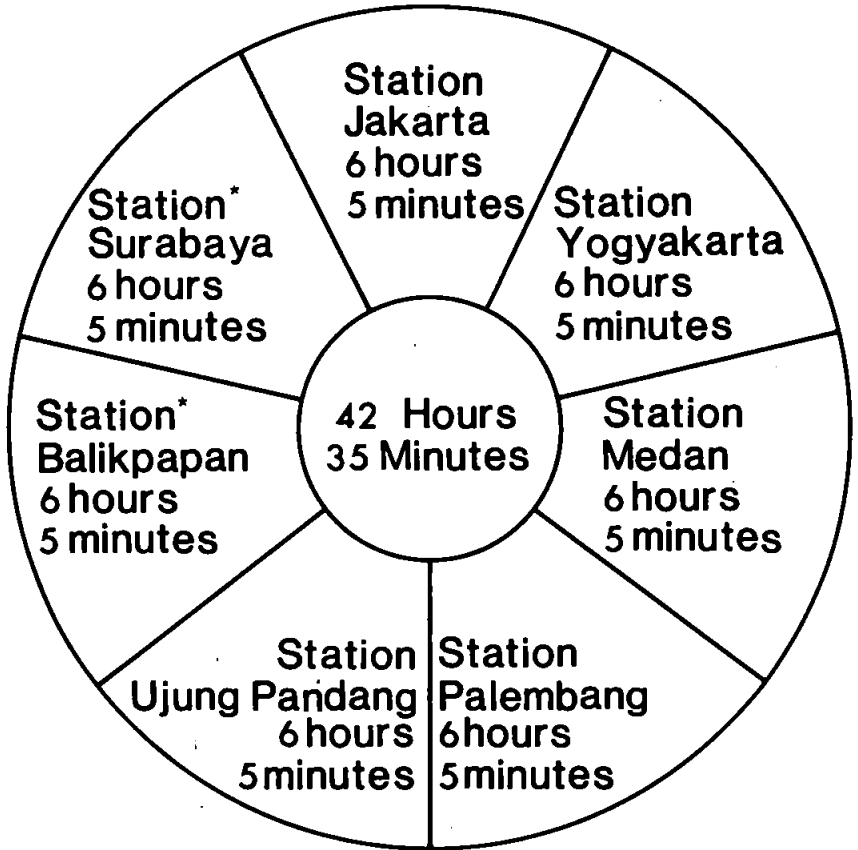
On the average, Indonesian television stations broadcasted a little over six hours each day during 1978 (Figure 5-1). Figure 5-2 shows the general breakdown of time allotted to each category of programs, but each station might have its own schedule, reflecting some variation in content. The purpose of this chapter is to convey something of the special flavor of the programs as experienced by the audience, and I shall use the broadcast schedule of the Jakarta station (see Appendix 2) as an example. Rather than provide a synopsis of each program, I shall group together shows of similar character (see Table 5-1) and give some examples of each type. I shall consider the special significance of content in a cultural and developmental context. The analysis presented here draws on participant observation as well as an examination of the schedule.

### **Entertainment (1,015 min., 35.24 percent)**

Entertainment shows offered on Indonesian television include drama, dance, comedy, quiz shows, and popular and traditional music. American films and television series also appear, usually without subtitles or dubbing.

"Quiz for Adults," shown on Sundays in alternation with a dual presentation that includes popular music in one segment and traditional music in the other, offers prizes to contestants who can correctly answer questions posed by a master of ceremonies, who is either a popular comedian or a singer. Some of the entertainment value of the show is in the humorous interviews conducted with the contestants before the quiz. Four or five people appear on each show, and the winners receive valuable items such as a television set. The questions are difficult; a person might be asked the site of the 1960 Olympic games or the name of

**NUMBER OF HOURS OF DAILY  
BROADCASTING (on an average basis)  
in 1978**



\*New Stations, most programs come from Jakarta. As of 1 Oct 1978, one more hour of broadcasting is planned for Jakarta station.

Figure 5-1



## BASIC POLICY GUIDELINES REGARDING TV BROADCASTING FROM MINISTRY OF INFORMATION

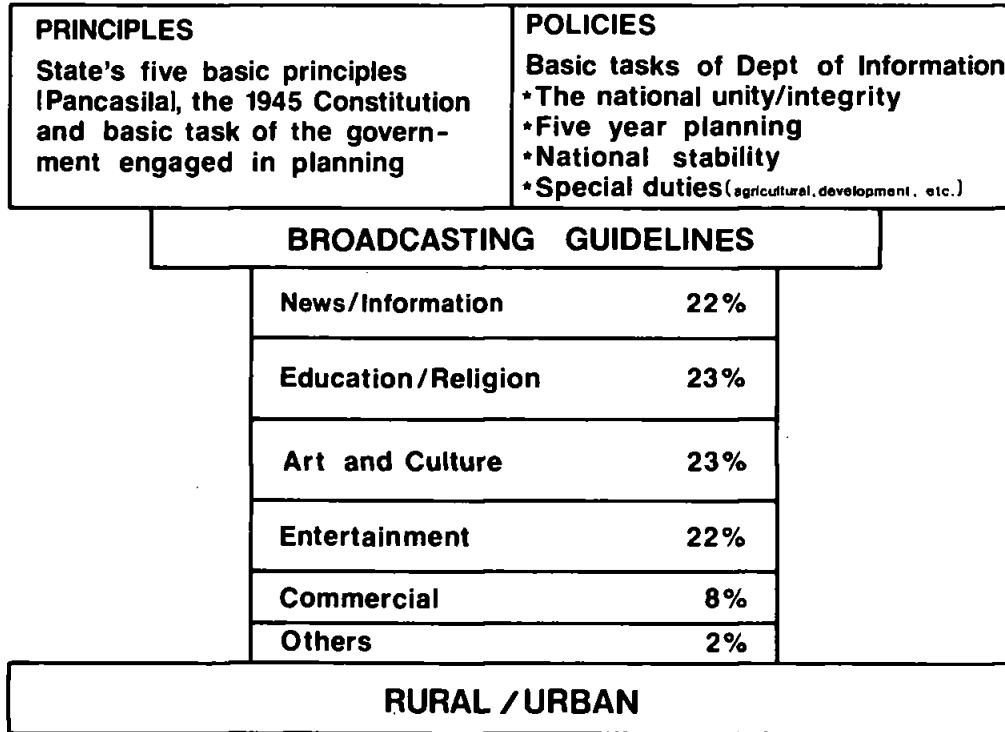


Figure 5-2

**Table 5-1****Minutes of Broadcasting: Jakarta Station  
Total Minutes of Broadcast Week: 2880**

Day	Children's Programs	News	Public Affairs	Personal Skill and Education	Higher Education	Religions	Development and Defense	Sports	Com- mercials	Enter- tainment	Daily Program Schedules and Weather	Totals
Sun	45	65	0	45	0	25	10	60	60	260	15	585
Mon	45	55	40	25	0	0	10	0	60	125	15	375
Tues	45	55	0	12	33	20	10	0	60	125	15	375
Wed	45	55	40	25	0	0	10	0	60	125	15	375
Thurs	70	55	0	6	0	40	29	0	60	100	15	375
Fri	45	55	0	38	0	0	22	15	60	125	15	375
Sat	70	55	45	10	0	0	10	0	60	155	15	420
<b>Total</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>420</b>	<b>1015</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>2880</b>
Percent of Total	12.67	13.72	4.34	5.59	1.15	2.95	3.51	2.60	14.58	35.24	3.65	100.00

the island on which Honolulu is located. The losers are given commercial products, such as milk or cigarettes, by a sponsoring company.

Popular music in Indonesia is in the current, international disco style, composed and performed by national artists. Famous singers appearing on television have a wide popular following and are sought after for performances elsewhere as well. Popular songs are presented throughout the television day, sometimes as part of variety shows that also feature comedy and dance. The show "Songs of the Week" on Sundays features a selection of the best performances from the previous broadcast week, and is very popular.

Comedians are also prominent on television, and some of the more famous are known and in great demand for appearances in films and nightclubs. A typical program featuring comedians is "Music and Comedy on TV," in which the comic performers present vaudeville routines or satirical sketches. On one show, the comedian played a detective resembling "Kojak," who was called on to investigate the murder of a pet bird belonging to a housewife.

Traditional music and dance are featured on several programs during the week. The "Musical Show" on Monday evenings presents songs representative of all ethnic groups in Indonesia. The various provinces are covered in rotation, and the performers dress in traditional costumes. Another show mixes both traditional and modern music from the various provinces.

A variety of exotic musical traditions can also be heard. Jazz, Latin, and Pacific Island music, played by Indonesian bands, is presented every month. During a four-show cycle on Thursdays, Keroncong music, a folk form utilizing several kinds of ukulele and influenced by Portuguese elements is followed by a musical nostalgia show featuring Indonesian songs popular in the past. In the third program of the series, the songs are of mixed origin—Indonesian, Dutch, Latin, and American. The fourth show in the monthly series, "Songs and the Composer," features the songs of a particular Indonesian composer or songwriter, who is interviewed about the meaning and composition of the music. The second half of the fourth show presents Middle Eastern music or Indian-influenced "Irama Melayu."

Drama is perhaps the most typical form of presentation used on Indonesian television. It is used in almost all categories of shows that make up the schedule. For example, "Informative Dramas" presents dramatizations of contemporary issues such as transmigration and birth control. Drama for children and teenagers illustrates problems peculiar to those age groups and offers advice entertainingly. Even instructional shows, such as the program on the Indonesian language and the one on traffic safety, make use of dramatic episodes to convey messages. Domestic dramas, which might be considered a kind of nonserialized soap opera, are analyzed in Chapter 8.

Foreign films often appear on the "Sunday Movie." Sometimes old Japanese films are shown, or American films from the 1940s or early 1950s. They are not usually shown with subtitles and the audience is often unable to follow the plot. Indonesian films are also shown, especially on national holidays or historic dates, when they are topical.

The local film industry is itself the subject of "Our Film," a program of interviews appearing jointly with "The Unignorable" every fourth Saturday. Each show treats four or five films to be released during the coming month. A newscaster interviews the actors appearing in the movies, asking them to describe the characters they play and give synopses of the plots. Often a few scenes from the films are shown. This show was examined as one of the case studies in Chapter 4.

American television serials are shown each evening except Saturdays. Because there is neither subtitling nor dubbing and the audience understands little English, action shows with little subtlety of content are preferred. A "cops and robbers" show such as "Kojak" might be shown on a particular night each week, followed, perhaps, by "Mannix" the next night.

Entertainment is allotted 35 percent of the total programming time, exceeding the 22 percent set in the policy guidelines. This is because some of the entertainment programs present indigenous art and ethnic culture. Most shows of foreign origin also fall within this category, except for the hour-long Sunday sports show, often in German, and the 15-minute "Boxing" show from the United States. The total time allocated to shows identifiable as foreign is 710 minutes, which represents approximately 25 percent of the total broadcast time.

## **News (395 min., 13.72 percent)**

The content of the news programs is covered in Chapter 6. Other features are of interest here. For example, the newscasters on Indonesian television are not thought of as stars; there is little emphasis on the personality of the newscaster. When both domestic and international news are covered, two newscasters appear, one reading each type of news, but there is no permanent assignment of roles. They are not cast as experts on any aspect of the news. While the newscasters do confine themselves mostly to reading the news on these programs, they function more as broadcast journalists on the programs we have labeled Public Affairs.

## **Public Affairs (125 min., 4.34 percent)**

Many programs might be classified as dealing with problems of public concern such as economics, education, and politics. Some of

those listed in the program schedule are "Television Forum," "Our Problems," "Our Conversation Tonight," "You Should Know," and "The Unignorable." On these programs the newscasters often act as commentators or interviewers. "Our Conversation," for example, usually has one interviewer and two or three guests. There may be a panel discussion, and the topics might include social and economic issues, such as housing.

## **Children's Programs (365 min., 12.67 percent)**

Television programs for children have a prominent place on the schedule, and usually two shows for children follow the commercial segment and the news every day. Not only is the program content adapted for children, but children are often featured as performers or participants. Child performers, often under ten years old, have a special place in Indonesian entertainment. Since 1972 especially, child musicians have been accorded star status and have, in some cases, achieved a great popular following. Very often the child stars, who perform in motion pictures as well as on television, are the children of popular entertainers. In some cases, the child stars eclipse their parents in popularity and earn large sums of money. Within this tradition of child performers on television, however, is a special group whose performances are intended specifically to entertain other children.

The children's variety show on Sunday is typical of such programming. Children sing, dance, and act on the show. There is an adult master of ceremonies, now a celebrity among young viewers, who introduces and interviews the children who are to perform. Performers are invited from particular schools for each show, and they may perform either as individuals or as groups. They usually sing or play popular music for children.

On "Songs of My Choice," the performers sing songs selected by the producers of the show. The program is a contest among pupils of various elementary schools, and small prizes are awarded to the winners. "Let's Sing," on the other hand, is an educational program that teaches particular songs from Indonesian children's music. Music education is also featured on such shows as "Promoting Musical Sense" and "Promoting Vocal Sense." Instruction is technical and centers on practical music theory.

Other children's programs concentrate on the activities or skills to which children might aspire as in "Boy Scouts' Forum," or provide educational material, as does "Getting Acquainted with the Country," a show that concentrates on the geography, culture, arts, and crafts of the various provinces.

Shows for teenagers include "Indonesia Sings," featuring rock music by professional groups, and "Dances for Youth," a program of

traditional dance with modern adaptations in costume and movements.

Cartoon serials for children are also a staple; they consist of American films such as "Popeye" and "Woody Woodpecker." The cartoons are not translated into Indonesian but are shown in the original language. "Stories for Children," appearing on Saturday, on the other hand, features drama performed by two or three acting companies. Each group of actors represents a father, mother, four or five children, and a maid. They put on a different educational play each week, providing much advice to youngsters. The show is popular with all ages, as all are portrayed in the plays.

## **Education and Development of Personal Skills (161 min., 5.59 percent)**

"Program for the Family" is typical of a group of shows that emphasize skills useful in modern urban life. The program might have a segment on choosing vegetables in the market or preparing certain kinds of food. Flower arranging might also be featured, or information about interior decoration. More generally applicable information could include interviews with physicians about certain kinds of illness that might be prevalent in the country, such as breast cancer, that might be detectable by a procedure of self-examination. Consumer protection might also be examined, with experts explaining unfair or illegal trade practices that can be avoided or dealt with in a particular way. "Do It Yourself Corner" and "Family Welfare" are two other shows that provide similar domestic information.

The development of individual skills is also the topic of programs such as "Forum for Promoting Entrepreneurship," which attempts to help people start or maintain small businesses. Topics such as accounting are explained, and the goal is to encourage people to set up their own businesses instead of working for someone else. Certain ethnic groups within the population are recognized as being very adept entrepreneurs, but others are not. "Traffic Problems" is of general interest because it deals with the education of drivers and pedestrians. New types of international traffic signs are explained, for example, and there is emphasis on the idea that drivers must strive to become responsible.

More academic are programs that instruct the viewers on the finer points of the Indonesian language or English. Children's programs that might fall into this category include courses in music theory, singing, and also quiz shows. "Get Smart and Correct," for example, is a quiz show for high school students, and "Fast Response and Correct" is for elementary pupils. Both shows are in the form of a competition in which students from particular schools try to answer questions related to their curricula. Programs of an academic nature for the general audience include a

forum on mathematics, a program on popular science, and one on psychology. In the latter, a lecturer from the psychology department of the University of Indonesia talks about problems that may be of general concern to viewers.

## **Higher Education (33 min., 1.15 percent)**

During the month, several programs report on the activities of the institutions of higher education from the point of view of either the student or the administrator. "University Campus Activities" is produced by the students' association and represents a kind of student forum for discussions of activities of current interest to students. "Educational and Scientific Miscellanies" covers, among other things, the graduation ceremonies from a variety of colleges and training courses. In Indonesia, graduation and other academic activities are considered public events. For example, a dissertation defense might be covered by television and newspapers, and the Minister of Education or one of his representatives might attend.

## **Religion (85 min., 2.95 percent)**

Each of the major religions of Indonesia is represented in television programming. For example, a program on Javanese beliefs (*Kepercayaan*) alternates with a program on Hindu beliefs (Balinese). The programs attempt to convey the basic teachings of the religion in question, including views on what constitutes a good life, the nature of evil, everyday social behavior, and how to achieve the afterlife. On Sunday, the Christian religion is featured on a program that includes talks, plays, and choir music. Catholics and various Protestant denominations take turns on this program. Islam, the dominant religion of the nation, is presented in a weekly series including the recital of the Koran translated into Indonesian and a forum similar to that of the other religions; every fourth week, the readings of the Koran are followed by a drama that poses social and ethical questions related to Islamic teachings.

## **Development and Defense (101 min., 3.51 percent)**

"Report on National Development," presented several times during the week, shows the results of development projects in various provinces. Normally, there is only one topic per program. The opening of

a cement factory might be shown, for example, and reported on in depth, both on film and in studio discussions. Officials might talk about the implications of the project, the ultimate goal, and what it would be expected to contribute to the area's long-range development plan. Another report might deal with the progress that had been made in a particular program. A public health program, for example, would be examined in terms of the current state of health in the villages of a particular province, the number of doctors trained, and the health centers built. This program is new, and it represents a dramatic new step for the system because of its extensive use of films made on location.

In "Report on the National Defense System," matters related to the military establishment are covered. Changes among the top commanders are shown, training exercises are reported on, and new aircraft and technology are displayed. The films used are supplied by the Armed Forces Information Service.

## **Sports** **(75 min., 2.60 percent)**

The hour-long show on Sunday featuring sports may present a variety of subjects, but soccer and badminton are the most popular. Because there isn't enough time for a complete soccer match, highlights are shown. Usually the games are Indonesian and sometimes international, involving teams from other nations that are touring Indonesia, or games that represent national championships. At times, German sports films are shown, covering German soccer or other sports popular in that country.

## **Commercials** **(420 min., 14.58 percent)**

Chapter 7 examines the content of the commercials on Indonesian television, but does not deal with the way they are presented. Although the advertisements are concentrated into two thirty-minute segments, the overall impression is not of back-to-back commercials but rather of something like a musical show. The effect is created by running two or three advertisements for products and then a segment advertising a song performance available on cassettes. Many people watch the commercial segment in order to see the musical performances, which feature the most popular singers in the country. Commercials take up 14.58 percent of the total programming time, as compared to the 8 percent set in the policy guidelines. (Editors' note: Commercials on TV have been abolished since April 1, 1981.)



## **Daily Weather and Program Schedules (105 min., 3.65 percent)**

On each broadcast day, there is an announcement that outlines the program lineup for that day, and another, later announcement provides the following day's schedule. This latter spot is combined with a daily weather forecast. At the end of the day there is a five-minute sign-off with theme music and the national anthem.

## **Cross-Cutting Themes**

The major elements of programming that cut through the various categories examined so far are those of integration and development, which appear as an aspect of almost all programs, even when they are not identifiable as substantive content.

National integration, for example, may be served by many of the children's shows. It is important that the Indonesian language is used in musical programs. Children are taught songs in this tongue on one show, and they compete against one another on programs that require knowledge of that repertoire. This strengthens the unifying factor of a common language for coming generations. A show such as "Getting Acquainted with the Country" allows children to learn about other provinces and gives them a sense of belonging to the larger community.

In the adult entertainment shows the emphasis on performances by different ethnic groups might be expected to increase tolerance. The same sort of effect might result from the religious shows that explain the moral codes and bases for divergent social practices of the various religious groups. Undoubtedly this sort of information exchange is not sufficient in itself to overcome tensions between groups, but familiarity is at least one aspect of harmony.

News and public affairs programs may eventually have substantial integrating effects. Through such viewing, members of the audience who do not normally interact share a common experience and fund of knowledge that has the overall effect of widening the potential for social interaction among persons from divergent locations and classes.

Development is also a prevalent theme in the programming structure. Certain shows deal directly with topics of development, and those that comment on accomplishments give the audience a sense of movement and progress that might motivate individuals to participate in development activities. The public affairs shows serve to focus attention on particular issues and stimulate discussion on matters that concern the community as a whole.

At the individual level, shows that emphasize education and the acquisition of useful economic skills clearly have some impact on national development. In a more diffuse sense, numerous shows

emphasize individualism and personal accomplishment, both of which may figure in the psychological aspects of development. Shows that feature competition and rewards—especially quiz programs in which academic or general knowledge is stressed—promote the idea of individual initiative.

It should be noted, however, that the two themes, development and integration, do not always fit together harmoniously. The shows that emphasize skills appropriate to urban, middle-class living may mean nothing to rural viewers. Flower arrangement and table setting may be irrelevant to those without sufficient income to buy the supplies. Education benefits only those whose previous training puts them in a position to use it. The net effect could be to stimulate the skills of certain individuals and enhance their opportunities to participate in development activities while leaving others behind. Instead of closing the social gap by providing instruction and information to those who have fewer skills, differences may be accentuated. If so, social integration, both within and among regions, would not be served. While barriers represented by cultural differences might be broken down by one element of programming, new barriers might be erected by another.

## **Analysis of News Programs**

*Allan  
Tony Nnaemeka  
Mochtar Pabottinggi*

Television was first introduced in 1962 when Indonesia was under Sukarno's Guided Democracy. The strong influence of Sukarno's preoccupation with politics on the contents of television programs has been discussed in Chapter 2. The downfall of Sukarno and the banning of the influential communist party after the 30 September 1965 affair have brought dramatic changes in Indonesian politics. Under President Suharto's New Order Government many of Sukarno's policies have been abandoned or changed.

The change in Indonesian politics, from Sukarno's Guided Democracy to Suharto's New Order, has resulted in drastic alterations to the content of television programs, including news. The very heavy emphasis on politics, as exemplified by Sukarno's lengthy speeches, has been reduced and replaced by a new emphasis on development activities. In contrast to Sukarno, with his extroverted and domineering personality, Suharto appears to be a very reserved person. He runs the country quietly, letting his ministers and other important government officials explain policies and development activities. His appearances on television are very limited compared to his predecessor. He shies away from publicity.

Even though important changes have occurred in the format and content of television news and other programs, one thing remains the same—the status of television as a mass medium under government control. The policies of the ruling power are to be followed and supported even though under the New Order the producers of TVRI have more freedom than ever before in developing their programs and introducing new ideas. The quality of the news programs, for example, has been improved by the introduction of new formats like "World News." Generally speaking, the producers now have more room to develop their own ideas, which in turn motivates them to become more creative. However, this is mainly a reflection of the existing, though more liberal,

policies of the New Order. As a rule, producers must follow policy guidelines, especially in news productions.

Those who follow closely both television news and newspapers can easily see the difference in the context of the two, notably in the presentation of domestic news. TV news not only concentrates on development activities and government policies but also avoids reporting events that are considered "practical politics." Power politics occurring within the various political and social forces, and critical comments voiced by important politicians, intellectuals, or religious and student leaders are usually not reported on television. This is in keeping with government efforts to maintain political stability in order to safeguard the development efforts. To the producers of the news programs, it has become more or less a rule not to report anything that can be considered harmful to the maintenance of stability. Such a rule has been followed more strictly during times of political crisis, such as in early 1974 and the first quarter of 1978.

Generally speaking, publishers and writers of newspapers (and other printed media) are also obliged to abide by this rule. However, they are allowed to print "responsible and constructive" criticism voiced by politicians, intellectuals, student leaders, and other leading figures. From time to time such criticisms also appear in their editorial columns. To a certain degree they also cover "practical politics," such as student demonstrations or power struggles within a political party or force. The newspapers usually give lengthier coverage to international news different from that of television. The main problem they face is the definition of the phrase, "responsible and constructive criticism." Government officials who often use the term never specify exactly what it means. Even though publishers and writers usually intuitively exercise self-censorship through their own reading of what is in the minds of those in power, they know they might be running a risk. The licenses of several newspapers were revoked during the early 1974 political crisis, apparently because the government felt that reporting contributed to the political crisis or instability. A number of the remaining or existing newspapers were also banned for a short period during the 1978 political crisis. Despite the apparent anxiety and difficulty they have to live with from day to day, the existing newspapers have by and large been able to present more varied and lengthier coverage of political news—both domestic and international—to their readers than television can offer to its viewers.

## **Policy Guidelines for Television News**

In 1963 a presidential decision on the task and function of television was issued, which in itself constituted the basic policy guidelines for television programs, including news programs.<sup>1</sup> These were very general

and therefore vague. The main point was the statement of the task and function of television as a tool serving and supporting the development of the Indonesian nation. As a mass medium, television was expected to facilitate and enhance the process of nation and character building, the main concern of the late President Sukarno. The phrase "nation and character building" must be understood in relation to Sukarno's "guided democracy."

Currently, there are five policy guidelines for television programs, particularly news. First, television should stimulate the process of "nation and character building" by promoting national integration and mental or spiritual development. Second, it should play a role in preserving and stimulating the national culture. Third, television should support and promote development throughout the archipelago. Fourth, it has an educational function including the promotion of public appreciation of culture. Finally, television should be guided by what the general public or viewers want in order to satisfy their needs and promote their welfare.<sup>2</sup>

This fifth item appears to give the general public some role in determining what should be shown on the television screen, a role that seems to have been assured in recent years by the increasing comments and criticism voiced by viewers, especially through letters to the editors of the various newspapers (see Chapter 9). For the purpose of serving the public, the Minister of Information in 1975 formed an advisory board, Dewan Penyantun Siaran Nasional (Advisory Board for National Broadcasting). The members, selected by the Minister, consist of leading figures representing important sectors of society—politicians, intellectuals, religious and cultural leaders, youth leaders, and journalists.

Even though viewers do appear to have a role in guiding what is shown on their television screens, it is very difficult to ascertain how important that role actually is. The members of the advisory board are too diverse to be able to reach a consensus beyond generalities that are often vague and loaded with the possibility of multiple interpretations. Most of them have very little knowledge of the technical aspect of television that often dictates or defines the format and content of the programs. What appear to be well-thought-out suggestions coming from the advisory board often cannot be implemented because of technical difficulties. Television is controlled by the government, which has the final say on everything that goes on camera. Therefore, in a dilemma, whenever the desire of the viewers fails to meet the essence of existing policies or is not in line with the mood prevailing within the ruling circle, television producers will always be guided by what the government wants. However, no matter how limited it might appear, the fifth policy guideline does allow viewers, through the advisory board or through letters to the editor, to make their feelings and desires known. In turn, it provides a new

factor for the producers to use in their argument for improving the quality of the programs, including news. It stimulates creativity and change.

Looking at the five policy guidelines, one can easily see the heavy stress on development, the greatest concern of the producer. The producer of the news programs is expected not only to broadcast development-related events, but also to disregard those that could be considered detrimental to the national development effort no matter how newsworthy. As a result, the news programs, especially those presenting local and national news, are filled with coverage of activities such as the inauguration or inspection of development projects by high-ranking officials.

Other programs also deal with development matters and are produced by the news subdirectorate. A brief discussion of these follows. At this stage, it appears that development is *the* policy of the present New Order Government, and has become a very important factor guiding the producers of the news programs.

## **Time Allotted for News Programs**

Television programs are divided into four major categories—news and information, education and religious programs, cultural shows and entertainment, and all others including commercials. The news and information programs are under the control of the news subdirectorate, which produces not only news programs, but information programs which emphasize development. It also produces sports programs. As shown in Table 6-1, the average weekly showing time for TVRI's Jakarta (national) station, scheduled for April through September of 1978, was 2,880 minutes. The news section was allotted 605 minutes of the total weekly showing time (21.0 percent), from which 395 minutes (13.7 percent) was budgeted for five news programs, 135 minutes (4.7 percent) for various public information programs, and 75 minutes (2.6 percent) for sports. However, the news section also produces special programs, usually covering important sports events, such as soccer, badminton, and boxing, which are of wide interest to viewers, and special reports on important matters such as a presidential speech before Parliament. Including these special programs, the average weekly time budgeted for news totals 22 percent of broadcast time.

The news is seen by the Indonesian television audience on four separate uninterrupted time slots a day (Monday through Saturday). On Sunday there is a slight variation. Generally, the news broadcast day starts at 5:30 p.m. (Jakarta time) with a 15-minute program of local news aptly titled "News of the Archipelago" (Berita Nusantara). This is followed an hour later by another 15 minutes of national news. At 8:30 p.m. (Jakarta time) international news (Dunia Dalam Berita) is seen, featuring events occurring in Indonesia but involving other countries, as

**Table 6-1****Time Allotted for News, Information, and Sports Programs  
(1 April — 30 September 1978)**

Day of Week		Total Broadcast Time		News		Public Information		Sports		Total	
		minutes	%	minutes	%	minutes	%	minutes	%	minutes	
Sunday	A.M.	210	4.8	10	—	—	28.6	60	33.4	70	
Sunday	P.M.	375	14.7	55	2.6	10	—	—	17.3	65	
Monday	P.M.	375	14.7	55	13.3	50	—	—	28.0	65	
Tuesday	P.M.	375	14.7	55	2.6	10	—	—	17.3	65	
Wednesday	P.M.	375	14.7	55	2.6	10	—	—	17.3	65	
Thursday	P.M.	375	14.7	55	2.6	10	—	—	17.3	65	
Friday	P.M.	375	14.7	55	9.3	35	4.0	15	28.0	105	
Saturday	P.M.	420	13.1	55	2.4	10	—	—	15.5	65	
<b>Weekly average</b>		<b>2880</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<b>395</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>605</b>	

well as events happening in other nations of the world, in which Indonesia may or may not be an identified actor. This world news program is followed at 9:40 p.m. by a 5-minute summary of the day's headline news, both domestic and international. A typical Sunday news broadcast starts at 11:00 a.m., with a ten-minute summary of the previous week's top stories, followed by 15 minutes each of local news at 5:30 p.m. and national news at 6:30 p.m., respectively; 20 minutes of world news at 8:30 p.m.; and finally a five-minute summary of the day's news at 9:40 p.m.

The two categories of news, domestic and international, share this time budget on about a two to one ratio. The proportion of time allotted to news and related public information programs constitutes the informative content on Indonesian television. This figure is quite substantial for any broadcasting system, and compares favorably with patterns found in other developing countries with similar television news broadcast goals. In those situations, the two to one ratio between domestic and international news has been documented as the modal tendency, with news and current affairs accounting for an average of about 20 percent of total television time.<sup>3</sup>

Among the public information programs, we shall mention those on Monday and Friday nights, which appear as "TV Forum," "Our Problems," "Special Report," "Development Report," and "International Report." The first two programs, "TV Forum" and "Our Problems," usually appear in an interview-show format. One or two leading government officials, generally a director general or a minister, are interviewed by one of the television reporters. The subject discussed is usually related to the development activities being carried out by the department or ministry represented or an explanation of new policies. The other programs, excluding "International Report," usually include only straight reporting on current development activities. It is clear that "information programs" are heavily dominated by development matters, with priority given to economic achievement. As we shall see below, such heavy emphasis on development matters is also the dominant characteristic of the domestic news programs.

## **News Content**

Against this background we have analyzed the content of all news programs aired on Indonesia's television system for the entire month of April 1978. The objective was to illustrate the informative goals of television as reflected by the news selected and the image of the nation and the world presented.

While the month-long sample may be considered broad enough to present stable trends, our findings need to be interpreted with caution. Our analysis is based primarily on a selected number of quantifiable dimensions of television news. It is an analysis of the message content of Indonesian television news as a basis for assessing its impact on the audience, as part of our longitudinal study.



We asked how much news was presented on television and in what general categories, what areas of the country and the world were covered, and what kinds of institutions and social issues were emphasized. In an entire month, Indonesian television carried a total of 1,080 separate news stories, domestic and international, with an average of just over 1.5 minutes spent on each story. Fifty-six percent of all the stories during that month (605 out of 1,080) dealt with domestic events, local and national. The remaining 44 percent (475) focused on world events. This averaged out to about 1.7 minutes of television news time per domestic story, and just over 1.2 minutes for each international news item. In terms of total broadcasting time, the distribution of domestic and international news in that month fell short of the two to one ratio.

## **Domestic News**

We classified domestic news programs under seven headings—development activities, education and social welfare, politics, military and defense, government and semigovernment bodies, social groups, and culture and entertainment activities. A clarification follows.

### **Development Activities**

Development activities include stories about construction projects, factories and other industrial complexes, transportation, agriculture, produce transport and marketing, mineral exploration, tourism, and labor issues.

### **Education and Social Welfare**

Included are stories dealing with family planning, public health clinics, mental health facilities or programs, and general relief programs.

### **Politics**

This category covers news about corruption in government or semiofficial agencies, public demonstrations, or any activity that confronts the established authority.

### **Military and Defense**

Included are stories about troop movements, training, military appointments, transfers, and weapon development or acquisition. Activities of military personnel in nonmilitary roles are not included here but are classified under other appropriate categories.

### **Government and Semigovernment**

This category emphasizes the activities of the executive, judicial, or legislative bodies, including stories on a minister's speech or the reception of a political delegation, a government official's address to a group of farmers, or the functioning of legislative or judicial bodies.

## Social Groups

The activities of organized interest groups like religious, youth, student or women's associations, which are social in character but not related to other subject categories, were classified under social groups.

## Culture and Entertainment

This category deals primarily with music and other artistic performances such as exhibitions, discussions, and reviews.

The categories are not mutually exclusive. The two Indonesian coders were sufficiently trained to distinguish between them. The initial coding was checked by two persons to assure consistency.<sup>4</sup> The bulk of the coding was done by Mochtar Pabottinggi, one of the coauthors of this report.

Because many of the stories analyzed dealt with more than one subject, the distribution of coverage presented below is based on the total number of identified topics rather than news stories. A story may refer to more than one topic. Out of the 605 domestic news stories examined, a total of 1,344 topics were identified. The distribution by subject categories is presented in Table 6-2.

**Table 6-2**  
**Categories of Domestic News**

<b>News Category</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Number</b>
Development activities	27.5	370
Education and social welfare	20.0	267
Politics	1.8	24
Military and defense	3.0	41
Government-related activities	35.9	482
Social groups	10.9	147
Culture-entertainment	0.9	13
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,344</b>

These figures support the assertion that emphasis was on topics that promoted development. If we include news about education and social welfare, almost half of the total domestic news stories dealt with development-related activities. We also note the high proportion of news on activities of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government, which could have implications for development. The relatively low attention to social groups can be interpreted in the light of concern for national unity. Because ethnicity and religion are considered the most important forces of diversity within Indonesian society, the relatively subdued emphasis on organized groups or activities that could

promote disunity is understandable. Perhaps the same rationale may hold for the very infrequent mention of corruption, public demonstrations of dissent, and military and defense topics.

However, a simple survey of newspaper headlines (one headline per day, excluding Sunday) for the same month of April 1978 gives a different picture. Our survey of the *Sinar Harapan* daily, an independent Protestant newspaper, shows that of the 25 major headlines appearing in the month of April 1978, 19 (76 percent) were on domestic events and only 6 (24 percent) were on international news. Another nongovernment daily, *Merdeka*, a nationalist paper, came up with 20 (80 percent) domestic events as its headlines for the same month. The corresponding ratio for domestic and international news stories on television is less than two to one. For all major news, both domestic and international, *Sinar Harapan* gave 5 (20 percent) of its headlines to political events, while *Merdeka* gave 6 (24 percent). In domestic news only, *Sinar Harapan* came up with 3 (15.8 percent) political headlines out of 19, and *Merdeka* appeared with 5 (25 percent) out of 20. The significant attention given by the two papers to political events appears to be quite different from the minuscule coverage (1.8 percent) for the same category on television news programs. Development events took up 5 (26.3 percent) of the 19 headlines on domestic events appearing in *Sinar Harapan* and 7 (35 percent) out of 20 in *Merdeka*. Both were close to the 27.5 percent figure for television.

When we considered a breakdown of the news stories by areas of the country covered, another remarkable view of society emerged. The distribution of attention by areas of coverage in all of the 605 domestic news stories is presented in Table 6-3.

**Table 6-3**  
**Urban versus Rural Setting in Domestic News**

Setting	Percent	Number
Urban areas	49.1	297
Rural	24.8	150
Rural/Urban	13.9	84
Unidentified	12.2	74
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>605</b>

What we referred to as "urban" in the area of classifications included all cities and administrative headquarters in the 27 provincial divisions of the country. "Rural" referred to the countryside; "urban/rural" to stories that covered both.

Only about one-third of the 605 stories had a rural-agricultural base; 60 percent or more concentrated on the larger, industrial and perhaps wealthier centers of the population. In fact, the category "unidentified" included a disproportionate number of stories that could be classified as coming also from urban areas. Whether these were the areas where most development activities were taking place is hard to say. However, the urban-rural ratio in television news programs does require attention. Not only is this ratio, urban versus rural news, one of the important indicators of the character of a television system, it may also be considered a valuable index of the extent to which specific public policies, such as development and national integration, are being carried out.

Because of the strong emphasis policymakers in Indonesia place on national integration among the many diverse localities, we further examined the geographic focus of television news. To what extent are television viewers learning about other provinces in their own country? To make this description manageable, we grouped all localities in the country into 20 areas, which are listed in Table 6-4, together with their respective percentages of mention in the 605 domestic news stories.

**Table 6-4**  
**Domestic Regions in Television News**

Regions	Percent
Jakarta (capital)	38.4
West Java and Jakarta	24.7
Central Java and Yogyakarta	4.9
East Java and Madura	4.8
North Sumatra and Aceh	4.0
West Sumatra, Jambi and Rian	2.5
South Sumatra, Lampung and Bengkulu	3.7
East Kalimantan	1.5
Central Kalimantan	1.0
West Kalimantan	1.3
South Kalimantan	2.2
North Sulawesi	1.4
Central Sulawesi	1.3
Southeast Sulawesi	0.4
South Sulawesi	1.5
Moluccas	1.1
East Nusa Tenggara	2.9
West Nusa Tenggara and Bali	1.1
Irian Jaya	1.3
East Timor	0.0

It is clear that the view of the nation coming through television news programs centers around the capital city of Jakarta and West Java.

Despite the fact that only 22 percent of the population live and work in this part of the country, it is covered in almost two-thirds of all domestic news stories. No other area of the country was mentioned in more than 5 percent of the stories, and except for North Sumatra, Aceh, South Sumatra, Lampung, and Bengkulu, coverage of the rest of the provincial units ranged from 2.9 to 0.4 percent. Finally, East Timor was not even mentioned during the entire month.

While we hesitate to speculate on the political implications of this kind of television news coverage, especially as it relates to national integration, we feel the evidence is noteworthy. It is clear that the current scope of television news coverage may not be sufficiently broad to underscore official concern for national integration, which, after all, does not involve just the exposure of a large number of citizens to news about a few locations. National integration implies identification with the larger whole, which can come through watching events occurring in many different regions as well as in the immediate locality.

## International News

We defined "international news" to mean all stories covered on "World News," distinguishing between those in which Indonesia was and was not involved. As indicated earlier, 475 of all stories in April 1978 were classified as international. About 42 percent of these (201 out of 475) involved Indonesia, although not necessarily as a principal participant; 58 percent (274 news stories) dealt with countries and events in which Indonesia was not involved. A high proportion of all international news stories (42.3 percent) was on foreign relations, including the political situation in various foreign countries; about 25 percent focused on international conflicts, notably in the Middle East, Rhodesia, and South Africa; the breakdown of the remaining 32 percent is presented in Table 6-5.

**Table 6-5**  
**Categories of International News**

Category	Percent
Politics/Foreign Relations	42.3
Military/Conflict	25.4
Economic/Trade	13.4
Sports	09.6
Crime/Disaster	08.4
Culture	00.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>99.6</b>

The distribution of coverage by countries of major interest is quite revealing. With the exception of the United States, which emerged in about 12 percent of the stories, no single country was mentioned overwhelmingly during the period studied. Excluding Indonesia, the distribution of coverage by countries that got the most attention is shown in Table 6-6.

**Table 6-6**  
**Major Countries in International News**

Country	Percentage of all International stories
United States	12.5
Japan	4.9
Soviet Union	4.6
Rhodesia and South Africa	2.7
Australia	2.0
China	1.5
Canada	0.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>28.9</b>

A breakdown by regions of the world is equally revealing. Table 6-7 presents the 475 international news stories on the "World News" program classified by regions of major interest.

From this distribution, it is clear that the heaviest concentration of coverage was on Asian countries. Thirty-two percent of all international stories involved at least one Asian country, with the ASEAN nations accounting for 43 percent of the total Asian figure. Stories about the Middle East included all of the Arab countries and Israel. More than half of the entire African coverage was devoted to the countries of East and South Africa directly involved in the Rhodesian crisis.

This pattern suggests a number of facts about the "World News," and reflects the high amount of attention given to Indonesia itself and to the ASEAN countries with which Indonesia is cooperating in economic and modernization programs. Thus "World News" might be considered functionally related to the domestic news programs by providing broad exposure to national leaders in both domestic and international role contexts, and extensive coverage of topics and areas relevant to regional development. No single Western country dominates the news, although the United States appears to be the "most favored nation."

**Table 6-7****Major Regions of the World in International News**

<b>Regions</b>	<b>Percentage of all International stories</b>
All Asia (excluding ASEAN*)	18.2
Western Europe	15.7
Middle East	14.6
ASEAN countries	13.8
North America (United States and Canada)	13.2
United Nations	6.6
Africa (including Rhodesia and South Africa)	6.0
Eastern Europe (including Soviet Union)	5.6
Latin America	3.9
South Pacific Islands, Australia and New Zealand	2.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

\*ASEAN: Association of South-East Asian Nations—an organization designed to promote joint economic, social, and development planning and policies among member nations, which are Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand.

## Conclusion

The picture of Indonesian television news programs presented in this chapter is only a partial one, mostly quantitative in kind—in how much time was devoted to what news, what areas of the country and the world were covered, and how much of that content dealt with different development news categories. Because the research objective was to understand the news content as a step toward assessing its impact on the audience later, we did not examine the news flow. For example, we did not examine the sources of the stories broadcast during the period, the nature of the news pool from which the news producers made their selection, and the different styles used by the news writers to handle different subjects. Nor was the purpose of this research to follow the news path to the television audiences, to discover what they watched out of what was available, what they retained, and what use they made of that information. Our longitudinal study, of which this research is an initial component, will answer some of these questions. This analysis emphasizes only one aspect of Indonesian television news.

The heavy emphasis on development events, the restraint from controversial and ethnically sensitive issues, the concentration on news in and around the capital—these characteristics can best be understood in the context of the political system, the policy goals, and the plural society. Even in international news, we discern an overriding concern with the neighboring countries in Asia, especially ASEAN countries, with which Indonesia is cooperating in economic and regional development.

## NOTES

1. Alex Leo Zulkarnain, "Peranan Iklan dalam Pembiayaan Televisi Republik Indonesia," monograph (Jakarta, 1977), pp. 22-23.
2. Departemen Penerangan Republik Indonesia, *Radio, Televisi, Film 1977* (Jakarta: Deppen, 1978), p. 134.
3. Elihu Katz and George Wedell, *Broadcasting in the Third World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977).
4. A subsample of 158 news items was coded independently by two coders. Reliability coefficients, computed by the Pearson product moment correlation, ranged from a low of 0.57 to a high of 0.98. The average reliability coefficient was 0.87. The median reliability coefficient was 0.89.



## Television Commercials

*Alfan  
Andrew Arno  
Godwin C. Chu*

Commercials present a dilemma for Indonesian television. They were introduced in 1963, shortly after the first broadcast, but today they occupy the tenuous position of a necessary evil.<sup>1</sup> What role they may have, if any, in the future of the Indonesian television system is a matter for debate. Meanwhile, considerable efforts have been expended to try to minimize undesirable social effects. The question is a difficult one because the benefits of commercials are also recognized. In addition to stimulating commerce, especially the local television production industry, advertising provides substantial income. Revenue from commercials represented 34 percent of the national television budget in 1975-76; in the following year the Jakarta station, by far the most heavily involved with advertising of any in the nation, financed 91.58 percent of its production and operating costs through commercials.<sup>2</sup>

There is some support for the total elimination of commercials and a suggestion that the resulting loss in revenue be recouped through a user tax on individual receivers.<sup>3</sup> However, because the amount of money brought in by advertising is so great, it is arguable that raising the tax to the necessary level may cause other difficulties.

Policy objections to commercials stem from the likelihood that they will conflict with the basic principle of guidance enunciated by the television directorate: Television, as a means of governmental communication, must contribute in a positive sense to government policies and programs. Several well-known arguments—put forward by, among others, social scientists in countries like the United States where commercials have been heavily used—indicate their counter-developmental potential. For example, commercials may promote wasteful consumerism when people spend money on useless items instead of investing productively. Because the amount of resources available in any country is limited, the expansion of counter-developmental economic activity implies that capital is diverted from constructive uses. Another argument is that television commercials may

provoke a crisis of unrealizable expectations; by stimulating desires for objects that people cannot buy, they produce dissatisfaction. Commercials may also encourage migration to urban areas, where people fancy they might be able to participate in the consumer-oriented life they see depicted in the advertisements.

A number of measures have been taken in Indonesia to limit the undesirable effects of commercials. For example, at one time advertisements for beer were accepted, but now all commercials for alcoholic beverages have been eliminated because of the conflict with prevailing Islamic norms. The scheduling of commercial presentations has also been changed several times. Commercials were previously run before regular programs so that they would not interrupt the content. Currently, they are concentrated into two 30-minute slots so that those who wish to avoid them may easily do so. This format allows commercials to be deleted from satellite transmission to rural areas, so that the products are not shown to persons who cannot obtain them. For a while, Jakarta commercials were withheld from broadcast to the provinces through the satellite relay links, but this policy was modified in September 1978.

Despite misgivings in many sectors, commercials are a fixture on Indonesian television, and virtually all viewers are now exposed to them. They are part of the programming in both Jakarta and the local stations in other areas. Advertisements make up to more than 10 percent of the national programming; about 80 percent promote commercial products, and the remaining 20 percent are public service announcements. However, at the local level there is some variation; Jakarta, for example, devoted 14.58 percent of its broadcast time to advertisements in 1978 (see Chapter 5).

Station personnel do not actively sell advertising time. The commercials that they accept are subject to review and must conform to the same standards as all other elements of programming. Commercials are evaluated in terms of development value, for example. Beyond just increasing the market share of some particular brand, they should inform the consumer about the generic product. "Useless" luxuries may not be promoted, although a very expensive version of a mundane object—such as a watch—may be advertised if it can be thought of as representing a general category of commodities that are useful and can be obtained in a reasonably inexpensive form. Tractors and trucks, although far beyond the means of most viewers, are acceptable products because they contribute to development; luxurious automobiles, on the other hand, may not be advertised.

Because advertisements stimulate local industry and commerce, those featuring locally produced items are broadcast at lower rates. By the same token, television production itself is an element of the national economy, so preference is extended to commercials in which local artists and technicians participate.

Although television commercials are viewed with misgiving, polished and professional advertisements are appreciated. One development campaign official commented that his agency's spot announcements were dull, and that "Coke-type" live spots would be more effective. Advertising style, therefore, is of special interest in Indonesia, where ethnic complexity imposes special constraints on technique and motivational appeal.

## **Research Design**

In order to evaluate Indonesian commercials in light of the policies and goals of the government, we examined a full month's showing, between 19 January and 19 February 1978, on Jakarta's central station. Two researchers familiar with the language and cultural values watched the commercials, and independently coded and recorded them.

The coding sheets used by the two researchers required entries in 18 categories (see Appendix 3). In addition to the time and date of the commercials, the coders were asked to identify the product or service and record its approximate price and country of origin. The nature of the illustration used was noted in each case, whether movie, still, or cartoon. The sex, age, nationality, apparent life-style, class status, and occupation of each character presented were also recorded. Coders categorized the product as either a service or consumer good, noted the use of humor, the kind of selling style employed, and whether specific details or general remarks were emphasized. Other features noted included the style of presentation, whether demonstration, dramatization, or testimonial, and the benefits asserted, whether intrinsic to the product or extrinsic in the sense of being remotely associated with it. The last set of items to be coded were the motivational appeals used in the commercials.

After the researchers had completed the initial coding, they brought the tabulations, along with audio cassettes that had been recorded from transmission, to the the East-West Center, where they coded the section on motivational appeals. The initial list of motivational appeals, drawn up by researchers familiar with U.S. advertising, was reviewed by those familiar with Indonesia. Some items were added while others were deleted. The final list included comfort, explicit mention of prestige, practicality, quality, attractiveness, masculine prowess, sex appeal, fun/happiness/excitement, family love, intimacy, health, friendship, freshness, tastiness, the offer of some kind of prize, and security.

## **Results**

Appendix 4 enumerates the particular kinds of commodities that were advertised in commercials during the period of the sample. There were 138 different commercials in 23 categories of products.

A coefficient of reliability was calculated for those features in which the coding of the two researchers might diverge. The coefficients represent the number of cases in which the coders agreed, divided by the total number of cases. The coefficients vary from 1.00 to 0.72; the latter value being associated, as might be expected, with the difficult issue of motivational appeals. In most cases the coding reliability was quite high, as can be seen in Table 7-1.

**Table 7-1**  
**Coding Reliability for Various Items**

Question	Coefficient of reliability (CR)*
Price	.94
Origin	.87
Illustration type	.99
Sex of characters	.99
Child characters	1.00
Teenaged characters	.99
Young adult characters	.99
Middle aged characters	.99
Old characters	.99
Nationality of characters	.99
Life-style: Urban or rural	.99
Class status	.95
Occupation	.97
Details or generalizations	.91
Humor	.97
Product type: Consumer goods or services	1.00
Selling style	.95
Alleged benefits	.82
Style of presentation	.95
Intrinsic or extrinsic benefits	.93
Motivational appeals	.72

\*CR is computed by dividing the number of cases in which both coders agreed, by the total number of cases. This is obtained by cross-tabulating the coding results of the two coders for each item.

Analysis of the associations represented among the variables reveals that the origin of the product and its price are related to some of the other characteristics measured. Both the origin and the price are important because of the policy concerns of the Indonesian government. For example, it is important to a developing nation that the sale of local products be stimulated as much as possible. An imbalance in favor of foreign products is undesirable. The prices of the advertised goods are also of interest because of the policy goal of avoiding the arousal of consumer desires or expectations that cannot be satisfied.

Table 7-2 shows that the goods advertised on Indonesian television are inexpensive and within the budget of most viewers. The table also shows that domestic and foreign products have similar price distributions. Japanese goods advertised were slightly more expensive compared to products from Indonesia and other countries, but even so, 43.8 percent of the Japanese goods advertised were in the least expensive category, as compared with slightly higher proportions from all other countries, including Indonesia.

Table 7-3 presents information on television commercials from the year 1976, and provides some background information on factors not covered in this study. For example, the total time allotted to commercials for Indonesian products was greater than that for imported products but much less than that for joint-venture products. Similar percentages are obtained for the number of the products advertised, with joint-venture products by far the more numerous. Joint-venture products are those in which there is heavy foreign investment combined with some Indonesian participation in the production process, such as Coca-Cola, which is bottled locally, and motor vehicles and television sets assembled locally.

As might be expected, the price of the item advertised made a difference in the nature of the commercial (see Table 7-4). Expensive goods depended more on film than inexpensive goods, and were more likely to be advertised in terms of specific details than generalities. Selling style was also different. Expensive goods were associated with image selling 20 percent of the time, compared to less than 5 percent for cheap and medium-priced goods. Expensive goods were more likely than inexpensive ones to be advertised in terms of extrinsic benefits, such as prestige, while the percentages for medium-priced and cheap goods were somewhat lower. Motivational appeals used for less expensive goods also tended to differ from those used for expensive ones. As Table 7-5 indicates, the cheapest goods depended most heavily on the appeals of practicality, attractiveness, and healthfulness, while the most expensive goods were advertised on the basis of quality.

The origin of the products was also important to the nature of the advertisement, as indicated in Table 7-6. Japanese products were advertised with film 90 percent of the cases, and the U.S. products 75 percent of the time, while only 53.5 percent of the Indonesian products appear on film. The nationality of the characters appearing in the commercials also varied according to the origin of the products (Table 7-6). While all products used the styles of presentation coded as dramatization and demonstration predominantly when something other than a graphic was shown, Indonesian products used simple graphics instead of the more dynamic forms much more frequently than U.S. or Japanese products (Table 7-6).

Although price and origin are related to the nature of televised advertisements, the differences do not seem to fall together into any strong pattern that suggests conflict with stated policy goals. One

**Table 7-2****Price versus Origin of Goods Advertised**

Origin	Price (US dollars)						Total products	
	Under \$1.25		\$1.26-\$2.50		Over \$2.50		No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Indonesia	16	55.2	11	37.9	2	6.9	29	21.0
USA	11	45.8	9	37.5	4	16.7	24	17.4
Japan	14	43.8	9	28.1	9	28.1	32	23.2
Other foreign countries	30	56.6	18	34.0	5	9.4	53	38.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>51.4</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>34.1</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>14.5</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Table 7-3****Indonesian and Foreign Goods  
Advertised on Television**

	<b>Time allotted advertising (Percent)</b>	<b>Number of products advertised (Percent)</b>
Indonesian	25.64	28.35
Joint Venture	66.62	64.73
Imported	7.74	6.92
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

**Source:** Alex Leo Zulkarnain, "Peranan Iklan dalam Pembiayaan Televisi Republik Indonesia," monograph (Jakarta, 1977), p. 62.

impression is that foreign and joint-venture products and expensive products use commercial techniques that may be more effective than those used by less expensive and locally produced goods. There is no proof of the effectiveness of these techniques, but the expensive and foreign products do use film and dramatization more consistently, and they are also more likely to use image selling and the imputation of extrinsic benefits. These latter techniques emphasize nonrational factors in choice of a product. At the same time, more detailed information is presented about the expensive goods, and by far the most heavily used motivational appeal in their promotion is that of quality. Table 7-7 shows the results of a study conducted in 1974 to determine which advertisements were more remembered by television viewers. Although we do not know the characteristics of those commercials, it may be significant that most of the products remembered are either joint-venture or foreign in origin.

Despite the differences noted, and the possibility that such differences might have the undesired effect of selling expensive goods and imports more effectively than inexpensive and locally produced goods, the majority of characteristics of the commercials are fairly evenly distributed, without regard for price or origin.

It would appear, on the whole, that government policies with respect to television advertisements have had some impact on producing advertising practices that maintain standards compatible with national goals. For example, we found that most of the items advertised were inexpensive: 51 percent sold for less than US\$1.25, and 85 percent for less than \$2.50 (Table 7-2).

Twenty-one percent of the items advertised were of Indonesian origin, with roughly equal percentages produced in the United States and Japan (Table 7-2). Perhaps the significant fact here, in spite of

**Table 7-4**

**Price versus Form of Illustration Amount, Amount of Detail, Selling Style, and  
Nature of Benefits for Products Advertised**

	Price (US dollars)							
	Under \$1.25		\$1.26-\$2.50		Over \$2.50		Total products	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Form of illustration								
Film	45	63.4	40	85.1	18	90.0	103	74.6
Still	20	28.2	5	10.6	2	10.0	27	19.6
Cartoon	6	8.4	2	4.3	0	0.0	8	5.8
Amount of detail								
Specific	6	8.4	5	10.6	6	30.0	17	12.3
General	65	91.6	42	89.4	14	70.0	121	87.7
Selling style								
Promotion	70	98.6	45	95.7	16	80.0	131	94.9
Image selling	1	1.4	2	4.3	4	20.0	7	5.1
Nature of benefits								
Intrinsic	69	97.2	46	97.9	17	85.0	132	95.6
Extrinsic	2	2.8	1	2.1	3	15.0	6	4.4
Number of products	71	51.4	47	34.1	20	14.5	138	100.0



**Table 7-5****Price versus Motivational Appeal**

Motivational appeal	Number in price-group (US dollars)			Total number
	Under \$1.25	\$1.26-\$2.50	Over \$2.50	
Prestige	0	0	1	1
Practicality	17	5	0	22
Quality	7	13	16	36
Attractiveness	13	4	1	18
Masculine prowess	1	1	0	2
Sex appeal	0	0	1	1
Fun	6	8	0	14
Family love	0	2	0	2
Intimacy	2	2	0	4
Health	11	3	0	14
Freshness	6	2	0	8
Tastiness	4	6	0	10
Prize	4	1	0	5
Security	0	0	1	1
<b>Total</b>	71	47	20	138

government policy, is that almost 80 percent of the items advertised on television were from abroad.

The preferred illustrative technique was film, accounting for 74.6 percent of all commercials, followed by stills (19.6 percent). Cartoons were used in about 6 percent of the advertisements. With respect to the characters presented on the commercials, many showed men and women together (37.7 percent), although almost as often there were no characters (30.4 percent). When one sex was shown, it was more often women (21 percent) than men (10.9 percent).

Aged characters were seldom shown on commercials (0.7 percent); most frequently seen were young adults (44.9 percent). Middle-aged persons appeared about as often as children (28.3 percent vs. 22.5 percent), while teenagers were depicted less often (13 percent). In some cases, characters of different ages appeared together. The nationality of the characters was generally Indonesian. Of the 96 advertisements in which characters appeared, 70 percent feature Indonesians, and 20 percent Europeans or Americans. Japanese appeared in about 6 percent, other Asians in 2 percent, and Indonesians and Europeans or Americans together in 2 percent.

The life-style depicted for the characters in the commercials was urban in about 96 percent of the cases. A rural life-style was shown in only 3 percent of the commercials with characters. The dominant socioeconomic status represented was middle-class (90 percent). Working class people were shown in 2 percent, while in 6 percent the

**Table 7-6**

**Origins of Products versus Illustrations, Nationality of Characters, and Style of Presentation**

	Origin									
	Indonesia		USA		Japan		Other foreign		Indonesia & foreign	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	
<b>Illustrations</b>										
Film	15	53.5	18	75.0	29	90.0	40	75.4	1	
Still	11	39.3	6	25.0	3	10.0	7	13.2	0	
Cartoon	2	7.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	11.3	0	
<b>Nationality of characters</b>										
Indonesian	14	50.0	9	37.5	15	46.8	29	54.7	1	
Japanese	0	0.0	1	4.1	5	15.6	0	0.0	0	
European	1	3.5	7	29.2	3	9.4	9	17.0	0	
Other Asians	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.1	1	1.8	0	
Indonesian and European	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	6.2	0	0.0	0	
No characters	13	46.4	7	29.2	6	18.8	14	26.4	0	
<b>Style of presentation</b>										
Graphics	14	50.0	6	25.0	3	9.4	9	17.0	0	
Demonstration	5	17.9	2	8.3	8	25.0	14	26.4	0	
Dramatization	7	25.0	6	25.0	9	28.1	12	22.6	0	

Endorsement	0	0.0	1	4.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
Demonstration and dramatization	1	3.5	8	33.3	10	31.2	14	26.4	0
Dramatization and endorsement	1	3.5	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0
Dramatization, demon- stration, and endorse- ment	0	0.0	1	4.1	2	6.2	4	7.5	1

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**Editor's Note:** Percentages may not add up to exactly 100.0 because of rounding off.

**Table 7-7****Advertisements Most Frequently Remembered  
by Jakarta TV Viewers (1974)**

<b>Products</b>	<b>Percentage of viewers who remembered the ad.</b>
Coca Cola	66
Lux	66
Rinso	65
Pepsodent	59
Raid	45
Greenspot	45
Blue Band	35
Fanta	31
Mitsubishi	25
Bodrex	23

**Source:** *Jakarta Television Survey 1974*, Table 26a. (The survey was carried out in March and April 1974 by P.T. In-Search Data, a private market and audience research organization.)

class status was not identifiable, and in another 2 percent both middle and working class characters appeared together. The occupations of the characters were usually unidentified (61 percent), although women were shown as housewives (representing about 12 percent of all cases), and blue collar workers were shown in about 12 percent of the advertisements.

The style of presentation in the commercials tended to emphasize general remarks more often than specific details about the products (Table 7-4). The advertisements were predominantly serious in tone (88 percent), although humor was employed in some (12 percent). The products themselves were almost entirely in the category of consumer goods (99 percent) rather than services (1 percent). In almost all cases (95 percent) the technique of direct promotion was used. A more subtle form of persuasion, coded as image selling, was seldom used, either alone (3 percent), or in combination with promotion (3 percent). There was heavy stress on the positive benefits of the product (86 percent) and little mention of any avoidance of negative effects (8 percent). These benefits themselves were almost always represented as intrinsic to the product (96 percent) rather than extrinsic. Dramatization was the favorite mode of presentation (25 percent), sometimes in combination with a demonstration (24 percent). Demonstration alone was employed as well (21 percent).

The analysis of motivation appeals (Table 7-5) indicates clearly the distinctively Indonesian pattern of advertising on television and its relationship to developmental goals. Although the coders were not in complete agreement, both assigned about 75 percent to the same five top

categories. For both coders, quality was the most frequent message (about 25 percent). They also agreed that practicality was the second most important appeal (about 15 percent), and both assigned about the same percentages (10-13 percent) to the categories of healthfulness, attractiveness, and fun. Among these values, quality, practicality, and healthfulness are clearly relevant to developmental goals. The motivational appeals that were least used also give an indication of the relationship of the advertising to its sociocultural context. For example, sex appeal, masculine prowess, and prestige were not emphasized, an indication that these personal attributes are inappropriate foci of attention in a public medium. It would appear that largely private values, such as family love, intimacy, and security also fall into that category. One might speculate that health moved from the private to the public sphere by virtue of its place in governmental development activities. In general, then, overt motivational appeals refer to qualities of the products themselves, as do practicality, quality, attractiveness, freshness, and tastiness; the only psychological or social relational value often directly referred to is fun, which seems to escape the restraint placed on more private, intimate social values. A methodological caveat is appropriate here, however, in the form of two important points.

The coders were asked to code the commercials by examining the manifest content. It is possible that observers familiar with the material would be able to detect other levels of meaning in the advertisements. For example, in some cases the impact of the commercials depended upon double entendres understood by many of the viewers. In this way covert references might have been conveyed even though the language itself in its given context was entirely innocuous. Furthermore, motivational appeals depend on the interpretation of the particular viewer, and while a cosmopolitan person may be indifferent to, for example, a particular style of dress, an unsophisticated rural audience may be shocked and provoked by the same stimulus.

Allowing for the more subtle points of interpretation, the category of "sex appeal," for example, could be much more pervasive than would appear in our analysis. Very often the appeal is quite subtle; the mere fact of attractive models with slightly out-of-the-ordinary clothing may have substantial impact for very conservative members of the audience. On the other hand, a slogan or phrase, accepted at face value by the coders, may have erotic connotations for the cognoscenti.

## Conclusions

Indonesian television commercials have been effectively regulated by administrative policies in a way that would appear to reduce their potential for conflict with the national goals of development and integration. While the characters and situations depicted in dramatizations reflect a middle-class urban life-style in contrast to the

rural, working-class reality of Indonesian life, there is no emphasis on luxury goods or items that cannot be obtained by the majority of viewers. It also appears that sales techniques and motivational appeals emphasize practicality and prosocial, public, and therefore integrative values. At the same time our investigations indicate that the area of motivational appeal is a very rich one for further study using more sensitive methods of measurement than were employed in the current research.

## NOTES

1. This monograph was prepared in June 1979. While the monograph was in press, the Indonesian government announced on 5 January 1981 the abolishment of all television commercials as of 1 April 1981.
2. Alex Leo Zulkarnain, "Peranan Iklan dalam Pembiayaan Televisi Republik Indonesia," monograph (Jakarta, 1977), pp. 4-5.
3. According to an article in *Tempo* magazine, dated 17 January 1981, the research conducted by LEKNAS/LIPI contributed to the Indonesian government's decision to abolish television commercials.

## Cultural Values in Television Drama

**Godwin C. Chu**  
**Alfian**  
**Mochtar Pabottinggi**

Television drama is an enactment of life, portraying hopes, emotional conflict, and the search for meaning. It thus capsulizes cultural values in videoscope. In Indonesia, where the ruling elite is making an earnest attempt to modernize the country via the media, an analysis of the content of television drama can reveal both new values being introduced as well as traditional values used as anchor points for getting the new messages across.

Values, according to the American anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn, are conceptions that influence the selection from available alternative modes, means and ends of actions by individuals and groups.<sup>1</sup> Robin Williams, a sociologist, similarly regards values as conceptions of the desirable.<sup>2</sup> Milton Rokeach speaks of terminal values, that is, desirable ends, and instrumental values, that is, preferred modes and means.<sup>3</sup> These definitions have in common the notion that values are criteria by which we decide what is desirable.

Important as they are, empirical studies of cultural values are relatively few in comparison to the voluminous social research on opinions and attitudes from which, nonetheless, values may be deduced. Leo Lowenthal, for example, analyzed the biographies in American popular magazines from 1901-1941 to illustrate changing values in the United States.<sup>4</sup> A more comprehensive pioneering work was Ralph White's value analysis of *Black Boy*, the autobiography of Richard Wright, in the late 1940s.<sup>5</sup> Godwin Chu and Tsu-tsai Fan applied a modified version of White's categories to the analysis of Chinese values portrayed in radio drama in Taiwan in the early 1960s.<sup>6</sup> Rokeach has incorporated his categories into survey instruments for measuring values.<sup>7</sup> His instruments appear to be simpler to use than those previously developed by Charles Morris, and Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck.<sup>8</sup> One advantage of Rokeach's value categories is their adaptability to both survey research and content analysis. Philip Cheng,

for example, has used Rokeach's categories for a comparative analysis of values in traditional Chinese opera and the revolutionary opera of the People's Republic of China in the early 1970s.<sup>9</sup>

## Methods

To analyze the values expressed in Indonesian television drama (*sandiwara*), we began by reviewing the categories, developed by White and Rokeach, that have been adapted to analyses of Asian cultural values with interesting results. With the aid of the two Indonesian coauthors, who were familiar with their own culture, we examined each of the value categories in White and Rokeach. After discussion, we decided to follow the general approach of White rather than that of Rokeach. While Rokeach's classification of values into means and ends is conceptually sound, it does not give enough consideration to the critical importance of values in regulating our psychological functioning and social relations. The value categories of White, grouped under social and psychological subheadings, are more appropriate.

We regard values, which are conceptions of the desirable, as the fundamental building blocks of the cognitive, affiliative, and social dimensions of human experience. They direct our attention selectively to certain aspects of our cognitive field, define the nature of our affiliative bonds, and regulate our social relations. It is according to these dimensions that value categories should be classified. On this basis, we took those categories from White and Rokeach that we considered to be relevant to Indonesia and reorganized them into an initial scheme patterned after that of White. The difference lies in our stronger emphasis on the social-relational aspect. The initial scheme is shown in Table 8-1.

The original plan of analyzing a random selection of existing videotapes proved not to be feasible. We then made inquiries as to whether we could obtain the scripts of television dramas from the previous year and randomly select a number of them for analysis. That could not be done because the scripts were not on file. An alternative was for us to videotape a number of drama programs, but this was not feasible because of insufficient funds. Finally, we decided to videotape one program for a trial analysis. The objective was to see whether we would miss anything important if we analyzed only the sound track.

Two coders first viewed the videotaped program, and then analyzed the audiotape only. Both found that they had no difficulty in analyzing the audiotape *after* they had viewed the program. By listening to the cassette tape they were able to reconstruct the accompanying actions.

Following this trial, the coders viewed and audiotaped in Jakarta the 16 drama broadcast in April 1978. The synopses of the screenplays are presented in Appendix 5. The analysis of value content was undertaken in June and continued through August of the same year. April was a routine month with no particular events that would make the



**Table 8-1****Initial List of Value Categories**

<b>Category/subcategory</b>	<b>Value</b>
<b>Physical/Material</b>	comfort progress job/career practicality economic value
<b>Social/Relational</b>	
<b>Affiliative:</b>	family love sexual love friendship
<b>Hierarchical:</b>	obedience independence dominance equality
<b>Group oriented:</b>	conformity group unity class consciousness
<b>Moral:</b>	modesty tolerance honesty morality generosity
<b>Occupational role-related:</b>	aggression achievement recognition ambition responsibility diligence
<b>Nondirectedness:</b>	
<b>Cognitive</b>	peace tranquility beauty freedom harmony hope salvation resignation/fatalism
<b>Psychological/Personal</b>	happiness self-respect pleasure excitement
<b>Intellectual</b>	knowledge logic wisdom capability

plays atypical, except for one. During that month, the Jakarta station broadcast a short play that emphasized the importance of paying television set registration fees as a gesture of social responsibility. That play was excluded from analysis.

## **Modes of Value Analysis**

We have identified three modes of analyzing the content of television drama for inferences regarding values: thematic analysis, holistic analysis, and critical incident analysis.

### **Thematic Analysis**

In thematic analysis, the unit is a value theme, which can be an explicit expression of a criterion for a behavioral choice, or individual evaluation such as the sense of patriotic duty a participant in the resettlement program might feel, or respect for honesty. The value theme may be inferred implicitly from the dialogue. For instance, "She is a married woman with grown-up children. How could she carry on a love affair with her boss?"

The dialogue is examined sentence by sentence. A sentence may contain more than one value theme. The coder first ascertains whether a sentence contains any value themes. Operationally, this means whether a behavioral choice is involved, and/or whether an individual evaluation is made. We have included individual evaluation because our values often become the basis of the judgment of the worth of an individual. The coder looks for the reasons for the behavioral choice or individual evaluation. Why is a certain goal pursued? What is being missed? What are the reasons for disapproval or taboos? What are the motives for disputes? On what grounds does one evaluate oneself and others?

A value is coded from the perspective of the person making the decision or evaluation, not from that of the playwright. For example, a married woman asserts that she is having an affair with her boss because she has fallen in love with him. This is coded as expressing the value sexual love, even though later on the playwright might condemn it through the words of another character.

In thematic analysis, we code only the evaluative statements, but not the descriptive statements. A statement to the effect that a woman has a lover is not considered a value assertion, but one which states that it is shameful for a married woman to have a lover, is. By explicit expression of values, we refer to value terms that appear in the dialogue, such as honesty or social responsibility. By implicit expression of values, we refer to value themes that we can clearly infer from the content. For example, "What a shame—a married woman having a lover!" is coded as a value concerning sexual morality. For both explicit and implicit value themes, we analyze the manifest content only.

We identify a value in the immediate context of a single dialogue sequence. If an implicit value cannot be clearly identified, it is not coded. Any statement that is ambiguous is not coded. The coder is careful not to make any value judgments. If a woman is condemned for adultery, the coder does not ask whether she has been wrongly accused or whether there might be some justification. The condemnation is coded for what it means as it represents the value of the accuser. If later on, for example, it should become known that the woman traded sex to protect her family, her act would be coded as family love, the reason for her behavioral choice.

This approach has the usual merits and disadvantages of quantitative content analysis.<sup>10</sup> It tends to have relatively high reliability since the coders follow clearly spelled out rules. Quantification is easily obtained by tabulating the frequencies of the value assertions to indicate their relative importance. This will also provide comparability with other findings as long as the same categories are employed. What is not captured is the richness of overall meaning.

## **Holistic Value Analysis**

While thematic analysis examines value assertions as they occur in dialogue, holistic analysis looks at a story in its entirety for an understanding of the major values. The two Indonesian authors, while accepting that thematic analysis is useful and valid, felt strongly that holistic analysis should also be used. Thematic analysis impressed them as a Western tool, inadequate for recording the range of values in Indonesian television drama. The results of the holistic analysis are presented in Appendix 6.

The analysis required the following steps: First, the coder identified the major characters in each play and ascertained their relationship to each other. Next, relying on subjective impressions, the value orientations of each character were identified. Then value conflicts, as well as their resolutions, were analyzed. On the basis of subjective impressions, anything else of importance in the play was also noted.

## **Critical Incident Analysis**

This third mode of analysis is a middle-of-the-road approach, in which a play is divided into several critical incidents that are considered essential to the plot. Each incident consists of interactions among several characters that form a clearly delineated unit. The coder can then analyze the values expressed by the various characters within each critical incident, to see what the values are, whether there are value conflicts, and how they are resolved. Although this mode of analysis has much to recommend it, it was not used here because of lack of resources. We felt that the results from the thematic and holistic analyses provided

an adequate picture of the values expressed in Indonesian television drama.

## Findings

All the 15 dramas were coded independently by two coders after four weeks of training during which they coded one drama on a trial basis. During the first week, the general principles of content analysis were explained, and the basic procedures for thematic value analysis were outlined and illustrated. Over the next two weeks, the two coders met with Chu, Alfian, Andrew Arno, and Tony Nnaemeka to present their initial findings.<sup>11</sup> The many disagreements between the two coders and the other researchers were discussed. We found that most errors were due to the tendency of the coders to project their own values into the dialogues. In some cases, this took the form of a value judgment by one of the coders. In other cases, the coders read too much into the dialogue, assuming a behavioral criterion or evaluative standard not clearly present. It was during these rather lengthy and sometimes heated discussions that the operational details for thematic value analysis emerged. During the fourth week, the two coders went back to code the same drama independently one more time. They achieved an intercoder reliability of 0.91. This reliability coefficient was considered sufficiently high for them to proceed with the other 14 television dramas. For the entire analysis, the reliability coefficient was 0.86. Where disagreement occurred, the coding of the senior coder was adopted.

During the analysis, the coders found it necessary to modify the initial value categories. Some of the values we took from White and Rokeach did not appear at all, such as comfort, progress, job or career, ambition, aggression, and dominance. Other values that we did not anticipate turned out to be important—sexual morality, family responsibility, social harmony, filial respect, appropriateness, discipline, and forgiveness. Even though we did not undertake a comparative study of American values, these rather pronounced differences in the value categories themselves appear to be significant. We shall discuss them more fully later.

The final version of value categories, with the frequencies of their occurrence in Indonesian television drama, is presented in Table 8-2.

### Physical/Material

In the physical/material categories, only three values were identified. Material gain was the most prominent one. For example, a mother tells her daughter: "I wanted you to marry Zainal. His father was a rich and respectable man." An older man says to the woman he intends to marry: "Sure, I may be quite old for you, Syarifah. But I have lots of jewels and gold."

**Table 8-2**

**Values in Indonesian Television Drama**

Categories	Value	Frequency	Categories	Values	Frequency		
Physical/Material	material gain	14	Moral:	sexual morality	61		
	health	11		honesty	26		
	frugality	1		firmness/discipline	23		
Social/Relational	Affiliative:	sexual love	Occupational role	helpfulness	11		
		(extramarital)		19	faithfulness	8	
		family love		12	forgiveness	2	
		friendship		5	trust	1	
		romantic love		2	frankness	1	
Hierarchical:	relations:	spouse love	1	responsibility	17		
		independence	23	diligence	10		
		filial respect	10	achievement	2		
		obedience to superior	4	courage	1		
		status/position	4	Cognitive	religion	45	
		racial equality	4		fatalism/resignation	15	
		parental guidance	1		superstition	5	
Group orientation:	Psychological/Personal	economic equality	1	freedom	4		
		family responsibility	40	salvation	3		
		appropriateness	8	self-respect	10		
		social harmony	4		patience	10	
		nonviolence	4		pleasure	2	
		reputation	3	happiness	1		
		family pride	2		Intellectual	education/knowledge	21
		family harmony	1				
group unity	1						

Health was an important value too. For example, "It is not good to buy sweets from peddlers, because it will spoil your health." Another example: "Children who eat fruit will be healthy and grow."

Frugality as a value appears only once, when a teacher lectures his pupils: "Indeed, if you bring a lot of money from home, it would be much better to save it."

## **Social/Relational**

We have identified five dimensions under social/relational values.

### **Affiliative**

In the affiliative dimension, the most prominent value, interestingly enough, was sexual love, defined as extramarital sex. This value refers to sexual love as a criterion either for breaking an existing relationship or for establishing a new relationship. Examples are: "She got a divorce from her husband because she had fallen in love with her employer." "If you accept my proposition, I'll divorce all my wives." Sexual love as a value appeared almost as frequently in the screenplays as all four other affiliative values combined.

Family love, referring to love and caring for other members of the family, was the next most important affiliative value. For example, a pleading wife speaks to her irresponsible husband: "I am ashamed of you, Sukma. I hope you will understand. Your daughter has been lying ill for several days, all the time calling your name. What do you suppose I could do? You should pay attention to your daughter, and to us, Sukma. Please, do love us."

Romantic love is expressed only when a young couple intends to get married. It is carefully phrased in nonphysical terms. Thus a father refers to the love affair between his daughter and a hardworking young man: "How could I force them to separate? They love each other."

Love of spouse, as a value, was mentioned once: "What is the meaning of a wife? She is husband's soother every time he is suffering from tension in daily life."

Friendship appeared five times. For example, "Don't behave like that, Ruri. Even though Eng is a Chinese, he is your friend from school." This statement was also coded under racial equality, to be discussed later.

### **Hierarchical**

Seven categories of these important values were identified. The first was independence, defined as reliance on oneself for decision making. We shall give two examples. "This is my personal problem," says a young man to his elder, "so let me settle it myself." A master tells his pupil: "I deliberately let you live alone. You'll face many more difficulties in your life, and you'll learn many things."

The next most important value in the hierarchical dimension is filial respect, defined as respect for parents, regardless of other considerations. Thus a mother speaks to her daughter: "How dare you talk to me in such a rude manner?" Or, "You should first ask for your parents' approval." Another example: "We should not contest our parents."

Filial respect is closely related to two other values, obedience to superiors and respect for status or position. For example, a young man assures his elder brother: "I'll take your advice. I promise to stop smoking." An example of status as a value: "Find a husband who has an extraordinary position."

The value of parental guidance was expressed only once: "We parents ought to be careful. If we impose too many restrictions upon our children, we will lose them. Let them do what they like as long as we keep ourselves informed of their development."

Racial equality, referred to earlier, appeared four times. Example: "I've told you. You are not to discriminate between different ethnic groups." One dialogue refers to economic equality: "The government considers equal distribution of income among the people to be of prime importance."

## **Group Orientation**

Eight values identified in television drama reflect a concern for either primary or secondary groups, and were classified under group orientation. The strongest value is family responsibility, referring to a sense of responsibility to family members in one's behavioral choices. We shall give four examples to illustrate the variety of concerns. A husband reminds his wife: "I am speaking for the sake of our children. What will happen if all your conduct is nothing but falsehood?" A young father: "With the birth of my first child, I am determined to live a respectable life." One man to another: "And just because your wife could not give you a child, you are going to divorce her?" A young man says to his girlfriend: "I'll show your father that I am a responsible man."

Appropriateness, defined as an expressed concern for what other people might say, is another major value under group orientation. For example, a daughter pleads with her mother: "You are quite old, mama. You have eight sons and daughters, all old enough to get married. Your playing around with your lover is destroying our future. It is not appropriate." A mother lectures a teenage daughter: "Little girls are not supposed to dress so forwardly."

Other values of some prominence in this category are:

Reputation: "I have committed abortions several times in order to save your name." Social harmony, defined as an expressed concern for maintaining relations in a small group. For example: "She had better have

her training in some particular hours so that she won't disturb the neighbors." Nonviolence: "There is one thing that I'll never do, that is, use force." Family pride: "How can they live with such little salary? Remember the pride of our family. What will people say?" Domestic harmony: A teacher says to his pupil's mother: "You should attempt to create a peaceful and harmonious environment at home. Otherwise, Dewi's mind will be disturbed." Group unity: "Let's keep staying together whether we have something to eat or not."

### **Moral Values**

The single most important value, emphasized time and again, was sexual morality, defined as observance of a strict code of sexual behavior. Examples: "Mrs. Rohaya's life is really immoral. Once she even seduced her own daughter's boyfriend." "I ask you, sir, is it decent to visit me at night in the absence of my husband?" "This woman is very cunning. At night she shows her tender love for her husband. But during the day, she takes another man into her bed."

Honesty was strongly endorsed. "It is extremely important for a woman to be honest." "I don't like a liar to live in my house."

Firmness or resoluteness in dealing with others and in one's pursuits is another important moral value. For example: "You are the one to blame. You don't have a firm personality. You are easily driven by grandma. Now, see what has become of us."

Other values include forgiveness: "Couldn't we forgive her error? She has been helping us so long." Helpfulness: The above statement is also an example of helpfulness as a value, that is, the reason for forgiving. Frankness: "I am proud of your frankness in revealing your intention to marry my daughter." Trust: "I am very grateful for your trust."

### **Occupational Role Relations**

Four values were identified. These criteria are considered important for success in one's work. A sense of responsibility to one's job is strongly emphasized. Examples: "This problem concerning Mr. Kuniyil is my responsibility. I am the mayor of this town." "That has become our responsibility as teachers. Challenges are always there. But as long as our intentions are correct, there is nothing to worry about."

Diligence is also stressed. Examples: A young man says to another: "Only through diligence and hard work can we change our future." A neighbor advises a teenage girl: "Instead of looking down on your mother, you should realize how hard she has worked to bring you up and give you an education." Achievement was mentioned twice. Example: "I know that he changed his mind only after seeing Arman's achievement." Courage was mentioned once: "In order to maintain my life, I have to be courageous enough to face the challenge of nature."



## **Cognitive Values**

Certain beliefs and cognitions serve as important criteria for behavioral choices and individual evaluation. Except for freedom, which was expressed only a few times, all the cognitive values identified in the screenplays have a strong religious undertone.

Again and again, the characters in the plays refer to God's determining every detail of one's life. Examples: A young woman: "Mom, I believe in God's predestination upon my life. I won't have any child." A wise man's counsel: "We have the right to want anything. But it is always God who decides." An elder speaks to a youngster: "No use refuting God. He is the one to turn to for every problem. He will settle everything." These statements reflect fatalism or resignation.

Other references to God—asking forgiveness or appealing to His love—that did not touch on fate and predestiny were classified as general religious values. Examples: "O, God! Show him the right way. Forgive him. Let him see your light." "Are you not sure of God's love?" Such references occurred as many as 45 times in the dramas.

Superstition refers to belief in unidentified supernatural power without specifically mentioning God. Examples are: "I couldn't enter my grave peacefully if you don't forgive me." "You cannot talk that way. It is a (religious) taboo." Related to religious values is redemption. For example: "I am seeking redemption. I'll pay for all the sins and errors that I have committed in the past. I'll then be redeemed."

Freedom as a cognitive value was mentioned only four times. By freedom, we mean noninterference, or refraining from imposing one's will upon others. It is complementary to independence. Examples: "If you don't agree with my principle, I am not going to force you." "How could I force them? They love each other." The second statement is also an example of romantic love as a value.

## **Psychological Well-being**

We have identified four values. Self-respect and patience both received relatively strong endorsement. Examples of self-respect: "Me? Suta? The one whom all criminals in this city are afraid of? Never! I'll never stand by the street selling fuel." Examples of patience: "The time hasn't come. You should be patient." "It is indecent to impose your opinion like that. You should be patient." Pleasure was mentioned twice. "Just enjoy life, Tin. Find a better husband for yourself." "Sure, you'll get mental satisfaction and physical pleasure." The word "happy" appeared just once in all the dramas: "I only want to free them from endless debt so that they may be happy."

## **Intellectual Values**

Education and the pursuit of knowledge received much attention. For example: "If you want to do better, you should learn your lessons

more and attend your classes again." "Come home early. You have to go to school tomorrow." "Actually, you should consider yourself fortunate to be working here. The landlady is very kind. She is willing to let you go to school and pay for your school fees."

We have further classified these values according to the three types of drama in the *sandiwara* program: drama that officially promoted development programs, drama that was labelled by TVRI as educational, and conventional drama—either tragedy or comedy—that did not have any official labels. The results are presented in Table 8-3.

## Discussion

In our content analysis, we have identified 45 values reflected in Indonesian television drama, with frequencies ranging from 1 to 61. If we assume that development and educational dramas are used by the government to propagate new values while conventional drama mirrors the traditional values, we can begin to see some differences. We recognize that, in the diverse, pluralistic Indonesian setting, it is difficult to speak of traditional Indonesian values from a single perspective.<sup>12</sup> Our comparison must therefore be considered highly tentative.

We shall discuss those values that were expressed more frequently, using ten references (in all three types of drama combined) as an arbitrary cut-off point. We want to emphasize that the frequencies are interpreted loosely.

The most frequently mentioned value is sexual morality. Of the 61 references, 50 appeared in conventional dramas and 11 in educational plays. There was no mention of this value in development drama. This finding, taken with the relatively high frequency of sexual love as a value in conventional drama, suggests both a deep concern with the possible erosion of this aspect of traditional Indonesian culture and a potential value conflict with Western influence.

In the predominantly Islamic culture, religious beliefs assume an important role in the cognitive field. They appear to influence outlook, sometimes to the point of determining behavior. We found that religion as a value, along with fatalism and superstition, appeared largely in conventional drama and partly in educational plays. There were no references to either fatalism or superstition in development plays.

Another highly important value is family responsibility, emphasized primarily in conventional drama, and secondarily in educational plays. Although our analysis also shows a fairly strong concern with occupational responsibility, especially in the government-sponsored plays, the primary commitment as reflected in conventional drama is to the family.<sup>13</sup> This commitment is buttressed by affection and love, and supported by obedience and filial respect. However, there seems to be a beginning of awareness that the parents should exercise their

responsibility carefully when dealing with their children. Hierarchy must be respected, but must not be authoritarian and unreasonable.

Contrary to hierarchical respect, we have also noted a voice crying out for self-reliance and independence, present in all three types of plays. Teachers and elders alike are saying to themselves that the young should find their own way. This value, to the extent that it reflects a growing trend among the younger people in Indonesia, could be a source of potential conflict with the traditional values of filial respect and obedience. If the relative frequencies are any indication, however, independence seems already to be more important than obedience.

Many of the values we have identified suggest a strong moral ethic. We have already noted the overwhelming emphasis on sexual morality. Similarly, honesty, firmness, discipline, self-respect, helpfulness, and appropriateness (primarily in conventional and educational plays) all point to a moral code that values both inner strength and harmonious social relations.

Some of the traditional Indonesian values continue.<sup>14</sup> Patience, for example, is important, especially for the young, who are constantly reminded to take their time, to be patient. This message came through in both conventional and educational plays. Its absence in development plays is interesting, because, in development, time is an important element. Other values clearly represent something new. There is a strong emphasis on formal education and knowledge, primarily in educational plays. There are undisguised desires for material gains, reflected largely in conventional drama.

On the whole, the dominant values portrayed in Indonesian television drama are still tradition-based and group-oriented, the primary group being the family. But there are new messages in the government-sponsored development and educational plays, some expressed more strongly than others. Besides education and health, we have noted racial and economic equality, diligence, achievement, freedom, and romantic love—almost all found exclusively in the government-sponsored plays. The significance of these values derives not so much from the frequencies with which they are mentioned as from the fact that they are mentioned at all in officially sponsored television drama.

## **Indonesian versus American Values**

At this point we wish to compare Indonesian values with some American values. We recognize that the Indonesian values we have identified are based solely on an analysis of television drama. Ideally, they should be validated by data from other sources, either participant observation or survey research. We also recognize that we do not have comparable findings from an analysis of American television drama, which we plan to examine later. Even with these limitations, we feel it worthwhile to assess tentatively the differences between the two

**Table 8-3**

**Values In Indonesian Television Drama Reclassified**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Value</b>	<b>Development</b>	<b>Educational</b>	<b>Conventional</b>
Physical/Material	material gain	1	1	12
	health	1	10	0
	frugality	0	1	0
Social/Relational Affiliative	sexual love (extramarital)	0	0	19
	family love	0	6	6
	friendship	0	2	3
	romantic love	1	1	0
	spouse love	0	0	1
	Hierarchical:	independence	8	7
filial respect		0	6	4
obedience to superior		0	1	3
status/position		0	0	4
racial equality		1	3	0
parental guidance		0	0	1
economic equality		1	0	0
Group orientation:	family responsibility	0	14	26
	appropriateness	0	5	3
	social harmony	2	1	1
	nonviolence	0	0	4
	reputation	0	0	3
	family pride	0	2	0
	family harmony	0	1	0
	group unity	1	0	0

Moral:	sexual morality	0	11	50
	honesty	0	11	15
	firmness/discipline	3	9	11
	helpfulness	0	5	6
	faithfulness	0	0	8
	forgiveness	0	2	0
	trust	0	0	1
Occupational role relations:	frankness	0	1	0
	responsibility	2	8	7
	diligence	6	4	0
	achievement	1	1	0
	courage	1	0	0
Cognitive	religion	3	10	32
	fatalism/resignation	0	5	10
	superstition	0	1	4
	freedom	1	3	0
	salvation	0	0	3
Psychological/Personal	self-respect	0	0	10
	patience	0	4	6
	pleasure	0	0	2
	happiness	1	0	0
Intellectual	education/knowledge	1	17	3

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cultures, using what little evidence we have. Such a comparison, we believe, will provide a cross-cultural perspective for understanding Indonesian values.

We shall use the findings of Ralph White and Milton Rokeach to illustrate American values. Although there were methodological differences between our approach and theirs, the underlying concepts are comparable because our value categories were developed largely on the basis of their work. We are aware of a difference in time framework between our study and theirs. For the bulk of anthropological research, we assume that patterns of cultural values are relatively enduring. Value changes do occur within a culture over time, but are generally not so profound as to obscure differences between cultures.

White analyzed *Black Boy*, an autobiography attacking the social injustices and hypocrisies prevalent in the 1940s. He also applied the same value analysis to a small group of white college students. None of the four most important Indonesian values, sexual morality, religion, family responsibility, and honesty, coincided with the ten most important values for either *Black Boy* or the white college students. Two Indonesian values, firmness and independence, also appeared in the analysis of the American college students and in *Black Boy*.

We then examined the remaining four Indonesian values: education or knowledge, sexual love, occupational responsibility, and fatalism. Of these, knowledge ranked second for the American students, and third for *Black Boy*. Sexual love was the most important value for the American students, but did not appear among the important values in *Black Boy*. There was no other coincidence between Indonesian and American values in White's analysis.

Several other prominent Indonesian values seem to be of little consequence to Americans. One is respect for elders. If we combine filial respect, obedience to superiors, and respect for status/position, the total frequency in our study was 18. One wonders whether respect was totally missing from the prominent American values identified by White because he failed to include it in his value categories. This explanation is unlikely because Rokeach has included obedience as one of his 18 instrumental values, but it was ranked consistently as the least important by his respondents, regardless of their frequency of church attendance. In fact, of all the 36 Rokeach values, obedience was the only one that had a unanimous low rating by Americans whether they attended church weekly, monthly, rarely, or never. On the other hand, honesty, which ranked high as an important Indonesian value, was also consistently ranked high by Rokeach's respondents regardless of church attendance. (Note that honesty did not rank high for either the white students or *Black Boy*.)

Of the several prominent American values that emerged from White's research, aggression, achievement, sexual love, job, recognition, and friendship, only sexual love appeared with a high frequency in

Indonesian television drama, but in a negative context. The others were either totally absent or mentioned only occasionally. Freedom, which ranked consistently high in Rokeach's sample, was mentioned only a few times in Indonesian television drama.

We want to emphasize again that the basis of comparison here is tenuous, and for this reason we shall not make any generalizations. However, the differences we have noted are so pronounced that they deserve some attention, which we hope will stimulate further study of a more rigorous nature.

## NOTES

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3. Milton Rokeach, "The Role of Values in Public Opinion Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 32 (1968-69): 547-59.
4. Leo Lowenthal, "Biographies in Popular Magazines," in *Radio Research, 1942-1943*, ed. Paul F. Lawarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944), pp. 507-48.
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6. Godwin C. Chu and Tsu-tsai Fan, "Communication, Value Orientation and Economic Growth," (Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the Association for Education in Journalism, Iowa City, IA, August 1966).
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11. The two coders were Mochtar Pabottinggi and Atis Alfian. Andrew Arno and Tony Nnaemeka participated in this phase of research discussion.
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13. See Hildred Geertz, *The Javanese Family* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961); J. M. Vander Kreof, "Collectivism in Indonesian Society," *Social Research* 20 (1953): 193-209.
14. See Benedict Anderson, *Mythology and the Tolerance of the Javanese* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965).



## Audience Feedback: Letters to Editors

**Alfan  
Godwin C. Chu  
Mochtar Pabottinggi**

The content of mass media, particularly that of television, has become an important element in our perceptual field. Much of the time it is through the filter of the media that we see our world. We become affected to the extent that our perception influences our behavioral choices. What are some of the features of television programs that Indonesian viewers have noted? How do they react to what they have watched, either by direct comments or by their behavioral response? Questions like these have interested those concerned about the social impact of television on developing countries. There have been diverse opinions but relatively little concrete data.

We hope the longitudinal research our group is undertaking in Indonesia will provide some answers. Pending the results of that research, we shall present in this chapter an analysis of letters sent to three Indonesian newspapers by television viewers. As in any analysis of letters to the editor, we do not know to what extent the concerns and views expressed represent those of all viewers. Letter writers are most likely not a representative sample of the Indonesian population, which has a literacy rate of only slightly above 50 percent. Nor do we know on what basis the editors selected letters for publication.

Even allowing for these limitations, we believe that the letters provide useful information on audience reactions. We assume that newspaper editors have some knowledge of public sentiment and that they select letters for publication on that basis. After all, it is this knowledge that enables an astute editor to keep in touch with his readers.

We have chosen three leading Indonesian newspapers, all published in Jakarta: *Kompas*, *Sinar Harapan*, and *Suara Karya*. *Kompas* is a private newspaper owned by a group affiliated with the Catholic church, with a circulation estimated at 200,000—among the largest in Jakarta. Its views on social and economic issues are generally moderate. *Sinar Harapan*, also privately owned, is affiliated with the Protestant church, and has a

circulation estimated to be close to 200,000. Its treatment of news and editorial matters is considered to be progressive. *Suara Karya*, with a circulation estimated to be under 100,000, is a semi-official newspaper. From 1 October 1977 to 31 May 1978 we found 110 letters concerning TVRI in these three newspapers, an average of four such letters a month per newspaper. We have classified them according to content in Table 9-1.

**Table 9-1**  
**Classification of Content of**  
**Letters About TVRI**

Criticism	40
Suggestions	46
Information requests	2
Answers	8
Compliments	8
General comments	2
Not classified	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>110</b>

Forty letters, directly criticizing or raising objections to some aspect of TVRI operation, were classified as criticisms. Forty-six letters that suggested improvements or alternatives were classified as suggestions, although some of them contained mild criticism. Two letters sought information. Eight letters provided answers to questions raised prior to the period of our study. Eight letters, classified as compliments, expressed appreciation or support for TVRI. Two letters offered general comments. The remaining four letters were ambiguous and could not be classified. We shall discuss each category briefly.

## Criticism

Letters of criticism can be classified into two general categories—those criticizing some aspect of television as a medium and those criticizing the content of television from a cultural perspective. In the former category, eight letters complained of inadequate or inaccurate news coverage. One letter, for example, criticized the vague time reference. Events were often reported to have happened “recently,” or “early this month,” with no mention made of the specific day. Items in “World News,” said another letter, were mostly outdated and repetitious. Other letters pointed out factual errors.

Five letters criticized the poor technical quality of TVRI programs. One letter, for example, said that television programs in Jakarta were often disturbed by blackouts or fading picture and sound. This problem was also noted in central Java. Others complained about poor production techniques. Two letters criticized the performance of a quiz

show master of ceremonies, and the editor noted that eleven others had sent similar letters of complaint.

What seemed to be more interesting were letters criticizing the content, reflecting, as it were, a latent conflict between traditional Indonesian culture and the influence of the West. Indonesian culture values harmonious relations highly. Yet many of the American serial films like "Kojak," "Mannix," and "Hawaii Five-O" portray violence. One letter writer expressed his concern, saying he was disturbed by the repetitious American programs, particularly on weekends, that were mostly characterized by gunfighting. Another letter made a specific reference to a cartoon for children, "The Horrible House," which showed fragments of a human body and which the letter writer considered sadistic. Two letters, both significantly from outside Jakarta, objected to televising love scenes. One writer from South Kalimantan criticized what he considered to be indecent trailers of two Indonesian movies which showed kissing and bedroom scenes (with clothes on). Another letter, from East Java, objected to film trailers showing lovers singing together and caressing one another.

Two letters revealed the writers' roots in tradition. One, from East Java, voiced disapproval of the performance of a traditional play that showed divorce in a manner not compatible with Islamic beliefs. Another letter expressed disappointment because in a play a student fell in love with a maid during his study service in the country, and not, as the writer would have preferred, with a rural girl. This letter seemed to suggest concern with class or status.

Four letters deplored the lack or discontinuation of educational programs, such as those for children, or on agricultural development and handicrafts. Two letters pointed out the failure of some TVRI announcers to speak correct Bahasa Indonesia, the national language.

## Suggestions

The letters containing suggestions can be similarly grouped into two categories—those relating to television as a medium, and those relating to the content of television. The single largest group, totaling 17 letters, made various suggestions for improving the quality of entertainment programs. Interestingly, one of the letters presented the opinions that a neighborhood reached after a group discussion, and contained five specific suggestions, mostly of a technical nature. The discontinuation of "Kojak" caused a viewer to express his disappointment.

Seven letters made suggestions on how to improve the style of presentation. Two, for example, suggested dubbing American films and cartoons into Indonesian. Another letter suggested a competition in which the viewers would cast ballots for the best television announcer.

Eight letters asked TVRI to expand its broadcasting services. These letters came from West Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, Irian Jaya, East

Java, and Central Sumatra. Four letters made suggestions for improving the technical quality of TVRI programs.

Although only eight letters made specific suggestions on program content, they provided insightful hints about audience reaction to Indonesian television. One letter suggested that TVRI use short plays to educate the people on how to pay taxes and other revenues, how to get government credit from banks, and how to get land certificates from the agricultural bureau. Coming from predominantly rural West Kalimantan, this letter apparently reflected a need for more information to improve relations between the government and the people. Another letter, from South Kalimantan, said it would be useful for TVRI to present agricultural programs on high yield varieties of seeds, pest control, the use of fertilizers, agricultural business, and the improvement of gardening.

The clash between the old and the new is illustrated by a letter from North Sumatra. The letter writer, a highly educated man, suggested that television programs should be scheduled so that the more interesting programs do not appear at the hour reserved for daily prayer. He did not specify which programs he considered interesting. This letter showed the impact of the mere presence of a popular medium on daily life.

Two letters emphasized the importance of maintaining a cultural balance on television. One, the same letter from North Sumatra mentioned above, said TVRI belonged to the entire Indonesian people, and should therefore reflect the nation's principle of "unity in diversity" with respect to cultural and religious variations. Another letter, from East Java, expressed a preference for local Javanese art.

One letter suggested a special program for family counseling, with material to be drawn from the audience. For a national mass medium like television to discuss family problems and offer counsel would be far from the traditional Indonesian concept of the extended family's ironing out its own wrinkles.

Another letter asked TVRI to provide a special program in which letters from the audience are read and answered. The implications of this suggestion in terms of audience participation could be far reaching.

Two letters, both from outside Jakarta, suggested replacing American serial films with Indonesian cultural programs. One, from an area in Central Sumatra populated by new settlers, pointed out that people living in transmigration areas do not understand English. The other, from Central Java, said the villagers there were very fond of traditional performances because of the cultural and educational values they reflected, and wanted them to replace weekend films and American serials.

## **Compliments**

Only eight letters complimented TVRI. Interestingly, two of these letters praised traditional Indonesian programs. Two other letters were

enthusiastic about an Indonesian play that touched on a controversial political issue. One of them called the play a refreshing alternative to weekend American films. Another letter praised a new, informative program called "It's Good to Know." One letter, though phrased as a compliment, voiced the sarcastic comment that programs on development finally were showing more than opening ceremonies. A letter writer in Jakarta congratulated TVRI on two musical programs.

## **Questions, Answers, and Comments**

Two letters asked questions, one on obtaining a license for operating a local TVRI station, and the other about the accuracy of a historical fact. The eight letters that provided answers were all from government agencies, including five from TVRI. They either provided specific information or explained what had been done and what could not be done in response to letters published in the newspapers earlier.

One of the two letters classified as comments was written by the Association of Indonesian Film Producers to explain that the program "Indonesian Films Next Month" was in accordance with government policy. The other letter commented on a recent interview.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, we shall make a few observations of a highly tentative but indicative nature. They are tentative because we have only limited data. They are indicative because they do point to a few generalizations that might have policy implications.

From the letters analyzed, it seems that once new communication media (particularly television) are made available, people will use them. This is hardly surprising. What is noteworthy is our impression that in the process of making use of the new media, the audience finds avenues open in ways not heretofore considered. New elements enter into their perceptual fields and new opportunities are seen. A need is felt for more information, for participation in public affairs with which the viewers were previously not so keenly concerned. This possibility is clearly indicated by those letters that asked for more programs on education, agricultural technology, and handicrafts, as well as programs to provide family counseling or serve as a public forum. The government must consider this need.

Secondly, while mass media open up new vistas, they can also cause problems in a traditional culture merely by their presence. The letter about the conflict between watching television and praying is an apt example. Should the television station schedule only dull programs or temporarily stop broadcasting during prayer time, or should TVRI ignore those viewers who must pray during that particular hour, even though this might mean a majority of viewers? This is a problem to which there

is no easy solution, a problem which would not even occur to a communication researcher from the West and indeed surprised one of us.

Thirdly, after a period of initial fascination with television, viewers will begin to be more selective. They will develop preferences, and conflict will soon emerge between the old and the new, or between the traditional and the modern as some would prefer to call it. This conflict is rather vivid among Indonesian viewers. At least those who cared enough to write letters on this topic almost totally rejected Western entertainment programs, which in this case came exclusively from the United States.<sup>1</sup> Language is apparently a factor, as the American programs are not dubbed or shown with Indonesian subtitles. Before each program, the TVRI announcer gives a synopsis, and then leaves the audience to its own devices. Subtitles or dubbing would help. However, the concern is deeper than the language barrier. There is resentment of violence and love scenes, even though the latter are much less explicit than is common nowadays on American television. The problem is becoming serious because some Indonesian films are beginning to reflect Western norms in their portrayal of affection.

A typical American approach to this problem would be to rely on the principle of freedom of speech, contending that the audience has the freedom not to watch, just as much as the station has the freedom to present certain programs, as long as they do not violate basic codes of decency. The controversial question of decency aside, an Indonesian viewer would ask why the burden of avoiding programs they find objectionable must rest on the viewers and their families. Why should this not be the responsibility of the television station as a public medium for national development? Why, the viewers would reason, must they and their families be exposed to foreign entertainment that may be superficially appealing, but may damage young minds and destroy their own cultural heritage? These concerns are all expressed in the letters we examined, and cannot be brushed aside.<sup>2</sup>

## NOTES

1. However, a survey conducted in 1974 found that seven of the ten most popular television shows in the metropolitan area of Jakarta were American-produced serials. This finding suggests a major difference between viewers in Jakarta and those in other regions. See Alfian, "Some Observations on Television in Indonesia," in *New Perspectives in International Communication*, ed. Jim Richstad (Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute, 1977), p. 59.
2. These concerns remind one of the cry of "cultural imperialism." This issue is discussed more fully in the concluding chapter.

# Introduction of Television and Communication Networks in the Villages

*Alfian*

## Research Background and Methodology

The main objective of our longitudinal research is to assess the long-term social and cultural impact of television on Indonesian society, especially the villages. The results of our benchmark survey and a post-television survey to be conducted in 1981 will be reported in subsequent volumes.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter findings will be presented from an interim study that we conducted from mid-January to mid-March 1978 in seven provinces in Indonesia.

The purpose of this study was threefold. First, we collected data on the distribution of television sets in the five provinces in which we conducted our benchmark survey, and in two additional provinces in Java. Our benchmark survey did not include any areas in Java because by that time television had already penetrated into many of its rural areas. It was not feasible to collect pre-television data there. The decision to add two provinces, East Java and West Java, to the 1978 interim study was based largely on the consideration that almost two-thirds of the Indonesian population lives on this relatively small island. Empirical data on television would be relevant for policy guidance.

Secondly, we were interested in the initial reactions of rural audiences to television, and their viewing patterns. The audience mail we analyzed in the previous chapter reflects mostly the opinions and preferences of literate urban residents. We needed empirical data from rural viewers.

Thirdly, we wanted to know how television affects the informal communication networks that have long existed in Indonesian villages. To answer this question, it would be desirable to gather data both shortly after television is introduced to the villages and again four years later for comparison.

For the distribution of television sets in the seven provinces, we relied on official statistics provided by TVRI and the 1971 census. To ascertain the number of television sets in the villages and rural audience reactions, we conducted a sample survey of 3,149 respondents in the seven provinces. In the 1976 benchmark survey, we selected villages in each province that had access to television, and comparable villages that to the best of our knowledge did not. These were referred to as television villages and control villages. In the five provinces where we conducted our benchmark survey, we went in 1978 to the same television villages and control villages that were surveyed in 1976. The five provinces are: Aceh, Bali, West Kalimantan, North Sulawesi, and South Sulawesi.

The Indonesian satellite uses ground relay stations for transmitting television signals.<sup>2</sup> Each relay station has a radius of 80 kilometers, or approximately 50 miles. In the five provinces, the television villages were chosen from within the radius of the ground stations. The control villages were chosen from outside the radius, according to criteria of similarities in geographical terrain, ethnic composition, religious background, and occupational structure.<sup>3</sup>

In East Java and West Java, where television broadcasting is by microwave transmission, not satellite, we first located villages that according to official data did not have television, and then looked for villages in the vicinity that had television. The purpose of including control villages in the interim study was to provide a basis for comparison of informal communication networks.

The sociocultural characteristics of the seven provinces are briefly described below.

## **Aceh**

Aceh, in Northern Sumatra, is inhabited by Moslems, and is an agricultural province that depends on small farming. The residents tend to be low in mobility and innovativeness and the influence of religious leaders is strong.

## **Bali**

This is the only region in Indonesia where the old Hindu culture is still intact. The Balinese live in small agricultural communities that have a strong local-group orientation. They belong to many groups, the most important being the *banjar*, or village community. *Banjar* membership is mandatory for local residents. Other local groups include *Seka toya* (water irrigation associations), and *Seka manyi* (rice harvesting associations). Important decisions are discussed in the groups.

## **West Kalimantan**

Indonesia's melting pot, West Kalimantan, is inhabited by the native Dayak, some of whom are Christians; by the Chinese, who are engaged in



business and trade; and by the Malays. It is a community where Moslems, Confucians, and Christians live in harmony. The economy is based on both agriculture and trade.

## **South Sulawesi**

In this highly stratified community, large land holdings are in the hands of relatively few owners. Many of the native Makasar Buginese are fishermen, and more mobile than the sharecroppers. The Makasar Buginese are Moslems, although their religious practices are generally not as rigid as those of the Aceh Moslems.

## **North Sulawesi**

North Sulawesi is one of the few strong Christian communities in Indonesia. The influence of the missionaries is indicated by both the large number of Christians, and the better schools operated by the missionaries. Western influence is stronger in North Sulawesi than in any of the other four districts. The economy is largely based on agriculture and trade.

## **East Java**

East Java is known for its tobacco plantations, sugar factories, clove cigarettes, cement, home industries, textiles and paper products. It also has large areas of fertile rice fields. Culturally, the influence of Islam is strong in the coastal areas and the island of Madura. This region is the home of a number of well-known traditional religious schools, the *pesantren*, along with their influential *ulama*, religious scholars. In the western part of the province, Javanese culture is stronger than the influence of Islam, even though the majority of the population are Muslims.

## **West Java**

This is the home of the Sundanese who are also known for their strong adherence to Islam. It has large areas of fertile rice fields and tea plantations and is also known for its textile industries, among others.

The sizes of the subsamples from the seven provinces were either 449 or 450. For each village included in the sample, all the neighborhood blocks were identified and listed. A two-stage sampling procedure was used. First, a number of neighborhood blocks were randomly chosen. From each neighborhood block included in the sample, a list of households was obtained, either from the neighborhood block office or by an on-the-spot survey. A number of households were chosen at random from each designated block. The sampling ratios varied slightly from village to village in order to achieve the total subsample sizes of 300 for the television experimental villages and 150 for the control villages in each province. This departure from the conventional procedure of

uniform sampling ratios was necessary because the subsample sizes were fixed and because the sample villages were chosen primarily on the basis of ethnic and cultural characteristics and location with respect to the television relay ground stations, rather than similar population sizes.

The interviewers were recruited locally from among college students, school teachers, and civil servants. All interviewers were briefed on the objectives of the survey and given training in interview techniques. Each interviewer was required to conduct at least one test interview to make sure that he or she understood all the questions and the various options contained in the survey instrument.

In the five provinces where we did the benchmark survey, the interviewers in 1978 were instructed to locate the same respondents. The rates of completion varied somewhat from province to province. The highest rate, about 90 percent, was found in both Bali and North Sulawesi. The lowest rate was in South Sulawesi, where, because of unexpected problems, we were forced to change some of the locations. In general, replacements were chosen from the same neighborhoods for those respondents who had either moved away or, in some cases, died. In East Java and West Java, the interviewers were instructed to follow the same procedures as in the benchmark survey. That is, they were to visit only the designated households and not make substitutions. In a designated household, the interviewer was allowed to interview anyone, either male or female, 15 years old or above. These procedures were adopted because random sampling of individual respondents was found infeasible. Beyond the cost of listing and interview call-backs, there was concern that the villagers might become suspicious if the interviewer must come back again and again to find a particular person.

The field survey received the full cooperation of the Indonesian government authorities at the central, provincial, and local levels, as well as the support of local universities. Reception by the villagers was enthusiastic.

Technically, the control villages were not able to receive television. When we went to the field in 1978, however, we were surprised to learn that a few villagers in the control group had actually bought television sets and were able to receive signals with the aid of powerful antennas. The responsible authorities offered a number of explanations, primarily technical and administrative. Whether we like it or not, this will undoubtedly affect measurement of the influence of television on rural villages.

For analyzing the impact of television on informal communication networks, we relied on qualitative research using largely participant observation and in-depth interviews with village leaders. The quantitative survey took two to three weeks to complete. The qualitative research was done by assigning a member of the research team to each of the seven provinces for two months of field interviews and observation.

Data on the distribution of television sets and the impact of television on communication networks in the villages will now be examined, and brief references to initial audience reactions will be made which will be analyzed in greater detail by Budhisantoso in the following chapter.

## **Television Distribution**

The growth of television in Indonesia since its introduction in 1962 has been discussed in Chapter 2. A marked increase in television buying occurred during 1976-77, the first year of satellite transmission. The total number of television sets in the country for that year was recorded at 786,681, an increase of about 43 percent over the previous year (542,434). The increase was especially noticeable in East Java (from 61,842 to 121,482) and Sumatra (from 49,256 to 100,813). Table 10-1 shows the distribution of television sets in Indonesia during 1976-77.

The table clearly shows that during the first year of satellite transmission, television had made important inroads in the outer islands, especially Sumatra. If we exclude Jakarta, the number of people per television set in Sumatra is just slightly higher than in Java and the distribution of sets in both islands is more or less proportionate to the population.

The figure for Jakarta is still, proportionately, far higher than for the rest of Indonesia—with only 3.8 percent of the Indonesian population, it has 36 percent of the television sets. Assuming the population of Jakarta was 5.5 to 6 million people in 1976-77, with 283,381 television sets, there was one set for every 20 persons and, assuming a household consists of five persons, there was one television set for every four households. If the total population of Indonesia had already reached 135 million at that time, there was (with 786,681 television sets) one set for every 180 persons or 36 households. But, if we exclude Jakarta, there were only 503,300 sets for 129 million people, meaning one set per 240 persons or 48 households. However, even outside Jakarta, television was still basically an urban phenomenon, very much limited to urban centers, especially the provincial capitals. The introduction and spread of television to rural people (approximately 75-80 percent of the total population) was still limited.

On the other hand, the rapid increase in the sale of television sets in the last ten years seems to suggest the apparent success of the communication development plan. However, the uneven distribution suggests that those who live in the urban centers have benefited more than those in the villages. Furthermore, even among those living in Jakarta, only 20 percent of all households owned a television set. It is very likely that only those among the upper-middle and high income groups, including government workers, middle and high ranking military personnel, and those in business, could afford them. Yet, looking at the steady growth of television ownership in the last ten years in Jakarta, it

**Table 10-1****Distribution of Television Sets in Indonesia in 1976-77**

<b>Islands</b>	<b>Number of sets*</b>	<b>Percentage of all sets</b>	<b>Size of population as percentage of total Indonesian population†</b>
Java	651,099	83	64.0
Jakarta	283,381	36	3.8
West Java	133,890	47	60.2
Central Java	112,346		
East Java	121,482		
Sumatra	100,813	13	18.0
Other Islands	34,769	4	18.0
Indonesia	768,681	100	100.0

\*Figures from TVRI (these figures are slightly different from those found in Chapter 3, which also originate from TVRI).

†Based on 1971 census.

also seems likely that many average-income city dwellers will eventually possess their own sets.

Ownership by average-income farmers in the rural areas will probably take a much longer time, largely because their average income will very likely remain below that of city dwellers. The government plan to gradually distribute "public" television sets among over 60,000 villages can be seen as recognition of the low purchasing power of most of the rural population. According to M. N. Supomo, the director of TVRI, in 1978 alone about 6,000 such "public" television sets were to be distributed.

Table 10-2 shows figures on television sets in the seven provinces under study. By comparing these figures with the size of the population (and percentage of total Indonesian population), the markedly high numbers of television sets in the two provinces in Java (East and West Java) do not appear greatly out of proportion to the figures for the other five provinces in the outer islands. Though they are proportionately higher, the difference is not that great. Considering that television was introduced only recently to the outer provinces, except for South Sulawesi, its initial spread seems to be quite rapid.

**Table 10-2**

**Distribution of Television Sets in Seven Provinces  
in Early 1978**

Province	Percent of total Indonesian Population*	Number of television sets
Aceh	1.7	4,000†
Bali	1.8	6,857
West Kalimantan	1.7	5,840
North Sulawesi	1.5	6,000
South Sulawesi	4.4	12,000†
West Java	18.3	133,840‡
East Java	21.6	121,482‡

\*Based on 1971 census.

†Estimate based on inconclusive data.

‡Figure for 1976/77.

There were indications that the demand for television sets in many of the provinces in the outer islands was proportionately higher than in Java. It appears that in the next few years the proportion of the population buying television sets in many of these provinces will equal that of Java and in some places, like North Sulawesi, it will probably exceed the Java figure.

Among the five provinces in the outer islands, North Sulawesi, with the smallest population (1.5 percent of Indonesia's total), has the highest proportion of television sets. With 6,000 sets it exceeds Aceh by 2,000 sets, while the population of Aceh (1.7 percent of the total) is larger than that of North Sulawesi. The fact that the price of a television set in North Sulawesi is probably the highest (at least twice as high as in Java) of the five provinces further suggests a higher purchasing power; North Sulawesi is economically better off than the other provinces. The relatively large number of sets in Bali can be explained by the fact that it is closest to Java, and that the price of a television set, though still higher than in Java, is far below that in North Sulawesi. The price of a set in Aceh is about as high as in North Sulawesi.

As I have already indicated, television owners have thus far been concentrated largely in urban centers, especially the provincial capitals. However, the degree of such concentration is different from one province to another. Table 10-3 shows the nature of such concentration in Bali in early 1978. Of the total number of television sets, about 70 percent were located in Badung, one of the eight districts. The capital of Bali, Denpasar, is located in Badung district, which has one set per 90 persons or 18 households. Our television village was also located in the rural area of this district. With a total of 3,612 households, only nine television sets were found in this village in early 1978, or one set for about 400 households. This suggests that most of the sets recorded for this district in early 1978 were located in the city of Denpasar. A similar pattern was found in the other provinces.

**Table 10-3**  
**Distribution of Television Sets In Bali in Early 1978**

Kabupaten (District)	Population	Number of television sets
Badung (Denpasar)	438,250	4,786
Bangli	153,307	48
Gianyar	296,714	94
Karangasem	293,094	110
Klungkung	146,898	165
Jembrana	189,900	168
Buleleng	451,881	935
Tabanan	351,022	551
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,321,066</b>	<b>6,857</b>

## Television Villages versus Control Villages

Table 10-4 shows the number of television sets in both television and control villages in each of the seven provinces. The figures for the television villages are considerably higher than those for the control villages.

**Table 10-4**  
**Distribution of Television Sets in Television Villages**  
**and Control Villages in Early 1978**

Province	Type of village	Number of households	Number of television sets
Aceh	Television	3,150	21
	Control	2,552	2
Bali	Television	3,612	9
	Control	3,634	4
W. Kalimantan	Television	4,850	57
	Control	2,885	8
N. Sulawesi	Television	1,448	64
	Control	1,013	5
S. Sulawesi	Television	3,121	12
	Control	1,182	--
W. Java	Television	1,675	24
	Control	1,621	--
E. Java	Television	4,304	20
	Control	206	5

The number of sets in the television village in North Sulawesi (64) is the highest, with one set for every 22 households. The lowest ratio is found in the television village of Bali, where there is one set for every 400 households.

Except in North Sulawesi, farmers represent the smallest percentage of television owners. In Aceh, only one of the 21 sets in the television village belongs to a farmer. There, the majority of owners are traders or shopkeepers (12) followed by government workers (7). In the television village of West Kalimantan, approximately 90 percent of all television sets belong to local traders mostly Chinese, while the remaining 10 percent are owned by government employees and officials. The same is true in Bali, where no farmer is known to have owned a television set. A similar

pattern of television ownership was found in South Sulawesi, East Java, and West Java.

In the television village of North Sulawesi, the majority of television owners were known to be the well-to-do clove farmers. Clove growing has been very profitable everywhere in Indonesia, but cloves can only be grown on certain parts of the islands, such as the hilly slopes near the sea. Like clove growers in North Sulawesi, those in other parts of Indonesia have also prospered. We found a village of clove growers near the provincial capital of Aceh, where quite a few households owned television sets. But, again, these villages represent only a small percentage of the more than 60,000 villages all over Indonesia.

Even in the prosperous village of North Sulawesi, local traders and government employees and officials were among the first to own television sets. It is safe to say that during its initial phase of penetration into the villages, television first reached this relatively well-off sector of the rural communities. In most villages, they seem to be the only people who can afford the expensive sets.

## **Audience Reaction**

When it was first introduced to the villagers, television gained instant popularity. Those who happened to own television sets were socially obliged to share them with their neighbors. The sparsely distributed "public" sets attracted large crowds of viewers, some of whom even walked many miles to watch television. The attraction of television was tremendous, especially for the children and youth.

By and large, the new viewers in the villages seemed to like most of the programs shown. At the top of their lists were information programs as well as entertainment shows. (See Chapter 11.) Among various ethnic cultural shows, they preferred those of their own group, and many local viewers expressed their wish to have more of these shows on television.

Although many of the viewers in the villages showed little interest in news and development programs, prominent members of the community followed them seriously. Apparently, television has become a new source of information for leaders in the community. References to television were often made in their daily conversations.

Two main complaints were voiced by some viewers in the villages. One concerned the influence of television in distracting children from their school work. Because the programs lasted until late at night, parents found it more difficult to get children to go to bed at the appropriate time.

Another complaint voiced by some rural viewers was that some of the air time conflicted with their religious activities. In the strongly Muslim area of Aceh, the first hour of television time coincided with the early evening prayer (*magrib*), which made it difficult for parents to persuade their children to say their prayers. It was also a common



practice in the strongly Muslim areas for the children to spend about one hour a night reciting the *Koran* and learning the basic tenets of Islam by going to the prayer house (*langgar, surau*). Again television created a problem. For the Christians in North Sulawesi, Sunday morning programs conflicted with religious activities, keeping children and young people from church and Sunday school.

Some voiced criticism of the particular content of a program or show, especially when they felt it was incompatible with their religion or traditional values. For example, they often grumbled when seeing television personalities or actresses wearing revealing clothing or using objectionable language.

## Communication Networks

The dissemination of information in the villages depends significantly on interpersonal communication, usually face to face. A chain of such interpersonal communication then forms a network and several types of communication networks operate in the villages. The introduction and spread of mass media—press, radio, and television—might influence them, strengthening some and weakening others. It may be instrumental in creating new kinds of networks or in abolishing existing ones. It is thus of interest to study the possible influence of television on the various types of communication networks operating in the villages. Knowledge of these networks will give us a better understanding of the whole communication system.

## Administrative Networks

Generally speaking, the most important communication network in Indonesian villages is what we term the *administrative network*. It is basically the web of village government, which in itself is the lowest level in the hierarchy of the national political system. This administrative network has been used primarily to disseminate information from the higher levels of government—subdistrict, district, provincial, and national. The network centers on the head of the village, who is able to use a number of methods to create interpersonal (face-to-face) contact with the constituents, one being through several assistants. In North Sulawesi, one of these assistants is called *tukang palakat* (information officer). As is clearly indicated by official title, the main job is to convey information to village members, usually through personal communication. This is the commonly practiced official (administrative) way of communicating with the people.

Since the government plays a very important role in Indonesian society, the village head is very powerful and influential and can use that power and influence to establish direct contact with the villagers. The village head can gather them for a village meeting, or confer with their

elders and representatives and "plays a decisive role in the collective decision-making process that dominates village life."<sup>4</sup>

If the village head also possesses positive qualities, such as having a likable personality or being very knowledgeable on many matters, including religion and tradition (*adat*), he or she will become even more important in the eyes of the villagers. Village heads then can easily make themselves, if they want to, the most visible and important person in their village. People will come to ask them for advice on all kinds of matters, such as their children's education and domestic crises. According to one of our researchers who observed the villages in North Sulawesi, the village head becomes a "total" person, who is at the center of everything.

Apparently, most of the village heads under study were known to be better informed than most of their fellow villagers, and typically subscribed to a newspaper and owned a radio or even a television set, in addition to being informed directly through the hierarchy or by government agencies above the village level. As can be seen, the main characteristic of this administrative network is its hierarchical structure. Information usually flows from the top, the village head, to the bottom, the villagers. It is a vertical network.

The strength of this administrative network differs from one village to another and from one province to another. Our preliminary findings show that this type of communication network appears to have a very dominant role in North Sulawesi, Bali, East Java, and West Java. It is the weakest, but, in comparison to other types of communication networks, still very strong in Aceh. One of the factors that appears to have caused this is the manner in which village government has been established. In Aceh, in contrast to many other provinces, the village head has no well-defined sphere of power and authority, partly because there are a number of lower order, subvillage communities (*gampong*), each of which is headed by a subvillage head (*keuchik*). The role played by the village head (*mukim*) is limited to coordinating the *keuchik*, so the *mukim* is not as powerful and influential as a village head, for example, in Bali or North Sulawesi or Java. Consequently, the position of *mukim* has little appeal and is usually filled by a villager with little knowledge or influence. The lower position of *keuchik* also becomes less desirable.

To return to our main concern, we asked if the introduction and spread of television in the villages have weakened or strengthened the administrative network. Our preliminary findings suggest that it has not weakened it. In some villages, television appears to have strengthened the administrative network, partly because the village head is among the first to own a television set, meaning he or she possesses one of the most modern sources of information. Other types of communication networks operating in the villages are described briefly below.

## **Adat Networks**

The *adat* network is a communication network based on existing traditional ties. In some villages this *adat* network is difficult to trace and appears to have become less significant. However, in Aceh and Bali, *adat* and religion (Islam in Aceh, Hindu Dharma in Bali) are generally regarded by the people as inseparable. Since the influence of religion seems to be stronger, the practices of *adat* have been incorporated into it through evolution.

In North Sulawesi, the apparently successful process of modernization, including the adoption of Christianity, seems to have weakened *adat*. Whatever is left of it has probably been synthesized into the village administrative system; its influence can only be discerned in the working of the administrative network. The great respect given to the village head, including the official title of *hukum tua*, is generally considered to have originated from *adat*. The modern form of village administration is undoubtedly tinged by age-old tradition. In this sense, the village head is more than an agent of a modern governmental system, because he or she is also often regarded as or likened to the traditional *adat* chief. This is true also in many other parts of Indonesia, including Java and Bali, where in the person of the village head we can discern the fusion of modernity and tradition.

## **Religious Networks**

Another type of network is based on religious or mystic ties, and usually centers on religious leaders (*ulama* or priests). The scope of information disseminated through this network is primarily limited to religious matters, but since many aspects of daily life have direct or indirect connections with religion, this network appears to have maintained its own significance. The head of the village also uses the religious network from time to time to disseminate nonreligious information. This is done by contacting the religious leaders or by making speeches during religious ceremonies.

The importance of religious networks also differs from one province to another. It seems to be as important in the Christian villages of North Sulawesi as in the Muslim villages of Aceh or in the Hindu Dharma villages of Bali, in all of which the villagers seem to take their different religions very seriously.

## **Social and Other Networks**

The social network is a communication network centered around social activities. There are several versions of this network, such as mothers' clubs, or the mutual-help groups called *mapalus* in North Sulawesi.

A communication network may also develop around a particular economic or agricultural activity. In Bali, for example, there is the *subak* network, generated by a communal irrigation system. Politically oriented people also have their own networks. Because the government has discouraged political parties and organizations from operation at the village level in the last few years, the significance of this type of communication network is uncertain. Young people also have their own kind of communication network centering around a village intellectual, often a teacher.

An interesting type of communication network is formed around the *warung kopi*, the coffee house, and does not necessarily have a leader. In some places, such as Aceh, the owner of the coffee house has no significant role in the network, partly because he or she is busy attending to the business. Elsewhere, as in North Sulawesi, the owner becomes an active participant. An interesting aspect of this *warung kopi* network is the recent influence of the television set on it. The set has become, especially in Aceh, an instant attraction for the patrons of the coffee house and accounts for a marked increase in business. Will this television-generated *warung kopi* communication network last? The answer will probably depend on how quickly television ownership spreads in the village. If more people own television sets, fewer of them will be attracted by free television at the coffee house, so this television-generated *warung kopi* network could be a temporary phenomenon. However, this does not mean that it will disappear. It will probably persist, although the role of free television as a generating force will become less significant in time.

Even though we have discussed briefly a number of communication networks operating in the villages, there are still others that have not been mentioned. Most villagers usually communicate through more than one of these networks.

Based on the above discussion, our preliminary qualitative research findings suggest that it is difficult to measure the impact of television on the various types of communication networks operating in Indonesian villages because of its recent introduction and limited distribution. Television does appear to have strengthened the already dominant administrative network, but the other types of networks, such as the religious network, are still significant. Some of our researchers found a decline in the use of the *adat* network, but this decline had begun before the advent of television.

The key to the insignificant change in the vertical communication networks appears to be that both formal and informal leaders are usually among the first of the very few to own a television set. Thus, both as a status symbol and as a new source of information, television ownership has more or less equally strengthened the positions of all key leaders in their respective communities. The relatively limited introduction of

television seems to support the existing social structures in the rural areas.

The interesting communication network generated by free television at the *warung kopi* appears, at first glance, to be a new phenomenon. The presence of a television set in the coffee house has become a major factor in increasing the significance of this type of network. But, as with radio many years ago, this gain is not likely to survive the further spread of television ownership in the future.

Even though the recent introduction and spread of television has not been able to generate significant changes in the existing communication networks in the villages, this does not mean that changes will not take place or that television will play no important role in the processes of change, which as we all know, take time. The influence of television on these processes will only be known several years after its introduction.

How will television influence the processes of change in rural communities? One of the answers to this question lies in the content and values of the messages transmitted through this medium. Since television is run by the government, the government has almost a free hand in determining the content of its various programs. Accordingly, it can use the medium to speed up or to slow down the processes of change, within the constraints we have discussed in earlier chapters. What it does will be largely determined by the kinds of policies it wants to execute, and by its resources and ability to find a viable communication strategy to assist or facilitate the implementation of those policies. Additionally, a viable communication strategy for Indonesia requires a better and more thorough understanding of the pluralistic nature of its society.

## NOTES

1. A preliminary research report, of approximately 300 pages, was written in Bahasa Indonesia upon completion of the first year period. See Alfian, S. Budhisantoso, and Parsudi Suparlan, "Sistim-Sistim Komunikasi dalam Masyarakat Indonesia," monograph (Jakarta: LEKNAS/LIPI, 1977). A short English version, in the form of an interim report, has been prepared by Godwin C. Chu and others. See "Rural Indonesia Before Television: A Benchmark Survey" (Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute; and Jakarta: LEKNAS/LIPI, 1978).
2. The construction of 40 new ground relay stations for television has been completed in most of the 27 provinces, including East Timor. Television programs can now reach most of the population, including the rural segment. If fully used, the system will not only be able to provide and spread information via television, but also through radio, telephone, telex, and data retrieval.
3. Even though the control villages are located outside the effective range of the ground stations, some enterprising villagers have found ways to set up antennas that provide passable reception.
4. Astrid Susanto, "The Mass Communications System in Indonesia," in *Political Power and Communications in Indonesia*, ed. Karl D. Jackson and Lucian W. Pye (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 255.

# Initial Reaction to Television in Indonesian Villages

*S. Budhisantoso*

## Extension of Television in Indonesia

When television was first introduced to Indonesia in 1962, it provided a technological means for cultural change that has yet to be accurately measured. Fourteen years later the government of Indonesia launched its first communications satellite and initiated a program whereby television was extended to rural residents. The ramifications of this national policy, which seeks to encourage development through technology, are only beginning to be understood.

Public response to television in Jakarta was immediate and enthusiastic. This technological marvel stimulated an increasing demand for television sets. Some evidence indicates that the increased flow of people in and out of Jakarta during 1962 was directly attributable to television. People seemed eager to watch it and those who could afford to, tried to purchase their own set. The market price of a state-purchased television set rose to three times the retail price suggested by the government.

As in Western societies, the initial impact of television in Indonesian cities affected the business of the big movie houses, but the smaller cinemas that serve the *kampung* (village) dwellers saw no decrease in customers. Villagers in Indonesia were slower to respond to television. Data collected from a survey of villages in seven provinces in 1977-78 indicate that movie houses have not suffered because of television. For example, in communities in North Sulawesi villagers continue to patronize the cinema.

When the Indonesian government announced its plan to extend television reception to the whole country, the news was greeted with acclaim, especially among villagers who lived beyond the reach of the existing network. They began to discuss enthusiastically the possibility of watching *gambarhidup*, literally "live picture in a small radio box," which was almost beyond their imagination. Most of the villagers were eager to see what television looked like; others, who had already seen

television in urban centers and who could afford it, were eager to buy their own set.

This "television fever" suggested to some television owners that their sets could be a source of income, once nation-wide reception became a fact. In West Kalimantan, for example, these television-owners-turned-entrepreneurs hire two or three persons to carry the television set and the necessary equipment, including a heavy-duty dry-cell battery. They move from one remote village to another and set up the aerial and a tent to accommodate 20 to 30 people at one evening of viewing. Sometimes they also rent to someone who has hired the television in celebration of a particular family ceremony. The "television show business" succeeds because of poor transportation and the remoteness of villages throughout West Kalimantan.

Initially, television was an external element of change generally accepted by Indonesian villagers. Data collected during the first year of the government's extended operation of television indicate that it has succeeded as a popular source of information, although for the most part it is still principally enjoyed for entertainment. However, since it would be premature to theorize on the effectiveness of television as an agent of social change, this chapter will describe initial response by villagers to television as a mass medium in order to understand better its potential in a developing country striving to keep pace with the social and cultural changes occurring inside and outside its borders. The data are based on the 1978 interim survey conducted in seven provinces as described by Alfian in the previous chapter. The total sample size was 3,149, including 2,240 males and 909 females. The subsample sizes were 450 for each province, except Aceh, which had 449 respondents.

## **Traditional Values and Television Viewing**

In some provinces the social behavior prescribed between superiors and inferiors controls viewing. For example, unless villagers know each other very well, they feel uncomfortable watching television in someone else's house. In the control village in East Java, five television sets were owned by local wealthy families, but none of the 150 respondents had ever watched television. Most of them said they were uneasy in the house of someone from a higher social class. It is socially improper for a villager to enter the house of a higher status family through the front door. If one wishes to watch television in the house of a villager of higher status, permission to enter the house through the back door must be obtained. But since this involves passing through the most "hidden" part of the house (which is usually considered off-limits to visitors) to reach the television room, courage usually fails.

It is also socially embarrassing for persons of higher status to watch television in the house of social inferiors. Although they may not have their own set, they will not sacrifice pride by watching television in the



house of an inferior. The headman of a control village, for example, refused to violate this protocol, even though he lost an opportunity to be better informed on national events.

This traditional behavior contrasts with the more liberal relationships in the villages of North Sulawesi, where the villagers do not distinguish social status. They move about freely, visiting each other as they wish. No problems arise for persons without a set who wish to watch television at a neighbor's house; they are urged to do so. Such outgoing behavior has contributed to the popularity of television in North Sulawesi, where the villagers ranked first in terms of the number of respondents who had watched television (74 percent of 450 respondents). The lowest ranked among the seven provinces were East Java and Aceh, where slightly more than 12 percent and 17 percent respectively had watched television, even though the villages there had a greater number of sets than those of South Sulawesi and Bali (see Table 11-1).

**Table 11-1**  
**Television Viewing in Seven Provinces\***

Provinces	Viewers		Nonviewers		Sets
	No.	%	No.	%	
Aceh	76	17	373	83	23
Bali	167	37	283	63	13
W. Kalimantan	91	20	359	80	65
South Sulawesi	151	34	299	66	12
North Sulawesi	332	74	118	26	69
West Java	139	31	311	69	24
East Java	56	12	394	88	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,012</b>		<b>2,137</b>		<b>231</b>

\*3,149 respondents.

In some provinces, sociocultural values blended with religious restrictions to prevent the adaptation of television into daily life. The best examples of this were the Moslem Achenese and Buginese communities where the influence of the Islamic faith particularly affected the size of television audiences. For example, the early evening television show was not very popular among the Buginese communities in South Sulawesi because it conflicted with the time for their first evening prayer. In fact, evening television programs coincided with at least two of the five daily prayers required by the Islamic faith. The impact of this religion on viewing is particularly evident during the holy month of Ramadan. At this time, almost no adult watches television during the period from the first evening prayer through the second evening prayer.

## Sex and Television Viewing

The impact of Islam, sometimes reinforced by social and cultural values, is also evident in the number of female viewers. *Muslimats* (female Moslems), especially grown girls and married women, are not allowed to wander around the village after sunset. If it is truly necessary for one to do so, she must be accompanied by an older woman or a relative who is classified as unmarried (*muhrim*), for example, a brother or an uncle. Consequently those women whose families do not own a set are reluctant to go out to watch television. In the villages of Aceh, only 22 of 196 female respondents had ever watched television (Table 11-2). In the villages of West Kalimantan, only 4 out of 26 *Muslimat* respondents had watched television, and only because their families owned a set.

In villages in East Java, only 13 out of 165 female respondents had ever watched television. They preferred to stay at home and listen to their radio rather than watch television at somebody else's house. In addition to religious customs that prohibit them from visiting at night, social customs also dictate that women must not visit another's house without an urgent purpose. The custom of *nangga* (visiting a neighbor, especially at night) is not respectable, and for this reason, few if any housewives have watched television unless a set is owned by the family.

The somewhat greater number of female viewers in Islamic communities in South Sulawesi is due to local social arrangements and residence patterns. The Buginese live in relatively crowded clusters, with the big house of a wealthy landlord surrounded by the houses of subordinate villagers who used to be agricultural workers. Although the poorer villagers are reluctant to watch television in the house of the higher status family, the "patron-clients" relationship among the Buginese villagers has broken this barrier. As the patron, the wealthy landlord is happy to accommodate the clients living around his house and also, if possible, to give them better treatment so that more villagers will want to cultivate his land. At the same time he extends his influence. Because of the social structure as well as the pattern of settlement, it is not difficult for female villagers to watch television in their master's house.

In Bali, there were relatively greater numbers of female respondents who had watched television, because the Balinese live in clusters mostly inhabited by a patrilineal extended family. Moreover, Balinese women are not restricted in their daily social activities except in political affairs. The highest percentage of female viewers was in North Sulawesi, where the Christian Minahasan women enjoy greater freedom than their Moslem counterparts. They can move and visit friends and neighbors when they like, and watch television in their friends' or neighbors' homes.

From direct observation and the quantitative data collected during the survey, it is obvious that the male television audience outnumbers the

**Table 11-2****Television Viewing by Sex\***

Provinces	Male				Female			
	Viewers		Nonviewers		Viewers		Nonviewers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Aceh	54	21	199	79	22	11	174	89
Bali	151	38	241	62	16	28	42	72
W. Kalimantan	87	21	337	79	4	15	22	85
South Sulawesi	118	37	200	63	33	25	99	75
North Sulawesi	168	76	53	24	164	71	65	29
West Java	127	37	220	63	12	11	91	89
East Java	43	15	242	85	13	8	152	92
<b>Total</b>	<b>748</b>		<b>1,492</b>		<b>264</b>		<b>645</b>	

\*3,149 respondents.

female. This does not mean that the female villagers are less interested in television, but that they have fewer opportunities to watch it. Thus, not only do the male villagers benefit most from televised messages, but many of the special messages for female villagers are filtered through third parties. In the Achenese, Sundanese, and Minahasan villages, women play an important role in their families, and their direct exposure to mass media would be of great benefit to these rural communities. We hope that as the number of sets increases, more women will watch regularly.

## Age and Television Viewing

Regardless of time and programs, the television set always has an audience. The majority of the viewers are children and teenagers, but middle-aged men and women are also present. The survey showed that out of 1,012 respondents who watched television, a great majority (78.5 percent) were between the ages of 20 and 49, and 55.9 percent of viewers were in the 20-39 age bracket (Table 11-3). However, these figures do not really represent the television audience in the rural areas, where the very young outnumber adult viewers.

**Table 11-3**

**Television Viewing by Age Group**

Age group	Viewers		Nonviewers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15-19	48	4.7	39	1.8	87	2.8
20-29	264	26.1	317	14.8	581	18.4
30-39	302	29.8	609	28.5	911	28.9
40-49	229	22.6	509	23.8	738	23.4
50-59	97	9.5	364	17.0	461	14.6
60+	72	7.0	299	14.0	371	11.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,012</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,137</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,149</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Figures indicate that young people are most highly represented in the audience. Not only are they interested in the new apparatus, but they welcome the opportunity to be with the opposite sex in a darkened room. Village customs in Indonesia forbid young men and women to date or visit each other. Their only opportunities to meet are at public gatherings, social ceremonies, or the weekly market. The evening television show has added another opportunity.

Older villagers are not as enthusiastic. They are reluctant to leave their houses, particularly if they have to walk far in the dark. Also, they feel uncomfortable in public places with the younger, more spontaneous members of their village. The idea of *tidak umum* or social impropriety

prevents them from enjoying television in public. This age group is left to watching television in the house of a relative or friend, but again propriety prevents frequent visits.

In North Sulawesi, where economic conditions are generally good, greater numbers of older respondents watch television, since they are more likely to purchase the expensive sets. Bali's pattern of residence, made up of large compounds accommodating a patrilineal extended family, enables the older villagers to watch television in the psychological security of their relatives' homes. The Balinese pattern of residence also encourages larger audiences to enjoy the available sets.

Although more than one-third of the respondents have watched television, most of them watch irregularly. Out of 1,012 viewer-respondents, only 84 watched regularly; other respondents watched either irregularly (844), once a week (45), or two or three times a week (28).

## Education and Television Viewing

We found that television viewing is positively related to the educational level of the villagers. Our respondents were classified into five categories: those who had no schooling, those with some primary school education, primary school graduates, junior high school graduates, and senior high school graduates and above. Of the entire sample of 3,149, more than one-fourth had no schooling, yet this group contributed only 8.2 percent of the television viewers (Table 11-4). Likewise, those who only had some primary school education constituted 36.8 percent of the sample, but only 32.2 percent of the television viewers. The trend began to reverse at the primary school graduate level, when respondents constituted a proportionately larger percentage of television viewers (27.3 percent) than of the total sample

**Table 11-4**

**Education and Television Viewing**

	Viewers		Nonviewers		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No schooling	83	8.2	731	34.2	814	25.8
Some primary school	326	32.2	834	39.0	1,160	36.8
Primary school graduates	276	27.3	404	18.9	680	21.6
Junior high school	161	15.9	109	5.1	270	8.5
Senior high school and higher	166	16.4	59	2.7	225	7.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,012</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2,137</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>3,149</b>	<b>100.0</b>

(21.6 percent). From that level up, the higher the educational level, the larger the percentage of television viewers. Thus, although only 7.1 percent of the respondents had attended senior high school, 16.4 percent of television viewers were in this group. Perhaps because of the urban-oriented program content or the use of Bahasa Indonesia, the national language, on television, the better educated are clearly more likely to watch this new medium.'

## **Popular Programs**

Although the number of regular television viewers in the villages was small, they were selective about their television programs. There are at least two possible explanations: the hours of transmission and the time of the viewer are limited; or the viewers have already developed their program preferences.

## **Documentaries and News**

If we look at the fifteen most favored television programs (Table 11-5), it is obvious that television viewers in the villages want to be informed as well as entertained. Five documentaries were the preferred programs. Most of the audience, according to observation and interviews, were eager for news about either local developments or the outside world. In almost every house or gathering, the villagers asked the visitors from the city about the latest national events. The most popular topics of conversation in early 1978, when this research was conducted, were the changes of some governors and the successful development of Jakarta under former governor Ali Sadikin. When people knew that our research team was from Jakarta, they would eagerly invite us to describe how Ali Sadikin turned Jakarta into the metropolitan city so often shown on the television screen, and then they would compare the development of their own province or village with that of other parts of Indonesia.

Another topic of public conversation in the villages at that time was the plan to extend the electric power supply to the rural areas. Whatever the development plan announced by the central government, the villagers enthusiastically responded, in the expectation that the plans would soon be implemented. Most of them had never thought about the cost of development and did not yet realize that eventually they would have to pay the price of modernization. At one time a wealthy and creative villager in West Java began operating the generator of his rice huller to supply electric power for his neighbors' television at night. During the first two weeks the neighbors were joyful because they could watch television every night without worrying about recharging their dry-cell batteries. But when the time came to calculate the cost of maintaining the generator, which was to be shared among those who benefited, they one by one stopped the connection. Most of them had not expected that it

**Table 11-5****Age and Popular Television Program Preferences\***

<b>Rank and Program</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-29</b>	<b>30-39</b>	<b>40-49</b>	<b>50-59</b>	<b>60+</b>	<b>Total</b>
1 National news	17	125	133	114	50	42	481
2 World news	10	84	92	71	37	18	312
3 General news	—	58	96	60	38	29	281
4 Sports news	13	53	53	50	30	17	216
5 National development news	—	36	61	47	33	27	204
6 Late afternoon music	17	55	40	26	6	—	144
7 Modern plays	—	42	35	38	20	—	135
8 Early evening music	10	40	46	27	9	—	132
9 Selected popular songs	16	45	25	28	15	—	129
10 International sports event	—	41	58	27	—	—	126
11 National sports event	—	36	57	27	—	—	120
12 Religious forum (Islam)	—	26	32	27	9	—	94
13 Religious forum (Christianity)	—	25	19	34	9	—	87
14 Comedy and music show	—	39	22	9	6	—	76
15 Al Quran recital	—	27	20	22	6	—	75

\*The frequencies were program choices. Each viewer was asked to name up to 5 choices.

would be so much money, and could not afford it regularly. They preferred to pay the ultimately higher cost of maintaining dry-cell batteries rather than the cheaper weekly generator fees, because they did not have a reliable income from which to make regular payments. They would recharge the batteries only when they had enough money, and often were unable to watch television for several days in a week. In the television village of West Java, we found that two people would switch on their television only once or twice in a fortnight, because of the cost of maintaining the dry-cell battery.

These examples show that the villagers were at first very receptive to innovation—as long as they did not have to pay the price. Most of them still thought that any national development plan should be introduced at no cost to them. Such unrealistic expectations have made the villagers listen and watch for good news from the central government. They are very eager to hear where and when development programs are being implemented, expecting that their own region will be next.

The curiosity of the villagers about national development and other social and cultural events outside their own areas was partly stimulated by their regarding awareness of the outside world as a status symbol. Until recently, only the educated, or those who had lived outside the village and maintained contacts with the urban people, were well informed on current events and, accordingly, enjoyed the respect of their fellow villagers. Now villagers watch the news as well as entertainment programs, and most do not sharply distinguish between the two.

## **Popular Entertainment**

The second favorite category consisted of popular programs such as "Late Afternoon Entertainment" (*hiburan senja*), "Early Evening Entertainment" (*hiburan lepas senja*), and "Selected Popular Songs" (*lagu-lagu pilihan*). These were generally on the screen after the first hour of evening programs for children.

## **Religious Programs**

The third category of preferred programs included the "Recital of Al Quran," "Religious Forum for Islam," and the "Religious Forum for Christians." These three religious programs apparently were not popular with very young viewers. It is worth mentioning that the "Recital of Islamic Holy Script" and the "Program of Islamic Teaching" are very popular in rural Indonesia, except for Minahasa and other Christian-dominated villages. On almost every social occasion, including circumcisions or wedding parties, people may invite a well-known Moslem teacher to talk about Islam and read from the Quran. In the Sundanese villages, *dakwah*, or Islamic religious lectures, are very popular and considered an important social event that all good Moslems attend. One television owner remarked that he bought a set to follow the



Islamic religious lectures given by a well-known Moslem scholar who appeared on television once a week.

If the size of the audience of "Religious Forum for Christians" is only slightly smaller than that of "Religious Forum for Islam," this is because the rural Christians, mostly in North Sulawesi, are in a better position to enjoy the benefits of modern communication. This is understandable since the sample villages in North Sulawesi are dominated by wealthy Christian clove and coconut farmers, most of whom have had formal education and, to a certain extent, are Westernized. Literacy is part of their culture, so the introduction of television in Minahasa is simply an extension of the existing mass media.

It should be noted here that North Sulawesi had the greatest proportion of respondents who read the newspaper. Unlike the Balinese respondents, who relied on free newspapers such as *Suara Karya* and local government newspapers, the Minahasans in North Sulawesi actively subscribed to or purchased the Christian newspaper, *Sinar-Harapan*. In West Kalimantan, the second province with a relatively large number of respondents who read the newspaper, apparently only a few read *Kompas*, the Catholic newspaper, regularly. Most read the local newspaper *Angkatan Bersenjata*, one of the selected newspapers for civil servants and military men.

Given their culture, it is not surprising that the Minahasans in North Sulawesi make active use of television. Our survey shows that they were eager to improve their knowledge, materially as well as spiritually, by watching educational and popular science programs and "Religious Forum for Christians."

## **Sports Events and "Modern Plays"**

Villagers generally watched sports programs as a form of entertainment. Indeed, they appreciated the sports programs not because of the commentary, but because of the film shown. Although some sports, like soccer, badminton, and volleyball, are popular and are played in the villages, most television audiences enjoyed being spectators rather than players. Accordingly, both national and international sports programs should be regarded as light entertainment rather than educational or news programs. Moreover, the content of a sports show is generally a replay of important soccer matches, boxing, and badminton, a sport dominated by Indonesian players. Unlike "Sports News," which is part of "World News," the national and international sports programs are generally shown every Sunday during the day or occasionally as a special program at night, especially if there is an important event featuring soccer, badminton, or boxing matches.

Modern plays, popularly known as *sandiwara*, have audiences representing all age categories. As entertainment, *sandiwara* occupy a significant position in the television schedule, especially for the less-

educated villagers, who prefer simple shows. Most of the dramas shown on television take no longer than 40 minutes and are generally screened between 8:50 and 9:40 p.m., or just before bedtime. Unlike many films shown on television, the dialogue of *sandiwara* is spoken in simple Bahasa Indonesia and focuses on family life, a familiar theme for most of the village audience; these two factors account for their popularity. Villagers of South Sulawesi reportedly wanted to watch more *sandiwara* and wanted them to last longer.

Compared to Indonesian films shown on television, *sandiwara* generally are much shorter and are shown at a more convenient time for the villagers. Because they are lengthy, Indonesian films are shown once a month and screened as a late Saturday-night show, when many villagers prefer to sleep. For most of the villagers, Saturday night is no different from other nights of the week. Because of this, almost none of the television village audiences chose the Indonesian film as their favorite program, and only a few of them named the most popular television serial in urban areas, "Mannix," as a favorite.

Villagers found it difficult to name imported television serials among their favorites and only two titles were even mentioned: "Woody Woodpecker" and "Mannix." The first, a cartoon, was very popular with all age groups, partly because the 6:05 p.m. time slot is convenient for the rural television viewer. "Mannix," a detective story, was named by some rural viewers. The story is usually easy to follow, and the theme illustrates a popular Indonesian proverb: "No matter how cleverly you hide a bad thing, ultimately it will smell."

It is obvious that most of the television sets in the villages, especially where there was no power supply, were not on for the entire evening of programs every day. Many were not even set up every day of the week. Although the television programs generally run from 5:30 p.m. to 11:30 or midnight, rarely do villagers follow all the programs nightly. Most of them watched from 6:30 p.m. until 9:30 p.m.; soon after that the size of the audience decreased, except on Saturday night when some watched a special longer film show. The 15 favorite television programs were generally shown during prime time, between 6:30 and 9:30 p.m. Though most of the television audience watched the programs irregularly, those who watched regularly generally preferred early evening shows, in part to prolong the life of their battery. The shorter period of viewing helps the battery last longer. Another reason is that it is the only leisure time for the villagers, who retire early.

## Unpopular Programs

The programs listed as favorites demonstrate how villagers accept what they consider to be compatible with their interest, such as news, popular music; religious forums, and light entertainment. None of the villagers named "English Lesson" as a favorite program, simply because

they do not really feel the need. Unlike English teachers or educated people who seek cultural enrichment by communicating with the English-speaking world, none of the villagers was interested in the English program. Nor was there much interest in Bahasa Indonesia instruction, which was not a favorite either. Most villagers did not feel the necessity to improve their Bahasa Indonesia, but were more interested in information on where and how to buy cheaper kerosene and clothes.

An example of this was found in Aceh, where an old man was sitting in front of a television set, alone, except for a fieldworker there to observe television viewing habits. The man appeared to be following a program on good and correct (*baik dan benar*) Bahasa Indonesia. The fieldworker was surprised at the man's interest in the program, but was even more surprised when at the conclusion the man asked what had been discussed. Apparently, he had been unable to follow the instructor, who had been speaking in grammatically correct Bahasa Indonesia. In fact, the language instruction given on the television program is often quite difficult for even high school seniors to follow. Most of the program is devoted to showing the difference between correct grammar and vocabulary and the common mistakes made in daily conversation. Reactions similar to the old man's were found in West Java, West Kalimantan, and Bali after the villagers had viewed educational programs, which were generally presented in Bahasa Indonesia without pictorial aids.

Although an improvement in the rural economy and other factors may eventually enable villagers to buy their own television sets, it will take longer to educate them to follow programs in the national language, which is generally taught to school children beginning in the fifth grade, while prior instruction is in the pupil's own dialect. Only about 36 percent of the respondents were able to speak and understand Bahasa Indonesia well. Most of the villagers had never been to school, and with those who had not graduated from elementary school, formed a majority (67 percent) that does not use the official language.

The use of standard Indonesian as the instructional language for educational programs is one of the reasons they are not popular with rural audiences. Although many respondents said that they understood Bahasa Indonesia, apparently only a few of them were really able to follow the programs and to act as interpreters for their fellow villagers.

Accordingly, this situation has led the more educated television owners to play the role of information leaders. In an East Javanese village, we observed a television owner acting as the source of new information about the national development programs and agriculture. He seemed to be more important in this role than the official channel of interpersonal communication in his village.

The unpopularity of specific educational or vocational television programs was also due to their irregularity or lack of continuity. The network scheduled vocational programs randomly, and neither the

network nor the viewers were prepared for transmitting or receiving intensive and regular educational programs shown on television. Once a television set was switched on, as long as the power supply lasted there was no tendency to switch it off, even when the program was displeasing. There were only two alternatives for television owners in the villages who watched their set together with an uninvited audience: either continue with whatever program was being shown on the screen, or switch the set off right away when there was not much of an audience. To switch off one's own television while a program was being watched by a number of people was considered antisocial, and to avoid the negative reaction of other villagers, one had to plan when to turn on the television set in order to receive the best programs. To turn off the set soon after 9:30 p.m., but no earlier, was acceptable because of the limited power supply.

Once, in the control village of North Sulawesi, a television owner, in an effort to keep his battery longer, switched his set on and off as he liked, with no consideration for the audience outside his house. Naturally this caused some dissatisfaction to the uninvited audience, who had come expecting to be able to watch the programs. When he became aware of the general dissatisfaction of his neighbors, who were making noise outside, he switched the television on again, but it was too late. After that night almost none of his fellow villagers came to watch his television, and though he tried to explain that his father was sick when he switched the television on and off, no one accepted the excuse. Indeed, sometimes the villagers can be demanding and without interest in the private problems of the television owners. In a television village in East Java, the villagers protested when the subdistrict officer cut public television viewing to three days a week, and promised to share the maintenance cost in order to watch every day.

## **New and Old Communication Channels**

Because of its visual appeal, television has demonstrated its potential as a modern mass medium in Indonesia; it can transmit news to a great number of people within a short time. The villagers appear to have accepted the medium, and this could be the first step toward facilitating the process of cultural change in their society. However, the effectiveness of the television network is not dependent merely on social acceptance by Indonesian villagers. The economic condition of most Indonesians, especially the peasants, still prevents most of them from purchasing their own television set, and the uneven distribution of sets throughout the islands persists.

Television is still an urban phenomenon that not only involves a high maintenance cost but also requires a degree of social and cultural preconditioning in order to contribute to development. The relatively high price of television sets, and the expense and short supply of spare parts, can be offset by the distribution of a number of public television

sets, something the government plans to do. What is more important is to provide the villagers with the basic knowledge that will enable them to absorb the content of the programs. Most villagers watching the popular commercial for Yamaha motorbikes were more impressed by the acrobatic stunts of the rider than the power of the motor.

As Schramm has observed, the mass media have come into widespread use to supplement and complement the oral channels of traditional society.<sup>2</sup> However, the advancement of modern communication is strongly dependent on the development of the necessary technical and social infrastructures in the communities. The obstacles to extending television to the rural areas because of the poor technical infrastructures will not be difficult to overcome as long as the government has decided to make optimal use of the mass media. But to overcome the sociocultural obstacles, especially the poor educational background of most of the villagers, requires more time. Unaccompanied by serious follow-up measures, the introduction of television into the rural areas could possibly frustrate the villagers rather than provide them with a better means of communication and support for the programs of national development. Television fever resulting from unrealistically high expectations could eventually evoke an apathetic response from the villagers toward future modernization efforts.

## NOTES

1. Sri Rahayu (1978) in her report, *Social Impact of Satellite Communication in the Villages of West Java*, distinguished three different categories among television audiences: Those who watch at home, those who watch in their neighbor's house, and those who watch a public television set. She concluded that those who watch television in their own homes are more interested in educational and informational programs, whereas the other two groups watch primarily for entertainment. As a result, television owners in the villages are considered the most educated, and other villagers turn to them for advice.
2. Wilbur Schramm, "Communication Development and the Development Process," in *Communications and Political Development*, ed. Lucian W. Pye (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963) pp. 30-57.



## Institutional Constraints on Communication Technology

*Godwin C. Chu*  
*Allan*

That television is rapidly becoming part of daily life in many developing countries, including Indonesia, is undeniable, whatever one's philosophical stance might be. In Asia, from rural Korea in the north to the mud-walled Indian villages in the south, we now find peasants gathered in front of television sets in the evening, a scene reminiscent of the arrival of radio over a generation ago. The high hopes for radio as an instrument of public education and national development have, not surprisingly, shifted to television.

Enthusiasm in the 1950s and early 1960s, however, has given way to a more realistic assessment of the role of the mass media, particularly television, in the process of development. To be sure, there is plenty of evidence to show that the medium *can* contribute to development.<sup>1</sup> But there is also a growing awareness that, like anything else that is useful, television (and for that matter other media as well), carries a price tag. For almost every documentable positive effect of television, we can name some negative effect that may not be intended, but might nonetheless have significant consequences. Thus the conscious decision to introduce television as a means of promoting development requires not only empirical evidence of the desired effects, but also carefully considered policy.

### Rising Expectations

The most serious question is an old one, raised pointedly more than a decade ago by Daniel Lerner.<sup>2</sup> In the 1950s a common assumption was that the low level of development in many countries was in part due to the low level of expectations, particularly among peasants. The mass media, by opening the eyes of the villagers, could contribute to a "revolution of rising expectations" that would spur development. By the late 1960s, however, this postwar legacy of optimism had waned, and people began

to wonder whether the "revolution of rising expectations" had turned into a "revolution of rising frustrations." It seemed that the mass media were doing a splendid job of raising people's aspirations and desires to a level far beyond any hope of realization; the result was widespread frustration. While the Moslem revolution in Iran in early 1979 had many causes, at least one native observer has suggested that the indiscriminate use of television might have been a contributory factor.<sup>3</sup>

The possibility of rising frustrations, however, does not imply that a developing nation should stand still. Nor does it mean that the best strategy is to keep the millions of peasants forever in the dark so that they might not become discontented. That would be too absurd even to consider. The world is moving on, and no country can become developed if its people remain ignorant. Only when people are informed and motivated can they contribute to a national endeavor to develop.<sup>4</sup> If there is any way out of the conflict between expectations and frustrations, and if there is any lesson to be learned from Iran with regard to the use of mass communication, it is simply that we must not rely on communication alone to carry out development. It can only pave the way. The mass media cannot build roads, distribute fertilizers, or provide medical care. The media can make people realize they need roads, fertilizers, and modern medicine, and can be used to teach people how to apply fertilizers and improve hygiene. But somebody else has to provide the resources so that roads are built, fertilizers distributed, and medical care provided. Unless effective measures are taken to accomplish these tasks, putting television sets into villages would at best achieve little, and at worst court disaster.

There must be appropriate changes in the infrastructure so that rising expectations contribute to directing energy into production and equitable distribution, rather than into frustrations.

The government of Indonesia appears to be fully aware of this problem. To avoid unnecessarily raising the expectations of the rural populations, TVRI temporarily refrained from sending commercials to the villages after the initiation of satellite broadcasting. (Television commercials have been abolished as of 1 April 1981.) Even before that, the Indonesian government took measures to improve production in the villages, including the intensified agricultural development program, or BIMAS, and the offer of credit to small farmers. The transmigration program is another example. The extent to which television can be utilized to support these programs requires further study.

## **Influence of Western Technology**

Another major problem for policy deliberation is the confrontation between the old and the new, between the traditional and what we usually call the "modern." This problem is complicated by the fact that the new,



or modern, originates primarily in the West—the confrontation boils down essentially to the indigenous versus the alien.

This conflict has been present in Asia ever since the advent of European colonialism in the seventeenth century. Until the postwar independence movements, the indigenous had been almost totally subjugated to the influence of colonial powers. With independence came renewed national pride and reassertion of native culture. Against this background, the introduction of mass media has raised concern for the perils of "cultural imperialism." The media, the critics say, have now ushered in another form of imperialism that invades the cultural front. If "old-fashioned" imperialism before the turn of the century meant the use of gunboats by Western colonial powers to force unequal treaties on Asian and African states for economic exploitation, then cultural imperialism may pose another form of exploitation no less devastating. The introduction of the advanced technology of mass communication from the West, the critics say, can result potentially in unmitigated exploitation of cultural life in developing countries and deprive them of the last remnants of their traditional heritage.<sup>5</sup>

Among those who recognize this problem, few can react objectively. The tendency is either to condemn the media unreservedly or to defend them vigorously. What apparently escapes attention is that cultural imperialism or penetration, as a concomitant of Western communication technology, is a disturbing part of reality in most developing countries. No rhetoric is going to change this situation. It is an unwanted evil in the highly complex processes of development, which require Western technology. Development, a concept we discussed in the introductory chapter, requires a reorganization of manpower and resources and an equitable redistribution of rewards. It requires dissemination of new knowledge and technology as well as social and cultural changes to support new behavioral patterns, and it requires a concerted national effort. We know of no country that has achieved these goals without effective use of modern communication technology that happens to originate in the West. The issue is thus not whether a developing country should or should not use advanced communication technology, but rather, how they can minimize the accompanying evil. Their chances of containing, and if possible, eliminating, the evil will improve if a careful diagnosis is made and the findings presented for policymakers to consider.

The most obvious way to start, as far as television is concerned, is to examine the percentage and content of foreign programs. In the few studies that have been undertaken, the picture is not reassuring.<sup>6</sup> The worldwide trend in developing countries that have introduced television points to a sizable portion of foreign entertainment programs, many of them American. This is true of Indonesian television, which airs approximately 25 percent American programs because the cost is low. There is much portrayal of violence and twisted interpersonal relations

that could hardly contribute to building character in a developing country.

Less obvious is the possibility that foreign entertainment programs may not be the only serious source of "cultural imperialism." We have evidence from two recent surveys conducted in Asia—one in Indonesia and one in Taiwan—indicating that, as far as the rural audience is concerned, American programs are among the least watched and most unpopular.<sup>7</sup> Very few Indonesian villagers named American serials among their favorites. Similarly, farmers in northern Taiwan listed American programs among their least popular choices. Apparently there is something the Asian rural audience does not like about American television shows. In urban Indonesia, however, the situation is quite different. There, most of the top-rated television programs are American shows, as the results of a recent survey in Jakarta indicated.

Cultural imperialism, if any, has other manifestations, an example being its impact on locally produced entertainment. Since most television professionals are trained either in the West or by those who themselves were trained abroad, their preferences and tastes may be Western oriented. Nowhere is this tendency illustrated more vividly than in the song and dance shows produced by Asian studios for Asian viewers. These are simply *mimicries of American variety shows* that the Asian technicians have learned to appreciate and produce. There is nothing wrong with these song and dance shows themselves, except that sometimes they create a feeling of incongruity. The problem is in what they replace. Another consequence is that a popular taste is created among the audience for a particular kind of talent, like the popular child stars on Indonesian television. The final result could be a further decline of indigenous performing art to the point of near extinction. It is not yet fully recognized that acquiring modern technology and then sending television professionals to be trained in the West may make this almost inevitable.

Evidence of foreign influence is seen in the news. It has been argued, rather convincingly, that the West not only dominates the distribution of international news through the multinational media organizations, but also exerts a subtle influence on the presentation of domestic news.<sup>8</sup> This is because television newsmen are usually Western trained and tend to present news in the Western format. There is a possibility that the native viewers of television may come to see their world largely through a Western lens. If this argument should prove to be valid, what Asian television presents as newsworthy could be what Western newsmen judge to be newsworthy. To pursue the argument further, if the mass media have an agenda-setting function, by telling us what to think about if not what to think,<sup>9</sup> then we may have a situation where the perceptual agenda in many developing countries is indirectly set by foreigners. As yet, we do not have sufficient data from our current research to back up this hypothesis. We do know, from our analysis of television news in

Indonesia, that most domestic news stories have an urban rather than a rural setting.

Foreign influence may be filtered through television to reach the economic sector. In Indonesia, we have seen that most of the products advertised on television were either totally or partly of foreign origin. The latter were products of joint ventures by foreign investors with Indonesian partners. Our research has also indicated that foreign advertisers used television commercials in a more sophisticated way than did native advertisers. Foreign films tended to use more elaborate forms of advertising, which are presumably more appealing and thus more effective in selling their products. Given all this, television may be promoting the sale of foreign goods to the detriment of local manufacturers.

## **Institutional Factors**

We started our inquiry by asking questions about the institutional factors that may influence television programming in Indonesia. We have identified four major factors—political, religious and sociocultural, economic, and organizational—which we have listed in what seems to us a descending order of relative significance. We will briefly summarize our impressions.

### **Political Factors**

The impact of the political institution appears to be the most profound. The establishment of television in 1962 was a political decision that was almost accidental because President Sukarno wanted to impress the participants in the Asian Games. Programming for the general audience in Jakarta was an afterthought. The content of television before the purge in September of 1965 was determined primarily by the political and personal whims of Sukarno. When the political atmosphere changed following the purge of communist sympathizers and the resignation of Sukarno, the content of Indonesian television changed too. The shift from Sukarno's Guided Democracy to the New Order of President Suharto is evident in the current emphasis on national integration and development. As we have seen from the program overview and the analysis of news, television in Indonesia has become an instrument of the state in promoting these policy goals.

### **Religious and Sociocultural Factors**

In the pluralistic society of Indonesia, religious and sociocultural factors are nearly as important as political guidelines. The strong Islamic influence has made its mark on all domestic programs. Islamic moral codes are strictly observed; not even the slightest violation is permitted.

Religious programs are carefully apportioned among the various faiths and denominations. Every legitimate, recognized religion is given what is considered its fair share of programming time. Because Indonesia has many diverse ethnic groups, different beliefs and values must be respected and TVRI must take extra caution in programming to make sure there are no unintended slips. The same standards apply to both regular programs and commercials. The concern with moral values is reflected in entertainment programs such as the *sandiwara* television dramas we analyzed in Chapter 8.

## **Economic Factors**

While in other systems economic considerations are paramount, they are of somewhat lesser consequence to television in Indonesia. This is not to suggest that resources and revenues are not important. They definitely are. However, economic factors must be considered within the context of policy guidelines and the sensitive nature of a pluralistic society. Even though Indonesian television is operated by the government, which has made a sizable investment in this medium, until the abolishment of television advertisement in April 1981, a large proportion of the operating funds came from commercial revenues and this put some limits on the nature of Indonesian television. For example, without a more prosperous economic base, the Jakarta station could operate only one channel for approximately six to seven hours a day. Apparently there was no sufficient support from either the business sector or a middle-class housewife audience to warrant daytime programming during the week or a second station.

The subtle conflict between political goals and economic considerations can be illustrated by the handling of television commercials. The government appears to have been keenly aware of the potential consequences of raising consumer expectations. Thus, during the initial period of satellite television broadcasting, all commercials were grouped into one-hour time segments before the regular programs, and were excluded from satellite transmission to outer islands. Under pressure from advertisers who were a main source of revenues, the government later compromised and divided the time for commercials into two half-hour slots, one before and one after the satellite transmission. In September 1978, this policy was again modified so that outer island viewers could watch all commercials. The importance of television commercials to TVRI could be seen from another perspective. Policy guidelines are important to TVRI, and the various categories of television programs adhere fairly closely to the standards set forth in the guidelines, except for commercials. While only 8 percent of programming time was assigned to commercials in the guidelines, actual broadcasting time in 1978 was nearly 15 percent, apparently because of economic necessity. It was a demonstration of political courage,

supported by research findings, that the Indonesian government overruled the objection of advertisers, many of them foreign in origin, and abolished television commercials in 1981!<sup>0</sup>

## **Organizational Factors**

From our case studies, it seems that no severe organizational problems exist within TVRI to hamper its operation, although we realize that any government-operated agency can improve its efficiency. However, our case studies have revealed rather obvious problems in interdepartmental coordination, particularly in relation to programs for development and public affairs. The situation is compounded by the fact that many government departments have a legitimate claim to television time, but no single department is given the task of overall coordination. The Department of Information, under which TVRI operates, has no such authority. The fact that TVRI is a second-level agency within a department makes it very difficult for its professional staff to deny the request of a cabinet minister.

Another problem related to organization is the lack of qualified individuals who understand the many issues involved in the use of television for public information. Television, as a highly complex modern technology, necessitates this kind of expertise if it is to be used effectively. The lack of communication specialists imposes a more serious problem than the dearth of performing artists, important as the latter might be.

In discussing these institutional factors, we do not wish to imply that the audience is unimportant. On the contrary, the audience has to be reckoned with. The influence of religion and the demands of the various ethnic groups are audience based. Our analysis of audience feedback through letters to editors suggests that the Indonesian audience is not passive. Letters from all regions express views and raise criticisms. However, in addition to the audience, there are institutional factors that may not be apparent, but are nevertheless of critical importance because of the particular nature of the Indonesian social and political system.

## **Future Prospects**

Overall, we get a picture of a young television network striving to stand on its own. In our initial conceptualization, we overlooked something that we now recognize—the latent and pervasive influence of the West that is inherent in modern communication technology itself. When we put our findings together, it becomes apparent that the domestic institutional factors have to adjust to the technology-based influence of the West.

From the systems perspective, TVRI is only a component of a gigantic worldwide communication system, which by its sheer size can

significantly shape the operation of Indonesian television. We have already discussed the various forms in which this subtle influence is expressed. Even the measures that TVRI has been taking to protect its audience, such as limiting at one time the broadcasting of commercials to urban areas only, emphasizing traditional values, and highlighting local culture, can be more keenly appreciated if we keep in mind the Western influence that the government is trying to counterbalance.

Compared with the forces of Western technology, domestic institutional factors seem to be of temporary significance. Policy guidelines may be modified; the economic situation may improve as the country proceeds with development; more talent may be attracted to TVRI; communication specialists can be trained; and even departmental and organizational problems may sooner or later be worked out. However, Western technology will always be there. We know of no case in any developing country where television, once introduced with aid from the West, has been able to operate completely free of Western influence.<sup>11</sup> The nature of this influence needs to be thoroughly examined and carefully considered by policymakers.

Despite all this, there is no question that Palapa I is sending messages of modernization and of development to broad areas that have never been reached effectively before. Much of the message content is undoubtedly directed to city dwellers. We have portrayed these aspects of reality as they are, knowing perhaps that TVRI has few alternatives at its current stage of growth. However, Indonesia's television programming does contain information and knowledge that are relevant to the rural population. Programs on general education and personal skill development occupy about 6 percent of air time, a modest but significant start. Development activities, education, and social welfare add up to almost half of the domestic news, and there are other special reports on development and public affairs. Even though the initial owners have been primarily the wealthier individuals in the villages, the rural custom of sharing makes television accessible to many others. Given time, a larger rural audience can be reached. With judicious planning and policy goals, satellite-transmitted television in Indonesia can be an effective instrument for development, rather than a pernicious source of cultural imperialism.

## NOTES

1. See Wilbur Schramm, *Big Media, Little Media* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1977); W. Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1964); Everett M. Rogers, *Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).
2. Daniel Lerner, "Managing Communication for Modernization: A Development Construct," in *Politics, Personality and Social Science in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Harold D. Lasswell*, ed. Arnold A. Rogow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 171-96.
3. Majid Tehranian, "Iran: Communication, Alienation, Revolution," *Intermedia* 7, no. 2 (March 1979): 6-12.
4. See Schramm, *Mass Media and National Development*.
5. See for example Herbert Schiller, *Mass Communication and American Empire* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, 1969); Alan Wells, *Picture-Tube Imperialism? The Impact of U.S. Television on Latin America* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1972); Jeremy Tunstall, *The Media Are American: Anglo-American Media in the World* (London: Constable, 1977); Chin-chuan Lee, *Media Imperialism Reconsidered* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1978).
6. Kaarle Nordenstreng, *Television Traffic—A One-way Street? Reports and Papers on Mass Communication*, no. 70. (Paris: Unesco, 1974).
7. Initial findings from the Indonesian rural survey are reported by Budhisantoso in Chapter 11. The findings from rural Taiwan are in Godwin C. Chu and Gin-yao Chi, *Communication and Cultural Change in Rural Taiwan*, forthcoming.
8. Jeremy Tunstall, "The American Role in Worldwide Mass Communication," in *Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures*, ed. George Gerbner (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1977), pp. 3-12.
9. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36 (1972): 176-87.
10. "Bila Iklan TVRI Ditiadakan" (When Advertisements at TVRI were Abolished), *Tempo* magazine, Jakarta, 17 January 1981, pp. 20-22. Dr. Alfian, co-editor of this monograph, was quoted by *Tempo* to illustrate some of the undesirable effects of television commercials.
11. Whether and to what extent the Islamic revolution can free Iranian television from Western influence remains to be seen.





# **Appendix 1**

## **Principal Guidelines for TVRI Broadcasts**

In order to reach the appropriate audience, the directorate of the Television Broadcasting Service in 1973 drew up the following guidelines for TVRI studios:

- A. As a government means of communication, TVRI should, through its programs, encourage public support of government policies and programs.
- B. As a medium of mass communication, TVRI should be a channel for positive and constructive public opinions. TVRI is not allowed to broadcast programs discrediting the government.
- C. Programs that are incompatible with *Pancasila*, the 1945 constitution, or any other statutes or laws, are prohibited.
- D. Program content should show awareness of human rights, provided it does not conflict with Indonesian morality.
- E. Treatment of sensitive issues concerning ethnic groups, religions, race, and minorities is particularly discouraged.
- F. TVRI is not permitted to broadcast programs in violation of Indonesian social and cultural values and norms.
- G. Religious programs must show respect for individual choice and should not be open to negative interpretations.
- H. Programs on daily life are to be guided by the following:
  - 1. Television should strive to promote national unity, peace, and cooperation.
  - 2. Content that directly or indirectly undermines security, order, and the public interest should be avoided.
  - 3. The prevailing standard of common decency should be observed.
- I. Traditional norms do not permit the following:
  - 1. Ridicule of daily life
  - 2. Encouragement of suicide or despair as a solution to problems
  - 3. Vulgarization of sex (TVRI should stress its sacredness)
  - 4. Idealization of illicit relationships between men and women
- J. Controversial social issues or problems should be explained clearly and impartially.

K. The depiction of crimes or other violations of the law is subject to the following constraints:

1. The effectiveness of the law should be emphasized, and crimes and other violations should not be presented as natural occurrences.
2. TVRI must observe the norms and morality of the Indonesian people.
3. Pending cases may not be discussed in detail, as this might jeopardize due process.

### **Programming Regulations**

To ensure the conformity of all TVRI programs, the Television Broadcasting Service has issued the following regulations:

#### **Informative Programs**

1. Formal explanation of a particular government policy or program should be presented by the official concerned.
2. Any information or recommendation intended for the public should be presented by the official concerned.
3. Informative programs should be presented as attractively as possible.
4. If possible these programs should be illustrated by a documentary or dramatization.
5. Both content and scenes of programs for information should emphasize persuasion, not indoctrination.

#### **Educational Programs**

1. Educational programs should be clearly presented and easily understood in order to be of benefit to the greatest number of viewers.
2. The goal is to form a better-educated populace.
3. The programs should be presented in such a way as to hold the interest of the audience throughout the time allowed.

#### **Children's Programs**

1. All programs for children should be adjusted to their particular level of comprehension.
2. Children's programs should be visually and verbally understandable, and should encourage positive and constructive thought and behavior.
3. Programs for children should not foster negative characters.

4. Programs for children should not provoke excessive fear and stress.
5. Programs for children should be simple and understandable, and should show that there is a solution to every problem.

### **Cultural Programs**

1. These programs should aim at enhancing the quality of both traditional and contemporary arts, and should promote appreciation of cultural achievements.
2. They should include programs that might appeal to only a limited audience.
3. They should promote understanding of the arts and cultures of other regions and ethnic groups.
4. They are to be presented in an identifiable framework of time and place.
5. Academic and experimental programs should be accompanied by sufficient explanation.

### **Sports Programs**

1. Sports programs should aim at promoting achievement, better technique, and a spirit of healthy competition.
2. They should also include sports not yet popular.
3. They should inform and educate through demonstration and visualization.

### **General Entertainment Programs**

1. Entertainment should maintain professional standards without neglecting the current tastes of the Indonesian public.
2. A balance between classical and contemporary programs should be maintained.
3. Variety is important.
4. Excess indecency should be avoided.



## Appendix 2

### TVRI Jakarta Program Schedule 1 April 1978 - 30 September 1978

#### Sunday

10.00 - 11.00	Sports
11.00 - 11.10	News of the Week in Brief
11.10 - 11.30	Family Program
11.30 - 12.00	Songs of the Week
12.00 - 13.30	Sunday Movie
17.00 - 17.30	Commercials
17.30 - 17.45	News of the Archipelago
17.45 - 18.30	Children's Variety Show
18.30 - 18.45	News
18.45 - 18.55	Report on National Development
18.55 - 19.00	Tonight's Television Programming
19.00 - 19.25	Forum for Promotion Entrepreneurship/Do-It-Yourself Corner/Traffic Problems
19.25 - 20.05	Quiz for Adults/Early Evening Pop Music; Traditional Arts
20.05 - 20.30	Religious Forum for Christians
20.30 - 20.50	World News
20.50 - 21.40	Orchestra Music (Telorama)/Music and Comedy on Television/Jazz and Latin Music/Pacific Islands Music
21.40 - 21.45	News in Brief
21.45 - 21.50	Tomorrow's Television Programming; Weather Forecast
21.50 - 22.20	Commercials
22.20 - 23.10	Serials Film
23.10 - 23.15	Closing Hymn

#### Monday

17.00 - 17.30	Commercials
17.30 - 17.45	News of the Archipelago
17.45 - 18.05	Songs of My Choice/Let's Sing
18.05 - 18.30	Cartoon Serial
18.30 - 18.45	News
18.45 - 18.55	Report on National Development
18.55 - 19.00	Tonight's Television Programming
19.00 - 19.25	Promotion of Indonesian Language
19.25 - 19.50	Indonesian Music
19.50 - 20.30	Television Forum

20.30 - 20.50	World News
20.50 - 21.40	Indonesian Cultural Variety Show
21.40 - 21.45	News in Brief
21.45 - 21.50	Tomorrow's Television Programming; Weather Forecast
21.50 - 22.20	Commercials
22.20 - 23.10	Serial Film
23.10 - 23.15	Closing Hymn

## **Tuesday**

17.00 - 17.30	Commercials
17.30 - 17.45	News of the Archipelago
17.45 - 18.05	Getting Acquainted with the Country
18.05 - 18.30	Cartoon Serial
18.30 - 18.45	News
18.45 - 18.55	Report on National Development
18.55 - 19.00	Tonight's Television Programming
19.00 - 19.25	University's Campus Activities/Popular Science
19.25 - 19.50	Early Evening Pop Music
19.50 - 20.10	Educational and Scientific Bulletin
20.10 - 20.30	Forum for Religious Beliefs: Javanese/Buddhism/The Indonesian Classical Music/Forum for Hinduism
20.30 - 20.50	World News
20.50 - 21.40	Drama
21.40 - 21.45	News in Brief
21.45 - 21.50	Tomorrow's Television Programming; Weather Forecast
21.50 - 22.20	Commercials
22.20 - 23.10	Serial Film
23.10 - 23.15	Closing Hymn

## **Wednesday**

17.00 - 17.30	Commercials
17.30 - 17.45	News of the Archipelago
17.45 - 18.05	Boy Scouts' Forum/Songs for Children
18.05 - 18.30	Cartoon Serial
18.30 - 18.45	News
18.45 - 18.55	Report on National Defense System
18.55 - 19.00	Tonight's Television Programming
19.00 - 19.25	English Lesson
19.25 - 19.50	New Acquaintances (popular singers)
19.50 - 20.30	Weather Forecast; Our Social Problems
20.30 - 20.50	World News
20.50 - 21.40	Musical and Comedy Show by Safari Group/Musical and Comedy Show by the Ministry of Defense/Variety of Nusantara
21.40 - 21.45	News in Brief

21.45 - 21.50	Tomorrow's Television Programming; Weather Forecast
21.50 - 22.20	Commercials
22.20 - 23.10	Serial Film
23.10 - 23.15	Closing Hymn

#### Thursday

17.00 - 17.30	Commercials
17.30 - 17.45	News of the Archipelago
17.45 - 18.05	Sports or Cartoons
18.05 - 18.30	Children's Serial
18.30 - 18.45	News
18.45 - 18.55	Report on National Development
18.55 - 19.00	Tonight's Television Programming
19.00 - 19.25	Indonesia Sings/Dances for Youth
19.25 - 19.50	Informative Drama
19.50 - 20.05	Al Quran Recital and Translation
20.05 - 20.30	Religious Forum for Islam/Drama
20.30 - 20.50	World News
20.50 - 21.40	"Keroncong" Music/Songs/Song Varieties/Songs and Composers/Mid-Eastern Styled Music
21.40 - 21.45	News in Brief
21.45 - 21.50	Tomorrow's Television Programming; Weather Forecast
21.50 - 22.20	Commercials
22.20 - 23.10	Serial Film
23.10 - 23.15	Closing Hymn

#### Friday

17.00 - 17.30	Commercials
17.30 - 17.45	News of the Archipelago
17.45 - 18.05	Promotion of Musical Sense/Promotion of Vocal Sense/Children's Forum
18.05 - 18.30	Cartoon Serial
18.30 - 18.45	News
18.45 - 18.55	Report on National Development
18.55 - 19.00	Tonight's Television Programming
19.00 - 19.25	Forum for Mathematics/Popular Science
19.25 - 19.50	Indonesian Ethnic Music
19.50 - 20.15	Oil World/Family Planning/Psychology for You/Family Welfare
20.15 - 20.30	Boxing
20.30 - 20.50	World News
20.50 - 21.40	National Cultural Horizon
21.40 - 21.45	News in Brief
21.45 - 21.50	Tomorrow's Television Programming; Weather Forecast

21.50 - 22.20	Commercials
22.20 - 23.10	Serial Film
23.10 - 23.15	Closing Hymn

### **Saturday**

17.00 - 17.30	Commercials
17.30 - 17.45	News of the Archipelago
17.45 - 18.05	Children's Program
18.05 - 18.30	Get Smart (a quiz program for high school students)/ Fast Response (a quiz program for elementary school students)
18.30 - 18.45	News
18.45 - 18.55	Report on National Development
18.55 - 19.00	Tonight's Television Programming
19.00 - 19.25	Youth Play/Youth Activities
19.25 - 19.50	You Should Know
19.50 - 20.30	Early Evening Music; Art Appreciation/Our Conversa- tion Tonight/The Unforgettable; Our Film
20.30 - 20.50	World News
20.50 - 21.15	Comedy Serial
21.15 - 21.40	Songs for You
21.40 - 21.45	News in Brief
21.45 - 21.50	Tomorrow's Television Programming; Weather Fore- cast
21.50 - 22.20	Commercials
22.20 - 23.55	Saturday Night Movie or Drama
23.55 - 24.00	Closing Hymn



## Appendix 3

### Television Advertising Content Analysis Schedule

\_\_\_\_\_ Date

\_\_\_\_\_ Time

A. Product or Service:

B. Classification by approximate price of product or service:\*

\_\_\_\_\_ under Rp500

\_\_\_\_\_ 501 to 1,000

\_\_\_\_\_ 1,001 to 1,500

\_\_\_\_\_ 1,501 to 2,000

\_\_\_\_\_ 2,001 to 5,000

\_\_\_\_\_ 5,001 to 10,000

\_\_\_\_\_ 10,001 to 20,000

\_\_\_\_\_ 20,001 to 50,000

\_\_\_\_\_ 50,001 up

C. Origin:

\_\_\_\_\_ Indonesia

\_\_\_\_\_ U.S.A.

\_\_\_\_\_ Japan

\_\_\_\_\_ other

D. Illustration:

\_\_\_\_\_ film

\*Each item was coded independently by two individuals according to the various categories.

\_\_\_\_\_ still  
\_\_\_\_\_ cartoon

**E. Sex of character(s):**

\_\_\_\_\_ male  
\_\_\_\_\_ female  
\_\_\_\_\_ both

**F. Age-group:**

\_\_\_\_\_ child  
\_\_\_\_\_ teenage  
\_\_\_\_\_ young adult  
\_\_\_\_\_ middle-aged adult  
\_\_\_\_\_ elderly person

**G. Nationality:**

\_\_\_\_\_ Indonesian  
\_\_\_\_\_ Japanese  
\_\_\_\_\_ European/American  
\_\_\_\_\_ other Asian

**H. Lifestyle:**

\_\_\_\_\_ urban  
\_\_\_\_\_ rural

**I. Class status:**

\_\_\_\_\_ upper class  
\_\_\_\_\_ middle class  
\_\_\_\_\_ working class

**J. Occupation:**

- \_\_\_\_\_ professional, managerial
- \_\_\_\_\_ blue collar
- \_\_\_\_\_ housewife
- \_\_\_\_\_ not identifiable

**K. Details:**

- \_\_\_\_\_ specific details
- \_\_\_\_\_ general remarks

**L. Use of humor:**

- \_\_\_\_\_ yes
- \_\_\_\_\_ no

**M. Product being advertised:**

- \_\_\_\_\_ consumer good
- \_\_\_\_\_ service

**N. Selling style:**

- \_\_\_\_\_ promotion
- \_\_\_\_\_ open competition (in comparison with other similar goods)
- \_\_\_\_\_ creation of new use
- \_\_\_\_\_ image selling

**O. Benefits:**

- \_\_\_\_\_ suggestion of positive benefits
- \_\_\_\_\_ avoidance of negative effects

**P. Style of presentation:**

- \_\_\_\_\_ demonstration of use
- \_\_\_\_\_ dramatization (show role players in dialogue)

\_\_\_\_\_ celebrity endorsement

**Q. Nature of benefits:**

\_\_\_\_\_ intrinsic (utility)

\_\_\_\_\_ extrinsic (pleasure or status)

**R. Motivational appeal:**

\_\_\_\_\_ comfort

\_\_\_\_\_ prestige (mentioned)

\_\_\_\_\_ efficacy, economic value, practicality

\_\_\_\_\_ quality

\_\_\_\_\_ attractiveness, appearance, beauty

\_\_\_\_\_ masculine prowess

\_\_\_\_\_ sex appeal

\_\_\_\_\_ fun, happiness, excitement

\_\_\_\_\_ family love

\_\_\_\_\_ tenderness, love, intimacy

\_\_\_\_\_ health, cleanliness

\_\_\_\_\_ friendship

\_\_\_\_\_ freshness

\_\_\_\_\_ taste

\_\_\_\_\_ prize

## Appendix 4

### Commodities and Brands Advertised on TVRI Jakarta (19 January 1978 - 19 February 1978)

No.	Commodity	Brand
1.	Cameras and films	Sakura films, Fujica MPF (camera) 105, Fujicolor films, Sakura Super Postcard
2.	Movies	Jeritan Si Buyung, Ali Topan Anak Jalanan, Triple Cross, The Bionic Boy, Pinangan, Sasuke (Japan), The Crazy Boys, Chica, Koboil Cilik
3.	Trucks/cars/spare parts	Tiga Berlian (truck), Dunlop (tire)
4.	Records/cassette recorders	P.T. Irama Tara, P.T. Musica Cassette, Atlantic Records
5.	Television sets	Mekanik, Srikandi, Arjuna, ITT TV Schaub Lorenz
6.	Insecticide	Mortein, Raid, Baygon
7.	Perfume and cosmetics	Tancho Hair Cream, New 8, Brisk, Brisk Special, Purol, Widex, Maya, Embro Danya, Mandom, Herocyn, Viva (powder, eye shadow, milk cleanser, face tonic, astringent, foundation, rose water), Brylcream, Kuan Im, Pond's Dream Flower, Wella, Nivea Cream, Super Cream
8.	Deodorant	Odorono, Rexona, D'amor
9.	Soap	Cussons, Palmolive, Vinolia, Lux, Lifebuoy
10.	Detergent	Rinso
11.	Toothpaste/tooth-brushes	Prodent, Prodent Ultra-White, Signal 2, Pepsodent, Pepsodent Baru, Manful
12.	Food	Marie Regalia biscuit, Blue Band margarine, Sugus candy, Beauty Biscuits, Marie Regal, Original Marie, Jackson Regalia, Marie Regal International biscuits
13.	Beverages	Seven-Up, Ovaltine, Coca-Cola, Fanta Orange, Sprite, Vita Charm

- |     |                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 14. | Milk products                 | Dancow, Lactogen, Milkrema, Dancow Instant, Eledon, Flags, Milkmaid Indomilk                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 15. | Monosodium glutamate and soya | Miwon (MGS), ABC soya, Ajinomoto, Sasa (MGS), ABC Honey Soya, Satay-vendor Soya                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 16. | Medicine                      | Jago (traditional medicine), Vicks Inhaler, Vicks Vaporub, Bodrexin, Bodrex, Hemaviton, Rheumason, Contracol, Vicks Formula 44, Juvelon C, Bodrexin Syrup, Rheumason Special Cream, Pak Pung Son Cream, Inza, Acnol, Konidin, Refagan, Candivit C, Bronchicum, Melsorum, Essaven, Napacin, Osra, Flukol Acme!, Lette |
| 17. | Shampoo/<br>conditioner       | Clinic Shampoo, Sunsilk Conditioner, Sunsilk, Sunsilk Black, Selsun, Kao Feather Shampoo, Tancho Youth Shampoo                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 18. | Reading materials             | Eppo comic Books, <i>Intisari</i> magazine                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 19. | Home products                 | Vim, Glade, Lemon Pledge, Jetcycle refrigerators, Axi floor wax, Clear glass cleaner                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 20. | Clothes                       | Alisan, Arrow, Levi's                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 21. | Toys                          | Chicco, Hoya                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 22. | Services                      | CV Titipan Kilat delivery service, Jiwasraya insurance                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 23. | Other                         | Citizen watches, Lowrey Organs, Cibinong Cement Factory, ICI Paints, Delco batteries, Colognette paper towels                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

## Appendix 5

### Synopsis of Television Drama

*Sri Sumaryanti Budhisantoso  
with Ruth Runeborg*

#### **The Bearded Civet Cat (*Musang Berjanggut*)**

The main character of this comedy is the lovely wife of a commander of the armed forces of an unnamed country. The woman's great beauty is a source of trouble because all the men she meets, including the King, fall in love with her.

In the first scene the woman, Syarifah, is impatiently waiting for her husband, Tengku Awang, to come home from the office. He is late because he is pondering an impossible assignment from the King, who has directed him to catch a live bearded civet cat, which he says his pregnant Queen craves. If the commander is successful, he will be promoted, if not, he will be exiled.

Once home, Tengku Awang confides his impossible task to his wife and Syarifah thinks of a clever solution. She tells her husband she can solve the problem if he will leave her undisturbed the following evening.

The three high officials who overhear the King's strange command to Syarifah's husband are very pleased; while the commander is searching for a bearded civet cat they can try to seduce his wife. Syarifah, recognizing the treachery in the King's order, tells a servant to arrange meetings with the officials so that the lowest ranking will visit her first and the King last.

The next scene shows Syarifah receiving her first visitor, the Minister of Justice. Planning to seduce her, he mentions that her husband will never return because the bearded civet cat is an imaginary animal. While he is trying to fondle her, someone knocks at the door. The servant enters and tells Syarifah that the Palace Regent wants to speak to her. The attorney does not want to be discovered, so Syarifah offers him a safe hiding place in a large heavy wooden box. He climbs in and she locks it securely.

The Regent, like the attorney, also wants to seduce Syarifah. She has trouble defending herself against him but, fortunately, the next visitor arrives. The servant again interrupts, announcing the Treasurer. The Regent trembles with fear and begs for a safe place to hide. Syarifah tells him to stand in the corner like a statue and hold some fruit in his hand.

The Treasurer is an old man who is a good poet. He tries to woo Syarifah with his poetry, but mispronounces the words. Suddenly he sees the statue. He is shocked, but Syarifah tells him it is a very good likeness of the Regent, carved by an artist whose name she has forgotten. Because the statue looks exactly like the Regent, the Treasurer asks Syarifah why no statue has been made of himself, a handsome man even richer than the King. While the Treasurer is talking he does not try to seduce Syarifah; he knows she is described as a "wild dove"—easily approached, but difficult to catch. The servant then tells his mistress that the King has arrived, and the Treasurer hides under her bed.

The King plans to marry Syarifah, who feigns agreement asking only one favor of him. He immediately promises whatever she desires, so she asks the King to act as a horse and let her ride on his back the whole night. The next morning, the King is exhausted and returns to the palace.

That day a meeting is held. All the important officials are present except the attorney. Suddenly the commander enters bearing a large, heavy wooden box. He apologizes to the King, saying he is not sure if he has caught the right animal since he is not sure exactly what the bearded civet cat looks like. The officials and the King file past the box and are quite surprised to see the attorney, who, of course, witnessed everything that went on in Syarifah's room.

Not knowing what else to do, the King agrees that the commander has captured the right animal, and promotes him.

### **The Black Lane (*Jalur Hitam*)**

This play is about two broken families. The first scene deals with a household headed by a domineering, middle-aged woman, Mrs. Rohaya, who values material possessions. Her husband leaves her when he finds that she has never been happy with him. To support herself and her niece, she becomes a prostitute, which is neither socially nor religiously sanctioned. Her life undoubtedly influences her niece, Entin, who marries Cheppy, an artist, while still very young.

The second scene shows Entin coming home from work, accompanied by a middle-aged man, the director of a social welfare office in Tegal. She has been seen with this man, and her husband is suspicious. He questions her, but Entin explains he is a friend. Cheppy discovers later that his wife has been having an affair with the man.

Entin cannot deny the truth and has no choice but to ask for a divorce. For the sake of their small children, Cheppy does not really want to divorce his wife, but cannot continue in this way. Moreover, Entin's aunt has never approved of Cheppy who is poor and does not have a prestigious government job. The aunt had always expected Entin to marry a rich man, so she helps her niece apply for a divorce to which Cheppy sadly agrees.

The second part of the play deals with the Atikah family. Mami, the wife, a civil servant with a good position, at one time fell in love with one of her subordinates. When her husband heard about the affair, he left her. Eventually, she is forced to work part-time as a prostitute in order to support herself and her eight children. Her lover cannot divorce his wife and his religion forbids polygamy, but the relationship continues.

When the children are older, one daughter, Santi, blames her mother for the fact that she cannot find a husband. Although she is pretty, any man who learns of her mother quickly loses interest. Santi begins to respond to anyone who pays any attention to her, and as a result has several abortions. She marries but is divorced soon after. Her younger sister, Tina, also becomes pregnant out of wedlock, but does not try to get an abortion until it is too late. Santi again blames her mother.

The final scene of the play shows the two daughters accusing their mother of irresponsibility, saying she jeopardized their future. Finally, Mami realizes she has done wrong. Both spiritually and economically impoverished, she must now face life as a divorcée with one daughter divorced and another an unwed mother. Eventually, she has a stroke, which leaves half of her body paralyzed. The play closes as Santi is prevented from committing suicide by a family servant.

### **The Consequence of Lying (*Akibat Dusta*)**

As the play opens, a housewife is angrily accusing a domestic of breaking a precious antique vase, a gift from a dear friend. The servant, Iyem, cannot prove



her innocence and is fired. She is hurt because she loves her master's family and knows she is innocent.

Iyem goes home to her parents and her father reproaches her, believing that she has committed the crime of which she is accused. The girl becomes very depressed.

Yeti, the master's daughter, is upset by her mother's treatment of the servant. She feels guilty because the servant is now unemployed, even though she is innocent. Finally, when the daughter hears that Iyem is ill, she can no longer be silent. She goes to her mother and tells her that she not only broke the vase, but also stole money from her mother's purse. The mother acknowledges her daughter's courage in admitting her guilt, but lets her suffer alone as a just punishment. Finally, she makes the daughter tell the servant to return to work for the family.

### **Fear (*Ketakutan*)**

Kustini is a teenage girl who has come to the city from her village home to continue her high school education. One day she receives a letter from her parents asking her to return home. The letter makes her afraid that her parents might want to cut short her education and marry her off according to the traditions of her village.

Kustini turns to her uncle, Dirjo, for advice. Dirjo, who lives in the city, thinks Kustini is old enough to make up her own mind but that she should go home and tell her parents what she has decided to do. She accepts his advice and returns to her village. Kustini's parents only want to see her; there are no plans for marriage.

### **Fruit Is Healthful (*Buah Itu Sehat*)**

This is an educational drama for children. Yus likes to play and eat candy, which is not unusual for a nine-year-old. His companion, Ahmad, is a well-behaved child and very mature for his age. He tells Yus to eat fruit rather than candy, and to study rather than use his catapult for shooting down his neighbor's mangoes. In the end, Yus accepts Ahmad's advice.

### **The Invitation (*Undangan*)**

The play is about some young teenagers who have accepted an invitation to a party. A teenage boy is talking with his sister as they wait for their friends so they may all leave for the party together. The brother, Didu, and the sister are in their best clothes; Didu wears his new suit, the sister, her new dress, a lot of makeup, and high-heeled shoes. A servant criticizes them, saying that they are too young to wear such clothes, but they ignore her.

The youngest daughter in the household, Ruri, wants to go to the party too, but her mother, Marlia, knows she is too young. Ruri protests, asking why her brother and sister can go with their lovers. Marlia tells her that her brother and sister go to the party with their friends, not their lovers, and that it is good that they learn to make as many friends as possible.

While Ruri is crying, her friend comes and invites her to the birthday party of a next-door neighbor. Ruri refuses and the boy goes by himself. Her mother asks why she turned down the invitation, when she had wanted so much to go with her brother and sister to a party. Ruri answers that she doesn't want to go with a

Chinese boy. Her mother admonishes her not to harbor bad feelings against other ethnic groups, explaining that the Chinese are citizens of Indonesia and are good people.

Finally, Didu's friend arrives and accompanies Ruri to her friend's birthday party.

### **Kunyil**

This story is about a conflict of personalities in a village. An ambitious, wealthy villager, Pak Bonin, opposes the village headman who attempts to obtain official recognition of the meritorious deeds of Pak Kunyil, who has helped the villagers to improve their life. The headman succeeds in obtaining the governor's permission to give Pak Kunyil the "satya lencana" award, but Pak Kunyil refuses the honor.

The first scene shows a conversation between Pak Kunyil and his apprentice Tole, a physically handicapped boy who fears the teasing and possible physical cruelty of his friends and refuses to return home. Pak Kunyil tries to convince him that as an adult he will be able to overcome such problems.

Meanwhile, the village headman has conferred with the governor about the official recognition of Pak Kunyil's good deeds. The governor has personally verified Pak Kunyil's background and activities and sets the date for the award.

Pak Bonin tries to sabotage the ceremony by persuading the other villagers to oppose the idea and even spreads the rumor that Pak Kunyil is a criminal. To prove this, Pak Bonin plants a suitcase full of money in Pak Kunyil's house.

Pak Kunyil is aware of the tension and division among the villagers, so he leaves temporarily, and does not attend the ceremony in the city. The villagers who travel to the city to see their friend receive the award are very disappointed, and blame the headman and the governor.

Pak Bonin is happy that he has convinced some of the villagers of Pak Kunyil's dishonesty. While Pak Bonin is arguing with the headman and Pak Kunyil's village friends, a henchman appears and says that the money has been returned to his house without a single cent missing. He also says to the group that he has heard from an old lady that Pak Kunyil is a quiet man who likes to help others without receiving a lot of publicity.

This information makes the headman curious and he tries to discover more about Pak Kunyil. While he is looking at his file, he finds that important information is illegible and the birth date and birthplace omitted. Obviously someone has tried to keep this personal information private.

As the play ends, the headman says that Pak Kunyil is a good man who does not like to see his good deeds publicized.

### **Mother (*Ibu*)**

This children's play concerns a mother and daughter. The mother, Mrs. Supit, works as a singer. Rini, the daughter, is ashamed of her mother's occupation and becomes upset when her mother practices singing in the house.

To avoid this situation, she spends a lot of time with the Marlia family next door. Rini confides in Mrs. Marlia, who tries to convince Rini that her mother is a good person who is trying to earn her living legally and in a religiously sanctioned profession. However, Rini is unconvinced until Mr. Marlia tells her that his

company's president intends to invite her mother to sing at his retirement celebration. Rini learns that the president is only one of thousands of her mother's fans. Finally, Rini understands that her mother sings for fans who truly appreciate her songs.

### **The New Settlement (*Pemukiman Baru*)**

This play, set in a densely populated village in Java, concerns the National Campaign for Development Program which encourages more active participation of the poor in the development of Indonesia. A number of poor villagers are talking with a young, educated man, Madi, who is trying to explain the concept of a balanced ecological system. He highlights the benefits of transmigration, pointing out that the village is unable to accommodate the growing population, and suggests relocation in Kalimantan, Sulawesi, or even Sumatra.

While Madi is seeking support for the government program, Pak Karjo, a moneylender, interrupts, accusing Madi of encouraging the villagers not to repay their debts. He is furious, feeling threatened by the younger man and his ideas. Finally the villagers, along with Madi and Karjo, decide to ask for guidance from Pak Furah, the headman.

Pak Furah has just attended a meeting with other villagers about the transmigration program. He tells these villagers it is necessary for them to leave their homes, because the land can no longer support them; soil erosion has drastically decreased fertility and has damaged the forest preserve. With the approval of the villagers, Pak Furah appoints Madi group leader for the transmigration process.

### **Revealed (*Terbuka*)**

When the play opens, a man named Karta is conferring with a schoolmaster in his office. After the meeting, Karta goes home. His wife is waiting for him, full of curiosity, so he promptly relates what the schoolmaster has told him about his younger brother, Andi.

According to the schoolmaster, Andi has not paid his school tuition for the last five months. Moreover, Andi has been absent from class and his academic performance is poor. He was one of the best students, but his grades are slipping. The schoolmaster has concluded that Andi's health is deteriorating due to heavy smoking.

Karta accuses his wife of not taking proper care of his brother. She denies this, saying she has always treated him as her own flesh and blood, but that Andi ignores her advice.

Karta punishes his younger brother by taking him out of school and making him work at home as a common laborer. He tells only the schoolmaster of his brother's punishment.

A few weeks later, Andi's friend visits to ask why he has not been in school. He tells Andi that another friend has been hospitalized with inflamed lungs due to smoking. The friend also tells Andi of the good time the whole class had when they went on a picnic to a beautiful mountain resort.

The visit makes Andi think about his life, and the sickness of his friend. He regrets his behavior and finally asks his brother's permission to return to school, saying he will stop smoking and attend all classes regularly.

Karta approves of his brother's desire to return to school and stops the punishment in the expectation that his brother will become a good and upstanding citizen.

### **The Prisoner (*Terali*)**

Suta is a hardened criminal who feels no regret or guilt about his involvement in robbery, murder, gambling, and prostitution. He has been sent to jail several times, and has no fear of punishment. His wife, a devout Muslim, tries hard to convince him that his criminal activities are not only illegal but also against the will of God. Despite her best efforts, the wife is not able to guide Suta to a socially and religiously acceptable way of life.

Suta, after having been convicted and sentenced to thirteen years in prison, is permitted to go to a public hospital where his wife is having a baby. She dies, but the child, a daughter, lives. Confronted with personal tragedy, Suta finally repents. In front of the prison guards, he swears on oath that he will not commit any more crimes. His feeling of guilt is further intensified when he reads a letter that his dying wife had left for him. In it, she asks that Suta consent to the baby's placement in an orphanage so that she will never know about her father's crimes. She says that she has named the child Zulaiha, which means "devoted one," indicating her hope that the girl will devote her life to God, her parents, and her country.

Thirteen years later Suta is released, and immediately visits his wife's grave, where he promises to be a good father. He goes to the orphanage to see the girl, but she refuses to acknowledge him because she has been told that her father was a wealthy sailor, not a convict. After his confession in front of his daughter and the orphanage matron, however, she accepts Suta.

### **The Teacher (*Guru*)**

A schoolteacher, Ilyas, brought up and educated in an urban center, is assigned to a small village school in a remote area. Because he has a strong sense of duty, the teacher gladly accepts the appointment, although his fiancée, Nina, is reluctant to live in a backward village.

The teacher finds his job very difficult; it requires complete dedication and a great deal of patience. Most of the villagers are not convinced that sending their children to school will be beneficial. They don't see any direct material profit in formal education, and prefer that the children work at home or in the fields. The teacher must go from door to door trying to persuade the parents to send their children to school.

One of the pupils is Dewi, the daughter of a poor family. Ilyas notices that her attendance is irregular, and when she is present, she often falls asleep at her desk. Being a responsible person, Ilyas decides to visit Dewi's home to learn the cause of her problems. He discovers that Dewi's father, Sukmá, is a gambler who is rarely home and pays little attention to his family. Dewi's mother must manage a small restaurant to make a living, and Dewi is required to help her at night.

Moved by the child's plight, the teacher resolves to visit the family often and help Dewi catch up with her lessons. One day she is sick, and the teacher comes to visit her. Dewi's father, who happens to be at home, misinterprets Ilyas' motives, accuses him of making advances to his wife in his absence, and orders him to leave.

Later Dewi and her mother arrive and the mother explains the situation to her husband and tells him that the teacher has not required a tuition payment for two months and Dewi's work in school has improved. Aware of his mistake, the father visits the teacher to apologize and express his gratitude.

Meanwhile, Nina, the teacher's fiancée, comes to visit and decides that she would like to live in the village after all. Her parents do not approve at first, but she is able to persuade them to consent to her marrying and settling in the village.

### **Transmigration (*Transmigrasi*)**

This play for youth concerns the National Development Program. It shows two friends, Arman and Surip, discussing their future plans; they have contradictory views.

Arman is a young villager from a poor family who has a strong desire to improve his lot. Surip is easygoing, supported by his parents, with no particular ambition.

Arman realizes it will be difficult for him to improve his life in his poor, overcrowded village, so he joins the National Development Program of transmigration. He and some other villagers start to cultivate a former forest area, receiving only a small living allowance from the government.

Meanwhile, Surip remains at home with his parents, enjoying life. He proposes to Arman's girlfriend while Arman is away in the new settlement. The girl's parents happily accept Surip's offer, but the wedding never takes place.

Surip's father goes bankrupt and loses his job. Later, Surip is caught stealing logs from the forest, which is off limits.

Arman, who has worked diligently at the new settlement, returns home to visit his parents in the village and marries his girlfriend.

### **The White Sand (*Pasri Putih*)**

A young wife, Myrna, learns she is unable to bear children and turns to her mother for counsel. Her mother had a similar condition, but did bear one child after ten years of marriage. She believes that Myrna too will be able to have a child eventually.

In the town of Kampung, private matters quickly become public; soon everyone is talking about the unfortunate Myrna, who is sterile. The townspeople comment on the unfortunate lack of offspring to carry on the family name. They say that children strengthen and enrich a marriage and that it is common for a husband to divorce a barren wife.

Myrna's father hears the gossip while in a cafe; he goes to talk to Basri, Myrna's husband, and tells him what he has heard. Basri then realizes why Myrna has been despondent. The news does not change his love for his wife, he has no intention of divorcing her.

Basri says that a child is a gift from God, and if his wife is unable to have a child, it must be God's will. If a couple really wants a child, there are many children in orphanages waiting for loving homes. In fact, Basri has even thought about adopting a child. Myrna's father goes home happy, thanking God for guiding his son-in-law and giving him wisdom.

### **The Young Couple (*Pasangan Usia Muda*)**

In this story there are two families; one has a son, Didi, and the other a daughter, Min. These young people are in love and want to marry. Pak Effendi, the father of the daughter, has seen two of his older children marry quite young, and he worries that his younger daughter and her boyfriend will make the same mistake. His wife, however, believes that if the daughter loves her boyfriend, they should be allowed to marry.

Pak Effendi tells his daughter's boyfriend that he does not want them to marry at such an early age. Didi misunderstands, believing he has been denied the girl's hand forever. Upset, he leaves home without permission.

The boy's father does not understand his son's behavior and asks Effendi about it. Pak Effendi tells him of his conversation with the boy and relates his unhappy experiences with the early marriage of his other two children. Didi's father agrees with Effendi and promises to advise his son to wait before marrying Min.

# Appendix 6

## Holistic Value Analysis of Television Drama

*Mochtar Pabottinggi*

### **The Bearded Civet Cat (*Musang Berjanggut*)**

Comedy, 45 minutes

#### **Major Characters**

1. Syarifah
2. Tengku Awang, Syarifah's husband
3. King
4. Regent
5. Minister of Justice
6. Treasurer

#### **Value Orientations**

1. Syarifah is a clever wife who places a high value on marital fidelity. She remains faithful even though she is tempted by high-ranking officials when her husband is absent.
2. Tengku Awang does not show any particular value orientation. He is a somewhat obedient officer. Even though he knows he was given the impossible mission of finding a bearded civet cat (civet cats never have beards) so that the King can make advances to his wife and perhaps even exile him, he accepts the duty. He does not know that his wife wants to punish the King and his subordinates through a plot of her own.
3. The Minister of Justice, the Regent, the Treasurer, and the King are all pleasure-seeking people. They are willing to exile a loyal subordinate in order to seduce his beautiful wife.

#### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

Since this is a comedy, the value conflict is uncomplicated: temptation versus fidelity.

#### **Resolution**

Conventional goodness prevails. The three noblemen are duped by Syarifah who invites them to visit her one by one so that each sees the other's foolishness. The Minister of Justice, who happens to have a long beard, is delivered as a bearded civet cat in a box to the King by Tengku Awang.

#### **Comments**

This comedy, which takes place sometime in the past in the Malay peninsula,

is all the more amusing because of the use of the original Malay dialect. Traditional costumes and Malay sets also contribute to its effectiveness. If the actors are convincing, this play is well received. Yet, because it is a comedy, it does not convey particularly strong values.

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### **The Black Lane (*Jalur Hitam*)**

Tragedy, 90 minutes

#### **Major Characters**

1. Author
2. Djoko, a friend
3. Cheppy, a painter
4. Entin, Cheppy's wife
5. Mrs. Rohaya, Entin's aunt
6. Mami, a rich widow
7. Santi, Mami's older daughter
8. Tina, Mami's younger daughter

#### **Value Orientations**

1. The author and his friend have a dual function: they are commentators and judges, whose role is to indicate the merits of several traditional values.
2. Cheppy is here portrayed more as an artist than a responsible father. More a conscientious parent than a moralist, he is ready to forgive his unfaithful wife for the sake of his children.
3. Entin is a woman forever seeking romantic love. She willingly subordinates fidelity and responsibility to romantic dreams, and does not hesitate to divorce her husband and leave her children to follow the man she loves.
4. Mrs. Rohaya is a materialistic, sensual, pleasure-seeking woman. She urges her niece, Entin, to divorce her husband because he is poor.
5. Mami is a sensuous and hedonistic woman. She is also irresponsible, although not intentionally. When she realizes that her past has jeopardized her daughters' future, she is sorry.
6. Santi may be a true moralist, because she really suffers. She repeatedly tries to remind her mother of the consequences of her indiscretion.
7. Tina is not quite a moralist, but more an avenger. She is deliberately and enthusiastically promiscuous, which she knows upsets her mother.

#### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

There is a slight difference between the conflict in Cheppy's family and the conflict in Mami's. Although both conflicts are "philosophically" motivated, in



Mami's family sensuality is more important than in Entin's, and Entin's behavior is in part influenced by economic factors. Yet the results are the same: Entin and Mami pursue their objective while disregarding the moral and religious values of the communities.

### **Resolution**

For Entin the solution is divorce. Her husband finally concludes that a wife's fidelity is crucial to a stable family life. However, in Mami's family there is no real solution, except, possibly, Mami's repentance.

### **Comments**

The author presents the drama in black and white terms. He punishes the scoundrels in the two families very severely: Mrs. Rohaya dies of a sudden heart attack, and Mami's daughters leave their mother after censuring her behavior and revealing her detestable deeds one by one.

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## **The Consequence of Lying (*Akibat Dusta*)**

Educational play, 30 minutes

### **Major Characters**

1. Mother
2. Yeti, daughter
3. Iyem, maid
4. Iyem's parents

### **Value Orientations**

1. The mother does not have a particularly strong value orientation. If she emphasizes honesty in this story, it is only because her material possessions are directly affected. By being fair to the maid, however, whom she had dismissed rudely after accusing her of having broken a vase, she shows a sense of justice; she orders her daughter, who is the culprit, to ask for Iyem's forgiveness.
2. Yeti is really a kind girl. As soon as she knows the consequence of her lies, she repents. It is her sense of responsibility that makes her confess.
3. Iyem is reliable and trustworthy. Fresh from the country where she leads a sheltered life, she has not yet experienced humiliation. The punishment is severe, and she cannot accept the fact that she has been unjustly chastised.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

There is only one conflict, and that is the individual's psychological turmoil; Yeti's own conscience begins to torture her unbearably.

It is this conscience that finally prevails; social responsibility is stronger than any other consideration. This play condemns deceit and praises honesty. It also cautions against meddling in another's life, and rudeness to subordinates.

## **Comments**

The plot runs quite smoothly, and both major and minor characters behave consistently. Iyem's father conforms to the traditional image and is more rational than tender; he blames his daughter. Iyem's mother, also typical, is more loving than rational. She stands behind her daughter despite the fact that she cannot countenance her act.

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### **Fear (*Ketakutan*)**

Educational play, 30 minutes

#### **Major Characters**

1. Kustini, a 16-year-old country girl
2. Dirjo, Kustini's uncle
3. Kustini's friends

#### **Value Orientations**

1. Kustini places a high value on education. The whole play is centered on her fear that her parents are calling her home in order to marry her in accordance with the traditions of her village.
2. Dirjo believes that Kustini is old enough to decide for herself. He approves of independence, but also endorses the importance of parental supervision.
3. Kustini's friends all show concern and willingness to help.

#### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

While Kustini fears an impending marriage, in fact, her parents only want her to visit them after finishing high school. There is no indication that they want her to remain in the village. The conflict in this play is only potential.

#### **Resolution**

There is no real conflict, so no resolution is presented. Kustini is summoned, and, after much ado, she does go home.

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### **Fruit Is Healthful (*Buah Itu Sehat*)**

Educational play, 30 minutes

#### **Major Characters**

1. Yus, a nine-year-old boy
2. Ahmad, Yus's friend
3. Aminah, Yus's aunt

### **Value Orientations**

1. The child Yus hardly has any value orientations at all. He simply enjoys playing with a catapult.
2. Ahmad is an exceptional boy who already realizes the importance of social responsibility. He warns Yus not to play with the catapult, which is a dangerous toy.
3. By repeatedly telling Yus of the nutritional value of fruit, Aminah is conveying the importance of good nutrition and education.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

A value conflict is not present in this play, because no value is refused by any character.

### **Resolution**

Yus realizes his mistake and learns of the importance of fruit.

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### **Invitation (*Undangan*)**

Educational play, 30 minutes

### **Characters**

1. Marlia, mother of two daughters and one son
2. Ruri, Marlia's younger daughter

### **Value Orientations**

1. Marlia tries to teach her children to behave appropriately and responsibly in social situations.
2. Ruri seems too young to have strong value orientations, but does want to be treated as an adult.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

This play is intended to serve as an example for adolescents. The generation gap between Marlia and her younger daughter represents an unspecified conflict. Ruri's objection to going to a party with Eng, a Chinese boy, shows racial prejudice.

### **Resolution**

Ruri finally accepts her mother's advice.

### **Comments**

This simple but imaginative play is both educational and appealing.

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## **Kunyii**

Morality play, 60 minutes

### **Major Characters**

1. Kunyii, a wise old man
2. Tole, Kunyii's apprentice
3. Bonin, a young man who opposes Kunyii's philanthropy

### **Value Orientations**

1. Kunyii is a wise old man who spends most of his time helping others, especially the poor. So great is his generosity that he has become a subject of controversy in his village. Some regard him as a sage, while others see him as a madman. He never lets himself be influenced by the villagers' speculation as to his real motives. He pursues his charitable activities; kindness is his salient characteristic.
2. Tole, a somewhat mentally retarded cripple, is naive, honest, and very loyal, although it is not clear whether his loyalty is derived from trust or from the fact that others treat Kunyii as a saint.
3. Bonin is a worldly young man. For him there is nothing moral in this world, and seemingly disinterested acts are ultimately motivated by materialism. He believes Kunyii is either an imposter or a madman.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

Here we find only a philosophical conflict. Bonin's earnest attempts to ruin Kunyii's reputation in his village have nothing to do with direct material gains or other tangible benefits. He is motivated by his dislike of Kunyii whom he does not want people to trust or idolize.

This is a unilateral conflict. Kunyii pays no attention to Bonin's attempt to discredit him in the eyes of the villagers; the only confrontation takes place when Kunyii tries to remind Bonin of his misconduct toward Tole.

### **Resolution**

In the end, it is proven that Kunyii is wise, helpful, honest, and self-effacing. The message of this play seems to be that, just as there are really bad people around us, there are also really good people.

### **Comments**

Only a few values are to be found in this play, mainly because the author presents his play in a low-key style. There is no verbal moralizing in this story, but rather an attempt to present most of the characters' values through the routines of daily life. The author does not transform the story into a sermon.

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**Mother (*Ibu*)**

Educational play, 30 minutes

**Major Characters**

1. Rini, a fourteen-year-old girl
2. Mrs. Supit, Rini's mother
3. Mrs. Marlia, Rini's neighbor

**Value Orientations**

1. Rini is oriented toward status and position, which becomes obvious when she reveals her long-suppressed objection to her mother's profession, which she considers lowly.
2. Mrs. Supit's concern is not so much with her career as a singer as with her responsibility to raise and educate her children adequately.
3. Mrs. Marlia and her daughter try to show Rini her error and the importance of her mother's ultimate goals.

**Nature of the Value Conflict**

There is a conflict of values between Rini and her mother and between Rini and Mrs. Marlia.

**Resolution**

Rini finally realizes her error, and begs for her mother's forgiveness.

**Comments**

Though the plot is simple, this play is convincingly presented through a clever dialogue and strong characterizations.

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**The New Settlement (*Pemukiman Baru*)**

Government program, about 30 minutes

**Major Characters**

1. Pak Furah, the village head
2. Pak Karjo, the usurer
3. Madi, a young villager
4. Madi's friends

**Value Orientations**

1. The main concern of Pak Furah is the well being of the villagers under his authority. The village head does his best to carry out the missions of resettling poor people in better regions and of promoting family planning.

2. Pak Karjo's primary interest is money. All else is secondary, including good relationships with his fellow villagers. He tries to get them to borrow money from him, and once they are in debt, exploits them.
3. Madi and his friends have decided to leave their village for the newly opened frontier areas. They choose brighter prospects over traditional ties with their village.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

Conflicts take place on two levels. There is conflict between the village head and the restless villagers, and between Pak Karjo and his debtors, which pits material gain against basic survival.

### **Resolution**

Of the two conflicts, only the conflict between restlessness and order is resolved. Because of the village head's hard work, order and stability are restored and the poor from his village are resettled on other islands. The resolution of Pak Karjo's dispute with his debtors is less clear. There is no direct confrontation, although the village head does request that Pak Karjo stop his money lending business.

### **Comments**

Dialogues are too predictable for the play to be very convincing. Moreover, the hardships of the village life are discussed by the characters rather than witnessed by the viewers.

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### **Revealed (*Terbuka*)**

Educational play, 15 minutes

### **Major Characters**

1. Andi, an eleven-year-old boy
2. Karta, Andi's older brother

### **Value Orientations**

1. Andi is still too young to be guided by specific values. He wants to be treated as an adult, which prompts him to smoke in secret.
2. Karta's main objective is education. The manner in which he handles his younger brother's truancy and smoking is indicative of this. After other efforts fail, he orders Andi to stop going to school and to continue smoking. He lets Andi help the maid for wages to buy cigarettes. This approach is effective. The young boy finally sees his mistake.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

This play shows the conflict between a child's naughtiness and his older brother's sense of responsibility.

### **Resolution**

The experience of working and the news of the hospitalization of a friend due to smoking makes Andi renounce his bad habits.

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### **The Prisoner (*Terali*)**

Tragedy/Educational play, 60 minutes

### **Major Characters**

1. Suta, a prisoner
2. Mrs. Suta
3. Zulaiha, Suta's daughter
4. Orphanage secretary

### **Value Orientations**

1. A criminal imprisoned several times, Suta undergoes a significant psychological change when his wife dies while giving birth to their only daughter. He begins to regard responsibility toward his family as an important value, and is no longer a slave to the vanity that drove him to crime.
2. Mrs. Suta is a faithful wife and very devout. Although her husband treats her badly, she continues her attempts to instill in him some sense of responsibility and religion.
3. Zulaiha is a young girl who has nurtured illusions of her father; in order to give her self-respect, the orphanage secretary has told her that her father is a rich, handsome sailor. She is therefore disappointed when she discovers that her father is not only very poor, but also a criminal. She quickly realizes, however, that her father truly cares for her, and finally accepts him.
4. Social responsibility prompts the orphanage secretary to take Zulaiha in and bring her up.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

There are two conflicts. One is between Suta, the criminal, and his religious wife, which, translated into symbolic terms, is a conflict between materialism and spiritualism. The other is Zulaiha's struggle to accept her father as he is. The second conflict is more intense and poignant.

### **Resolution**

Suta eventually becomes aware of his mistakes, though at great personal

cost, and Zulaiha learns that a real father is better than an imaginary one. Suta repents and becomes a responsible father who loves his daughter very much, and Zulaiha reciprocates.

### **Comments**

Predictable dialogues occur, which is understandable since this is a morality play. The author seems to exploit the desire of many people for conventional moral values. The average Indonesian will find something reassuring in this play; audiences in pre-industrial societies tend to believe that conventional moral standards really exist.

The setting is modest but effective. The prison, Suta's house, the office of the hospital, and the orphanage are all typical and would be familiar to Indonesian viewers.

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### **The Teacher (*Guru*)**

Educational play, 60 minutes

#### **Major Characters**

1. Ilyas, the teacher
2. Nina, the teacher's fiancée
3. Dewi, a pupil
4. Sukma, Dewi's father
5. Dewi's mother

#### **Value Orientations**

1. Ilyas, the teacher, is a man of dedication. He has decided not to go to the city, where he could earn more money, as his fiancée has suggested, but to stay in his village as an elementary school teacher. He is ready to face any risk, even losing his fiancée, but not ready to give up his ideal of developing the educational system in his village, because he has a strong sense of social responsibility.
2. Nina is a girl easily swayed by those around her, especially her parents, who are very materialistic. Finally she understands Ilyas's determination and decides to follow him, proving the importance of social responsibility.
3. Dewi is a very obedient girl who has to help her mother make cookies she sells to support her family. As a result, she is too tired to concentrate on the lesson.
4. Sukma is a gambler who has abandoned his family. He is very suspicious of Ilyas, but eventually realizes his grave mistakes. In the end, he is no longer resistant to filial love and parental responsibility but accepts that faith and charity do exist.
5. Dewi's mother takes responsibility seriously. She has assumed the tasks of supporting her daughter and financing her education.



### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

There are two unrelated conflicts. One is the conflict between Ilyas and Dewi's father, who does not want other people to interfere in his domestic problems, even though his daughter's teacher is particularly concerned about Dewi's poor progress. The other conflict is between Ilyas and his fiancée who urges him to move to the city for material reasons.

The first conflict weighs the authority of a father against the teacher's responsibility. Sukma is angry because his authority is being infringed upon by an outsider; but the teacher is concerned because his efforts to improve Dewi's conditions in school might fail due to parental irresponsibility.

The second conflict is between materialism and social responsibility.

### **Resolution**

Sukma radically changes his attitude toward his own family and the teacher, who in turn is steadfast in his determination to remain in the village.

### **Comments**

This play is subtly plotted. The flow of events is presented through real situations. We actually see the teacher with his pupils in the classroom and farmers working in the rice paddies by which the teacher usually walks.

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### **Transmigration (*Transmigrasi*)**

Informative program, 30 minutes

### **Major Characters**

1. Arman, a young man
2. Fatimah, Arman's girlfriend, daughter of a rich farmer
3. Surip, son of a rich farmer, who loves Fatimah
4. Fatimah's parents

### **Value Orientations**

1. Arman is an industrious young man noted for his concern for his own future and for those who love him.
2. Fatimah is impressed by Arman's sense of responsibility and falls in love with him.
3. Surip is an idle young man who boasts of his wealth, believing others to be easily impressed by his money.
4. Fatimah's parents share their daughter's values. They pay no attention to Arman's poverty, but are impressed with his potential.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

The title of the play does not really correspond to the story. The conflict is

concerned less with the problems of transmigration and more with rivalry. The intricate problems of transmigration are secondary.

### **Resolution**

Fatimah prefers to marry Arman. Accustomed to the mockery of his rival, Arman returns home a successful young man after an arduous struggle in a new settlement. However, it is not clear whether he returns only to marry Fatimah or to remain in his former village permanently, something the policy of transmigration discourages.

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## **The White Sand (*Pasir Putih*)**

Educational play, 30 minutes

### **Major Characters**

1. Basri, a young fisherman
2. Myrna, Basri's wife
3. Myrna's parents
4. Villagers

### **Value Orientations**

1. Basri values responsibility toward the family, which he demonstrates by struggling on a stormy sea for them and by resolving not to divorce his wife, even though she is sterile.
2. To Myrna, love is all-important. She is frustrated by her sterility, not because she desires a child, but because she fears being forsaken by her husband. She considers her childlessness predestined, which indicates her tendency toward fatalism.
3. Myrna's parents are concerned only for their daughter's welfare. They believe that one day Myrna will bear a child.
4. A number of villagers look down upon Basri because of his unwillingness to take another wife who might give him a child. They value the perpetuation of the family.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

Here, the conflict takes place neither between Basri and his wife, nor between Basri and his wife's parents, but between Basri and other villagers. This is a conflict between conscience and tradition. There is also a conflict between fatalism and individual responsibility.

### **Resolution**

Basri is determined not to take another wife. Loyalty prevails.

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## **The Young Couple (*Pasangan Usia Muda*)**

Educational play, 30 minutes

### **Major Characters**

1. Didi, a young man
2. Min, Didi's girlfriend
3. Min's father

### **Value Orientations**

1. Didi's principal value orientation is his responsibility to his girlfriend Min, as evidenced by his decision to marry her despite the fact that he has not yet finished school.
2. Min seeks a romantic involvement, though she frequently talks of her need for independence.
3. Min's father believes in independence more than his daughter. He thinks that a young couple with no means of support will inevitably be a burden for their parents.

### **Nature of the Value Conflict**

The impatience of the young and the discretion of the parents promotes conflict.

### **Resolution**

Min's parents, after consulting Didi's parents, persuade the young couple to postpone marriage.

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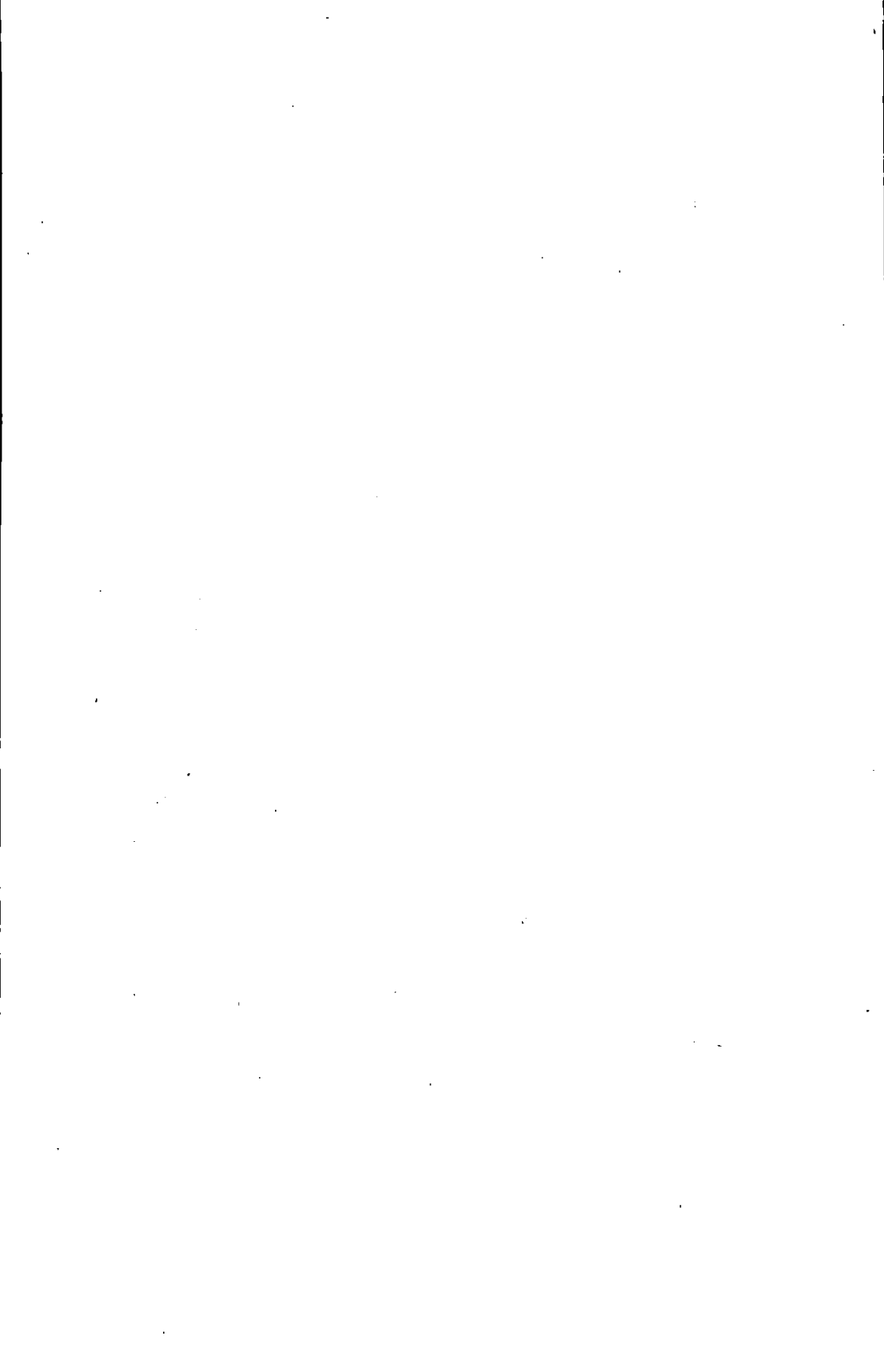
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**1777 East-West Road**  
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