

ENGAGING THE MILLENNIAL: NEGOTIATING PUBLIC VALUES IN THE PRODUCTION OF CULTURAL TEXTS

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Abstract

This study is concerned with the hegemonic influence of Televisi Republik Indonesia as a public service broadcaster in producing cultural texts among Indonesian millennials. TVRI has long been hampered by continuous internal conflicts, complicated bureaucracy, and outmoded programmes, all of which have prevented its transformation into an ideal public broadcaster. The civil society coalition in charge of public broadcasting revealed that TVRI's main issue was a failure to comprehend the significance of public ideals reflected in policies and the production of cultural texts. This study examines the role of TVRI in negotiating public ideals while producing cultural texts under the shadow of state control and internal conflicts. Using a case study approach and thematic analysis on public service broadcasting in Indonesia, this study aimed to investigate the role of actors in defining the production process of cultural texts and public values in the context of reliance on state legitimacy and domination. The study's findings show that public service broadcasting is never separated from economic and political interests, is not oriented toward serving the public, and has failed to deliver significant breakthroughs for the millennial generation. As a result, public broadcasters are still considered out of date and disregarded by millennial audiences.

Keywords: *Indonesia, post-authoritarian, production room, publicness, public rights, state power, television*

1.0 Introduction

This research aims to explore the historical context of public service broadcasting in Indonesia, building upon foundational classical studies conducted by Kitley (2000), Wahyuni (2006), and Sudiby (2004). These scholars have extensively examined the development of public broadcast media in Indonesia, and this study will draw upon their thesis arguments to further investigate this topic [1] [2] [3]. In her study, Wahyuni shows that television media in Indonesia began when Soekarno, Indonesia's first president, was eager to present to the world physical reliefs controlled by the Indonesian nation, such as monuments, buildings, and other activities that demand worldwide attention. The purpose was to demonstrate the concept of nationality amid the post-World War II economic environment. In 1962, Indonesia hosted the inaugural Asian Games. Simultaneously, Soekarno's ambition was fulfilled by the establishment of Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI), just as it is in developed countries. A similar concern was expressed in Kitley's study on the early development of TVRI [1]. He argues that television in Indonesia is a pillar of the state's "national cultural project" as defined by Wahyuni's work [1]. Article 32 of the 1945 Constitution mandates the government to enhance national culture, which involves the cultural project. The Kitley's project is a historical research project focused on the New Order

era's cultural development. He added that the emergence of television was seen as the most significant event of the era. Sudibyo (2004) also addressed the problem of public and cultural spaces. He argues that broadcasting, which becomes a public space with the conception of public service broadcasting, may help to realise a democratic society [3].

As a public service broadcaster, TVRI has provided entertainment and education to the Indonesian people for the past 56 years. However, TVRI's situation has changed since 1990. Despite the surge of programming from various commercial broadcasters following the 1998 reform, TVRI remained determined to compete with regional programmes. As a consequence, TVRI is regarded as "boring" and uninteresting by modern audiences [4]. This government-owned television is frequently associated with countless negative connotations, including bureaucracy, corruption, and boring programming. According to another study by Masduki (2017b), TVRI has been the public's central element in distant places due to its diverse educational programming [5]. Meanwhile, the recent downturn in public interest in TVRI is attributed to irrelevant resources. Internal conflicts and disagreements at TVRI also impacted the production process. This study explores how TVRI, Indonesia's public broadcaster, negotiates public values in its production space and its role as a producer of cultural content, while investigating how organizational disputes within TVRI impact the production of cultural content targeted at Indonesia's millennial generation. Researchers aim to analyze how TVRI's organizational conflicts influence the cultural texts it produces and the extent to which these texts engage Indonesia's millennial audience. The study employs an inductive approach to identify themes and conduct analysis.

Indonesia requires a public broadcasting model that can accommodate all of the nation's diverse ethnicities, religions, and cultures [6]. TVRI took over the role. TVRI should be the public's constant as a television station with a vision of culture, education, and local values. It uses public service broadcasting to promote cultural aspirations related to the production of cultural texts. Therefore, this study discusses how to comprehend the TVRI production process. However, the researchers did not directly investigate the production process in a managerial and technical context. On the other side, the researchers attempt to investigate the responses of social agents within TVRI to this process. The expressions describe their knowledge as well as how they interpret the TVRI production process. The researchers then connect it to power relations and TVRI's internal conflict issues. As a result, the production process examined here does not intend to study the flow of production management from pre-production planning through post-production.

This study's primary methodology is explanatory case studies, which contribute to a thorough understanding of the cases chosen for this study. The case study's framework is based on Yin's model, which argues that this form of explanatory case study allows for the investigation of answers to why and how [7]. Furthermore, it is beneficial to describe the interconnectedness of each existing research themes. The case study approach's philosophical foundation is the constructivist paradigm. Nonetheless, this study paradigm employs a critical theory approach. The case study in this research focuses on Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI), a state institution. Due to ongoing internal crises, gaining permission and access for investigation is difficult. Despite time passing since 2019, the issues persist, and the new TVRI leadership may limit access. Contacting participants has been challenging, as repeated attempts often yield no success. The main challenge of this case study is obtaining access and building relationships to gather thorough research data.

For this study, the researcher conducted interviews in two ways: in-depth interviews and informal conversations with 15 participants. These interviews aimed to assess participant suitability, test interview techniques, and evaluate the effectiveness of semi-structured questions. However, the interview process faced some challenges due to unexpected conditions during the study trip, particularly the COVID-19 pandemic, which prevented physical closeness. As a result, nine out of the 15 participants underwent online interviews using platforms like Zoom Meeting or Google Meet. The questions used were semi-structured, allowing for a conversational flow that

encouraged participants to share information relevant to the research objectives. The sample for this study is non-probability, meaning participants were selected in a non-random and non-representative manner. This approach, classified as a convenience sample, allowed for participants to be chosen based on their accessibility. Through this process, 15 participants were identified who possessed relevant qualifications to address the research questions. The researcher's involvement was significant, aiding in the development of sensitivity in interpreting observations and applying concepts related to thoughts, feelings, and values. Ensuring data validity is crucial in any research approach. This study employed triangulation and member examinations as procedures to enhance data credibility [17].

In reference to the study's research question, what is TVRI's role as a producer of cultural texts, and how much influence does TVRI's internal conflict have on the production process of the cultural text? Both research questions are important. The analysis has focused on TVRI interpretation and re-interpretation from the agency, actor, or individual perspective. This is the contribution of this study. The political economy analysis is produced from a macro standpoint and a micro perspective by investigating the meanings of social actors and agencies in the macro structure of the media's political economy. The number of selected informants has been tailored to the need to answer relevant research questions. This study's sample is non-probability, which requires the selection of informants in a non-random and hence non-representative manner. This non-probability technique was adopted because it might include informants being selected based on their availability of access. Fifteen informants were interviewed for this study. However, the researchers has confirmed to all the informants that they are only willing to be interviewed anonymously. The reason is that the issues and topics raised are sensitive ones. This issue will put them at risk of being sanctioned or fired from the agency where they are located.

Considering this, the researchers agreed to hide the identity of each informant in the form of the name, age, gender, occupation, and position, so as not to use initials. This avoids any potential consequences that could harm the informants. Therefore, the researchers also submitted a set of research ethics clearance forms to the Universiti Malaya Research Ethic Committee. The purpose of submitting research ethics clearance is to ensure the security of privacy and personal data and to obtain approval for conducting research as well as interviews. The researchers then received approval from the Universiti Malaya Research Ethics Committee on May 9, 2022. After receiving the approval letter, the researchers were entitled to conduct in-depth interviews with each informant according to research guidelines and ethical clearance. This study validates the requirement for and suitable data collection in order to answer research questions and conduct critical research designs. Interviews were used in this study to evaluate the suitability of informants, the reliability of interview procedures, and the efficacy of semi-structured questions. During the COVID-19 epidemic, the interview procedure for fifteen informants was conducted online via Zoom Meeting or Google Meet. This study topic is definitely sensitive for internal stakeholders and informants to be interviewed about. Informants are expected to respond to in-depth research questions about the extent of hegemonic power in the cultural text production process in TVRI. As a result, with the consent of all informants and in accordance with the research code of ethics, personal data such as names and other pertinent identities are kept anonymous in this study.

2.0 Literature Review

This study adds to the existing research on how dominant power and ideology influence Public Service Broadcasting, especially during Indonesia's New Order era. Hegemony refers to the dominance of false ideas or ways of thinking about reality. Ideology isn't solely influenced by the economic system but is deeply ingrained in all media activities of public broadcasters like TVRI. These broadcasters face a challenge in promoting certain ideologies while considering the interests of specific groups. Littlejohn and Foss (2014) argue that ideology is persuasive and operates subtly [18]. Dominant ideologies prioritize the interests of certain groups, with the media playing a crucial role in this process.

One of the foundational studies that laid the groundwork for this understanding was conducted by Darmanto and Masduki (2014). Their research significantly contributes to the broader field of public service broadcasting and specifically sheds light on the context of public broadcasting in Indonesia [19]. Their study elucidates the fundamental purpose behind the establishment of Public Service Broadcasting. Originating from the United Kingdom in 1922, public broadcasters initially managed radio channels before expanding to television with terrestrial, satellite, and digital technologies, as explained by Darmanto and Masduki (2014). These broadcasters, like the BBC and NHK, have evolved into broadcasting corporations, encompassing all service platforms, including analogue, digital, and online mediums. The overarching aim is to ensure that the public can access broadcasting services across various regions, from urban to rural areas. Additionally, according to Masduki and Darmanto (2016), Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) serves the following normative functions: Firstly, it aims to disseminate information, which includes news and discussions related to socialization and oversight of public policies [20]. Secondly, it endeavors to provide enlightening and educational broadcasts, often presented in a didactic and creative manner. Thirdly, it offers high-quality entertainment. The implementation of PSB can take various forms, such as dedicated educational channels or entertainment channels that ensure the absence of cultural exploitation.

Therefore, Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) plays a crucial role in regulating quality standards through quality assurance mechanisms provided to the public. According to Schechter (2005), PSB serves additional roles and interests in revitalizing democratic public broadcasting. He emphasizes that the influence of PSBs like the BBC demonstrates that a robust public sector can engage a wide audience and contribute to vibrant democratic discourse [21]. For instance, PSBs often present documentaries from an independent perspective, providing a platform for independent filmmakers who may struggle to access commercial media. However, despite their significance, public broadcasters face challenges such as funding constraints and struggles for autonomy from economic and state interventions. They must navigate power dynamics, including government oversight, and rely on support from the corporate sector to sustain operations. Masduki (2007) asserts that regardless of public involvement, regimes in power tend to utilize mechanisms to control media information diversity in order to maintain established social structures [22]. This regulation can be direct or indirect, with governments conducting regulatory and control activities to suppress ideas that may disrupt the system's operation. One assertion posits that governments prioritize maintaining the status quo, including their power and ideology, through various means.

Discussions on the relationship between television and power often portray television as merely a tool of regime power. This perspective is informed by several seminal analyses, including those by Kitley (2000), Wahyuni (2000), and Sudiby (2004). These studies, considered classics, provide a foundation for the justification of this research [1] [2] [3]. However, while this research may initially appear similar to the aforementioned studies, it differs significantly. Unlike Kitley (2000), Wahyuni (2000) and Sudiby (2004) who did not conduct empirical studies and primarily relied on historical searches, analytical content, or documents, this research seeks to empirically examine the processes within TVRI's production space of cultural texts in the post-reform era. Moreover, these earlier studies did not focus specifically on TVRI as a single case study. Thus, this research fills a gap by providing firsthand insights into the workings of TVRI's production space, offering a unique perspective on the ideological function of TVRI media.

TVRI underwent significant changes when it was under the leadership of an independent President Director (before being replaced), signaling an attempt to steer TVRI in a new direction. Between 2017 and 2019, TVRI endeavored to break away from its bureaucratic image, aiming to become more innovative and adaptable to the evolving media landscape. Alifiansyah and Marta (2019) documented TVRI's transformation efforts, analyzing its policies aimed at repositioning its brand to appeal to millennials who may have previously overlooked TVRI's programming. Their study focused on how TVRI sought to attract both viewers and content creators from this demographic. TVRI's initiatives garnered significant public attention, driven by changes in its

logo, work culture, and the fostering of an adaptive, positive, informative, and creative organizational environment. However, it's important to note that Alifiansyah and Marta's research concluded before TVRI encountered internal conflicts from late 2019 to March 2020. These conflicts resulted in a regression to previous work culture norms under the pressure of state influence, posing a threat to TVRI's reform efforts.

3.0 Understanding The TVRI Production Process

To understand TVRI's production process, one must first determine if TVRI has established the ideal public broadcasting model practised in Europe or America. The researcher attempted to discuss with Informant 1. The first step in starting this debate is critical because, by agreeing on TVRI's public service broadcasting model, the consequences for cultural texts' role and production process will be explored.

I assume that TVRI has yet to get to the broadcasting models we use in Europe and America. TVRI is not yet a public broadcaster, but it is approaching becoming one.

(Informant 1, personal interview)

In Indonesia, the public broadcasting model remains hazy and ambiguous regarding legislation, implementation, and financial facilities [8]. The state's strong influence on TVRI shows that the state-owned broadcasting system still dominates public broadcasting. However, it is controlled by legislation that defines TVRI as public service broadcasting and in the public interest. Because of this uncertainty, it is impossible to say whether TVRI prefers public broadcasting in Europe or America. It's difficult to say if the public broadcasting industry now is scarcely different than it was when Soeharto exerted strict control over it during the New Order era. As revealed by Sudiby and Patria (2013), during the time, the control mechanism might have been through licencing, media ownership restrictions, station distribution, media associations, Supervisory Board membership, and so on [9].

Political control by the authorities may be observed in the monotonous quality of TVRI programmes and productions from the New Order to the Reformation, albeit in different forms. There is no improvement in programme quality, and resources are limited. The mandate of TVRI is to serve the role of public services in the social system. Public expectations of public broadcasting media must be capable of encouraging progress in media quality as a social institution. TVRI will be independent of the subjective hegemony of the state attributable to the sociological thrust of society as an objective position in the social system. TVRI's internal control can provide the objective position in question. The propensity of subjective judgements in public broadcasting cannot be prevented by determining who leads TVRI as the Supervisory Board or the Board Director. TVRI was controlled several times by insiders or came from a circle of elite government employees at TVRI. This is regarded as a system source, and the quality of TVRI's production does not improve. As a result, the advent of a new President Director like HY (Helmy Yahya) was considered a refreshing change for TVRI's transformation. Informant 2 provided this information:

TVRI was formerly run by insiders, such as UTI, IS, and numerous others. So when HY was picked, I spoke with Mr. KB since He was close and, in the past, RRI employees had moved to TVRI. This is the complete package. He has the professional broadcasting experience and works as a professional or in commercial work with high production quality. He is also well-known on social

media. He is a representative of a new generation of characters. He may become a TVRI endorser. On the other hand, this is a good thing.

(Informant 2, personal interview)

Based on what Informant 2 revealed, it explains how TVRI faced production stagnation. This is not to say that the production process has not improved, but it shows a sluggish improvement. Internal factors such as conflicts of interest, employee polarisation, and state intervention are among the numerous causes of TVRI's low production quality. To some degree, the President Director's leadership determines the quality and knowledge of production at TVRI. According to Informant 2, the Supervisory Board viewed HY's coming as excellent news. This implies that TVRI needs a leadership director of operations who is capable of implementing production adjustments. Someone with professional experience and a role in the entertainment television industry. As previously said, HY is sourced from professionals in the television entertainment sector. He later held the position as President Director till 2017. With this track record, the public and the TVRI Supervisory Board thought that HY might now transform TVRI into a modern public service broadcasting format. Not only in terms of production quality but also in terms of engaging a millennial audience's interest.

In contrast to TVRI's internal negative image, some of HY's personalities appear potential. Informant 2 highlighted hope as a real thing inside TVRI. He hoped that HY's presence at the time signalled the beginning of a new generation in TVRI. It replaced the outmoded generation that has always tried but failed to lead TVRI. HY has the potential to be a TVRI endorser as well. This implies that he should be capable of changing TVRI's image among the general public. HY is also renowned in Indonesia as the "King of Entertainment Programs" and is actively engaged on social media. Being a supporter of public broadcasting, this represents significant leverage. Unfortunately, HY's situation after serving as President Director clashed with TVRI's internal political interests, putting the two at odds. The nature of public broadcasting, which attracts attention from both the state and society, ultimately disrupts the work environment in TVRI's production room. Informant 3 articulates the sentiments of the employees working in the production division:

The conflict in Jakarta affected me a lot. My coworkers were used to it, even when it got intense. Usually, conflicts calm down on their own. We've always managed to work things out no matter who's in charge. So, we'll just keep doing our jobs and hope the conflict goes away. But are we worried? Definitely.

(Informant 3, personal interview)

Employees in the production department believe that confrontations are normal. It was disturbing at first and prompted TVRI to get internally inflamed. However, these employees can just continue to work. Despite adversity, the conflict between HY as President Director and the Supervisory Board was also generated by high-budget programmes such as the English Premier League. Informant 3 expressed his displeasure with this:

At TVRI, we're used to conflicts, but it might be confusing for our younger colleagues. We still need to keep the production going smoothly. However, some shows like the English Premier League can be tricky because they often involve contentious topics. This raises some worries. These guys need to have a plan in case the program gets cancelled suddenly.

(Informant 3, personal interview)

The specific production team for Premier League programmes felt worried. The Premier League programme is accused of being a source of tension since it incurs debt through the acquisition of TV rights. This issue was additionally exacerbated by the fact that TVRI was not permitted to benefit from commercial programming. By employing commercial transmissions, public broadcasters such as TVRI should not compromise their ideology to become more market-oriented. As a result, TVRI's budget is extremely constrained. Due to these constraints, loans are incurred to purchase TVRI's preferred programme broadcasting rights, or "killer content". If TVRI shifts to a commercial broadcasting system and depends on funding sources other than the state budget, it might prioritize profits over public-interest concerns. TVRI has been facing challenges for a while. Broadcasting popular content like the English Premier League program demands a solid plan and a big budget to engage audiences, especially young viewers. HY sees this program as essential for drawing a large audience and it has been successful.

TVRI's programmes, on the other hand, have yet to become "monster programmes" or "killer content". Almost all TVRI programming is dull. One of these concerts was lost due to the conflict. Even though there's conflict in the production room, employees keep working as usual. However, the conflict is still in its early stages and has a big impact. The real problems are infrastructure and production quality. Often, the lack of proper broadcasting facilities and technology causes limitations.

When internal conflicts arise, the production room's functioning is slightly disrupted, though not significantly. The main problem usually arises at critical stages of the production process. For instance, during a live broadcast, technical issues often arise while transmitting to rural areas in Indonesia. TVRI lacks proper broadcasting infrastructure, technological systems, organization, and work processes, especially for handling digital migration.

(Informant 3, personal interview)

Media institutions are seen as a part of the economic and political system, with the primary responsibility of producing cultural texts through broadcast programmes. Unfortunately, the relationship between material and culture that TVRI attempts to establish as a producer of cultural texts is being undermined. As indicated by Informant 3, the barrier is still the material component of the quality of infrastructure and technology held. According to Golding and Murdock (1997), the media may define the public's relationship as consumers based on the concept of value. If the public considers TVRI a high-quality public broadcasting commodity, TVRI must live up to these expectations [10]. TVRI's analysis of the text production process aligns with Golding and Murdock's political economics approach [10]. They suggest that a critical political economy framework is crucial for examining and analysing cultural texts created by the media on a small scale. How do they create these cultural texts? These principles are also reinforced by the unit of analysis explored in this chapter. It emphasizes the importance of studying political economy phenomena from the viewpoint of individuals and social actors within media organizations. What Informant 3 has revealed illustrates the dynamics of the political economy reflected by Golding and Murdock's critical theories [10]. The reality is that power relationships influence TVRI's production process. Furthermore, controlling power through resource constraints, including the budget, infrastructure, and individual authority within TVRI, is solid proof of the relationship between state ownership and TVRI. Since TVRI's limited movement area, the organisation had to push extra to produce its greatest work.

4.0 Publicness Issues In Cultural Texts

For nearly twenty years, TVRI has played a crucial role in preserving Indonesian traditions and culture by providing access to information through its programs. TVRI aims to uphold the values of diversity in the Indonesian public to safeguard tradition and culture. One of TVRI's initiatives in this regard is the Life and Culture Program (Program Kehidupan dan Budaya), which promotes public values through various features. Programs under the Life and Culture category predominantly focus on Indonesia's diverse traditions and religions. For instance, shows like *Jejak Islam*, *Serambi Mekah*, *Minggu Misa*, *Satukan Shaf Indonesia*, *Mimbar Agama* and *Bincang Syariah* explore different aspects of religious and cultural life. Particularly noteworthy is the *Mimbar Agama* program, which includes representatives from various religions such as Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. However, given the predominance of Muslim population in Indonesia, TVRI dedicates adequate space to Islam.

Public service broadcasting is a critical part of the national cultural media landscape. However, TVRI has not become the Indonesian primary source of cultural knowledge. The assumption that public service broadcasting, such as TVRI, is uninteresting continues to dominate public perception. Even though TVRI has a role in strengthening the nation's culture. As a producer of cultural texts, TVRI is strongly intertwined with the relationships and roles of the state and the government. The researcher examines a propensity for dominant programme characters in the production of TVRI cultural texts. This argument is reinforced by what happened to TVRI on National Children's Day in 2020. TVRI produced an animation to honour National Children's Day at the time. Nevertheless, TVRI's animated text in the initial edition does not reflect the diversity of Indonesian children [11].

The issue of TVRI's animation has stirred public debate. TVRI is perceived as insensitive to the diversity of children in Indonesia by presenting figures of children who only represent one dominant religion. Although not in the setting of a religious holiday, the children's physical appearance on the animated poster is identical to that of Muslim children. In reality, TVRI must represent Indonesia's different cultures. This reasoning is consistent with what Informant 4 stated:

There's a new aspect to cultural texts, focusing on cultural studies' view of the production process as a factor in conflicts. When IB (Iman Brotoseno) replaced the former President Director, changes occurred in TVRI's production process. TVRI created an animated poster for National Children's Day, but it received criticism for only depicting children of one faith (Islam). As a public broadcaster, TVRI should represent the diversity of Indonesian children, not just those of one religion.

(Informant 4, personal interview)

Researchers view the polemic as a conflict concerning the roles, rights, and opportunities of diverse groups. Authorities in the production space discuss issues related to public interest. The cultural texts broadcasted have undergone idea development, production work, and execution processes. This process, however, cannot be separated from the individual biases that construct narratives and cultural texts. TVRI's status as public service broadcasting is further weakened by public criticism of its cultural texts. The diversity of Indonesian culture serves as the benchmark for TVRI's reality programming. Only after receiving widespread criticism did TVRI replace the animation, which mainly depicted Indonesian children (TVRI). The public plays a crucial role in upholding democracy. Citizen engagement in safeguarding every cultural text produced by TVRI is a sign of a healthy democracy. When the public expects public service broadcasting to act as a custodian and preserver of culture, TVRI made a serious mistake. It's essential for there to be constant interaction between the public and Public Service Broadcasters to ensure that individual interests and biases within TVRI don't influence cultural content. TVRI faces the challenge of meeting the public's expectations.

In addition to the cultural texts produced on National Children's Day, TVRI, led by the current President Director of IB, has a variety of programmes that are thought to reflect the diversity and the public interest. However, the researcher examined the political economy dimension's commitment to these programmes. Explicitly, the issue of publicness. Producing cultural texts on TVRI becomes extremely vulnerable to the influence of the public media's political and economic dimension. TVRI's construction culminated in the cultural text as an entity. The information presented by TVRI claims to preserve tradition and culture and has the potential to bring these two dimensions of interest together. The media uses political and economic aspects to shape, retain, and express their power to achieve media aims. These factors then compete in the realm of production. The power struggle between the public interest and public service broadcasting implications is unavoidable. As a social institution, the media is usually associated with binding power. Conflict dynamics may be increasingly obvious in the public service broadcasting production space. In contrast to the private television industry's production process, which is to deliver greater. Market intervention is clear and dominant in the production of private television programming. Public service broadcasting, on the other hand, confronts unique obstacles.

In the context of TVRI, public, public service broadcasting, the state, and the government relations result from political-economic relations. The relationship has no commercialization or market interference. However, the government's and the state's authority is significant enough to justify their position in exerting control over public service broadcasting. The form of power intervention has demonstrated that the production space is also vulnerable to intervention. Although actors in TVRI frequently use the justification of always prioritising the public interest in the programmes they produce. However, demonstrating the extent to which the value of publicness is attached to any current programme is misleading. Informant 5 stated, for example, that a music show produced by TVRI tries to provide a space for millennials.

We introduced Rumah Musik Indonesia. Maybe some haven't seen it, but it's a music show that has gained significant attention and a large audience share. Since MTV Indonesia shut down, there hasn't been a platform for musicians and artists, except for Dangdut. So, when we suggested the name Rumah Musik Indonesia, it was a program airing from Monday to Sunday, lasting from one hour to one and a half hours, featuring not just popular music but also traditional music.

(Informant 5, personal interview)

Informant 5 revealed that the *Rumah Musik Indonesia* initiative offers a platform for young people to explore the art of music. In the 1990s and early 2000s, music shows like MTV were associated with young people. According to Informant 5, this music programme might serve as a platform for musicians. Furthermore, He stated that it offered not just modern music, such as pop music, but also traditional music. Researchers believe that the music programme is one of the programmes that may integrate young people's information demands for entertainment with creative endeavors. Especially if the time allotted to traditional music is increased. Even so, Informant 5's statement that the scale of a programme is determined by whether or not the audience share is large contradicts publicness values. Cultural texts that must be followed by public service broadcasting television are not bound by economic and commercial logic. A program's reliance on the size of its audience share will inadvertently lead to cultural commercialisation. The value of popularity and the level of engagement in society do not define the quality of cultural production. However, it is how powerful a programme is for specific social groupings. The inclusion of cultural values in a text must strengthen national identity. If popular culture, such as old MTV programs, is used as a standard, it contradicts the goals and purposes of

public service broadcasting. Furthermore, this shows no difference in the production of cultural texts between public and private television.

Understandably, TVRI needs to capture the public's attention to attract viewers. People tend to prefer popular programs based on their social structure. Economic, political, and power resources play roles in society's social aspects. Culture, on the other hand, represents the symbolic expressions of social life, either practiced collectively or individually. Anything produced by media outlets like TVRI is considered a 'cultural product' which significantly influences societal factors. Therefore, public service broadcasting must consider how its cultural text production impacts the public. The argument is that TVRI's ideas, images, and information play vital roles in shaping Indonesian culture. We need a robust public perspective to assess the quality of cultural content aired on public service broadcasting. However, the subjective views of individuals in TVRI's production team could potentially distort this perspective. TVRI's portrayal of reality often goes beyond what actually exists. As Hall (1980) suggests, the media plays a significant role in shaping the reality perceived by the public [12]. This argument is supported by Informant 6's statement:

Let's talk about Pesona Indonesia, which focuses on underwater tourism. As a diver and underwater videographer, my goal is to showcase the beauty of Indonesia's underwater world. It's a significant aspect in Indonesia, with many people, especially young ones, enjoying visiting places like Raja Ampat. TVRI can play a role in promoting this aspect.

(Informant 6, personal interview)

According to Informant 6, the process of emergence of a programme concept can be realised by the way He observes reality. Reality refers to what is happening in the context of a trend. This trend-based programme idea is still used as a framework for TVRI production. Informant 6 stated, for example, that travelling to Eastern Indonesia, such as *Raja Ampat*, is a concept that offers collaboration prospects with content creators since it is popular with younger people. The subjectivity of production for a programme, on the other hand, serves as a reference for the production team. Informant 6 states that his interests as a diver and filmmaker contribute to producing a programme on TVRI.

Subjectivity is a common issue when discussing media framing or the process of constructing realities. However, the procedure on public service broadcasting may differ. Therefore, public service broadcasting has a different aim and objective than just producing trendy programmes among the millennial generation. The concept of publicness must first be presented as a foundation for producing a programme. The negotiation of public values in production spaces is how public service broadcasting operates. The pragmatic function of the programme production process is thought to be rational. It is focused on pragmatic functions rather than the value of the information itself, similar to the logic of information delivered by digital media. The public is more interested in pragmatic media consumption. Regardless of whether they value publicness or not. The absence of public engagement and interaction with public service broadcasting drives entertainment programs' popularity. The popularity of programmes that enhance public interest but are not popular in the community is determined by the social role of the public.

5.0 Text Construction And Public Values

The starting point for this research within the context of media political economics is acknowledging that public media organisations produce and distribute commodities. If Golding and Murdock (1997) define media as commercial mass media [10], this research uses that definition to examine the phenomena of production and distribution on public service broadcasting. TVRI, the main producer of cultural texts owned by the state and government, does

not pursue commercial profits. However, TVRI's capital accumulation is accomplished by utilising all available resources to support and legitimise the state's or government's role. TVRI, on the other hand, is the media whose purpose is to distribute information to the public. The basic function of the public media is still employed politically, but not as authoritarian as it was during the New Order era. TVRI's shift from state broadcasting to public broadcasting follows an entirely different model. There is a distinction between Indonesia's present public broadcasting model and Europe and America. Even during the Old and New Order eras of Indonesian public broadcasting. TVRI was employed as Soekarno's "lighthouse" initiative to boost the nation's image during the Soekarno era. Meanwhile, Soeharto exploited TVRI as an instrument for government propaganda [1]. Masduki (2017a) states in his thesis that TVRI should embrace a hybrid paradigm of liberal and authoritarian public broadcasting. According to him, the adoption model may be observed in the formation of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission as an independent agency to regulate the quality of TVRI broadcasts while the controlling government retains authority over TVRI [4].

The presence of Public Service Broadcasting must be considered in terms of its purpose in the public interest as well as its cultural significance. According to Siregar (2006), the cultural basis of the public media's existence as a public institution is established by the shared values that support its existence [13]. This common value may be reflected in state policies, legislation, and public consensus on the task orientation of public broadcasting media in the context of TVRI. TVRI's orientation role may be demonstrated in its responsibility to deliver educational and entertaining information that corresponds to traditional and cultural values. This theme investigates how TVRI develops cultural texts based on public values in this context.

Public Service Broadcasting provides a channel of information to the public through its programming. In contrast, private television promotes trends and attractive packaging based on market assumptions. To suit the different demands of the Indonesian public, public service broadcasting has had to weave reality into the narrative. The information provided must be equivalent from Sabang to Merauke, that includes the entire country of Indonesia [14]. On the other hand, public service broadcasting must consider the context of the diversity of religions and beliefs in every programme produced. Informant 7 said as follows:

So, in terms of content, it meets the demands of everyone, since when it comes to publicness, we must be equal to all areas in Indonesia, from Sabang to Merauke, as well as different religions and beliefs.

(Informant 7, personal interview)

The heterogeneity of Indonesian society presents a challenge for public service broadcasting regarding information dissemination. Aside from equity and proper infrastructure, TVRI must guarantee that each programme does not just serve the interests of specific groups. For example, consider the private television industry, controlled exclusively by ideas and information in the manner of Jakarta's capital city or the island of Java. Other people are compelled to consume information irrelevant to their needs and social lives. TVRI serves the opposite function: the public may rely on it to deliver relevant alternative information. However, it must be supported with the accessibility of publicness values following public demands. The commercial and public service broadcasting industries, video streaming services, and print and internet mass media continue to send inconsistent messages. There is a lot of frightening and irrelevant information in society. The public's preferences and ways of consuming information have been affected by media exposure. Media and cultural texts interpret reality without being interpreted, questioned, or reconstructed by the public. As a result, the presence of public service broadcasting in public spaces can contribute as an antidote to the negative effects of media exposure.

The autonomy of the public media reflects a democratic structure in society. Public media that is not controlled by any authority has more flexibility in producing cultural texts. It is not

constrained by business or political interests of the state or government. The public interest is the only motivation that drives public media organisations. The reality of cultural texts shown on public service broadcasting channels reflects the interaction of these two factors. Cultural text production is a knowledge production process by the public media. Meaningful knowledge is the knowledge that is supported by scientific evidence. The production capital of data-driven cultural texts as a source of public knowledge is critical. Meanwhile, TVRI continues to struggle to push programmes that are essentially entertainment in character and rely only on attractive programme packaging. At the same time, the public media has been caught up in the competition for millennial attention. As a demographic, millennials are thought to have a different knowledge consumption tendency than previous generations. Despite the fact that defining the millennial is difficult. This means that the millennial generation's perception is partly a result of the construction of commercial media realities. TVRI is caught up in the intensity of the millennial generation's demographic explosions, which promise to place a nation's civilisation in the hands of this young generation.

6.0 Redefinition And Restitution Of Public Rights

The existence of TVRI as a public service broadcasting must meet the Indonesian people's information requirements. Although TVRI has legal control in the form of broadcasting legislation, it is not flawless and must be revised. It is said that Public Service Broadcasting must be independent, unbiased, and non-commercial and serve the public interest. In this situation, it is obvious that TVRI must commit to existing broadcasting regulations. Although public service broadcasting serves the interests of many groups as diverse as the public, it does not always respond to matters, not in the public domain. For example, political parties, radical organisations' interests, or actions are done on behalf of the public when they are not. The definition of "public" and who constitutes the public must be clear. In the broadcast media, people's freedom of speech cannot be consumed whole. Any element of society, known as the public, cannot also benefit from public broadcasting on behalf of the public, which is counter to the public interest. Interestingly, the older and more senior TVRI employees did not appear to realise that TVRI constituted public service broadcasting. This becomes an issue when Public Service Broadcasting's internals fail to position themselves as public servants. As a result, the misunderstanding influences the lackadaisical performance of its employees. Informant 8 said as follows:

They believe that public service broadcasting is just a name. They believe they are TVRI from the past, the same TVRI as in the New Order era

(Informant 8, personal interview)

This argument indicates that TVRI remained the same during the New Order era. Indeed, most of its employees are derived from New Order government employees. For over two decades, their culture was then disseminated to TVRI employees. The New Order work culture and mentality then trumps the genuine meaning of public service broadcasting. TVRI was used as a medium for international and domestic political propaganda during the Soeharto regime. It is also closely connected to the government's consolidation of power and monopoly at the time (Kitley, 2000). TVRI's role as the government's "golden boy" makes it impossible to become independent, and it has always depended on the state. The government-subsidised TVRI's budget at the time. Subsidies were likewise eliminated following the transition of TVRI's status to Public Service Broadcasting. However, the loss of government funds at TVRI resulted in the organization's inability to change into public service broadcasting following the public's aspirations.

The regulations and policies constrain TVRI as a public service broadcasting station determine the proportion of TVRI employees. With government employees dominating and consolidating TVRI, the meaning of “publicness” in TVRI's vision and mission is unclear. Indeed, the ideals of publicness are concerned with the public's rights, which must be fulfilled through public broadcasting. Meanwhile, the enthusiasm of the individuals inside it is not followed by knowledge and consciousness of public service. Government employees with a bureaucratic mentality are more concerned with survival and finding alternative ways to satisfy their demands as actors. This huge group's dominance over other contract employees at TVRI intensifies the political atmosphere in TVRI's workplaces. A critical perspective capable of seeing the relationship between social construction in TVRI and its power relationship is required to understand these complicated relationships. Power is a form of governmental dominance as well as power wielded by dominant groups inside TVRI.

In this study, the political economic approach is slightly different. The media political economy perspective has always been linked to the relationship between mainstream media and private media, as well as the logic of understanding the market to profit from the production process of these media. Meanwhile, this research aims to raise critical political economy issues [15]. to understand better the functioning of public media organisations such as TVRI. Suppose TVRI is not in relationship to pursuing economic benefits through the programme production scheme since it is included in the regulation of public broadcasting. In that case, the economic relationship may be observed in regulating state funding for TVRI. This shows how the profit-driven process in the structure of TVRI can be traced. Thus, it appears that the stagnation of TVRI and the challenge of TVRI's development are attributable to a lack of revenue from content production rather than a lack of results and real efforts to build an innovation or creative process.

The fundamental logic of the political economy of media is that the soul of a media, whether it is about the production of a show programme or its operational activities, is more controlled by the powers of the media economy itself. Informant 9 stated he noticed TVRI's issue, why they couldn't understand their role as a public service broadcasting, and the concerns about public rights, which were principally caused by TVRI's public service broadcasting funding scheme. Here's what Informant 9 has to say about it:

When it comes to external interventions and financing systems, one of the most significant instruments in the political economy of broadcast media is the press funding system. TVRI's reliance on the state budget is a complicated issue.

(Informant 9, personal interview)

The funding system of TVRI indicates a state project's reliance on public service broadcasting. The system proved detrimental to TVRI's journey. TVRI may not be fighting for the advantages of its economic relationships in the mass media sector. However, TVRI's funding mechanism shows that it has maintained internal power. TVRI's funding model is seen favourably by bureaucrats and government employees. As a civil servant, the funding system was regarded as a means of survival. That is why the Republic of Indonesia Audit Board always issues a disclaimer report to TVRI [16]. This implies that TVRI's funding is unclear and is not used to improve TVRI as a public broadcaster. Rather, it is to support those on the inside who endorse internal power.

Why does TVRI support specific individuals and groups? Because the law authorises it. TVRI is dependent on the state budget. Although it is no longer in the form of subsidies but rather through the same funding source through the State Expenditure and Revenue Budget, it will not affect the mindset of those with the position of government employees in TVRI. Because of the economic aspects of this funding scheme, the state controls TVRI. TVRI is similar to private media in that owners control it, funding sources, marketers, or audiences. It's merely that the state and the government control TVRI's ownership. Despite the fact that public service broadcasting

is expected to ensure public services, research shows that this commitment has not been maximised.

Based on the Informant 9 statements, it is possible to conclude that TVRI has an internal problem defining public and publicness. As a result, it indicates the absence of commitment to serve the public interest. Another issue is the lack of a financial allocation to undertake training and raise awareness of publicness values among TVRI employees. So far, the training has mostly focused on enhancing technical production competency. TVRI employees have insufficient knowledge of publicness, according to discussions concerning the meaning of publicness and the re-conceptualization of public rights. One explanation is the tight tie between the past as a public institution that became the government's mouthpiece. The researcher examined each Informant's points and concluded that the definition of publicness should be redefined through training or internal TVRI workshops. This is related to efforts to clarify TVRI's vision and goal as a public service broadcasting committed to serving the public.

7.0 Conclusion

The state's dominance through amendments and internal government decisions perpetuates the bureaucratic mindset in Public Service Broadcasting. Control over the Supervisory Board and Board Directors fosters a paternalistic culture. Despite Soeharto's legacy of paternalism, it appears that two decades have not been sufficient to address this underlying issue at TVRI. Moreover, TVRI's reliance on state-funded budgets contributes to its lack of a public service ethos. Financial allocations often neglect critical public mentality and character training. The civic corporation model has been proposed as a solution for involving public elements in the development of TVRI throughout this discussion. The state control and evaluation process may be triggered with the engagement of a coalition of society members who share the same commitment to public service broadcasting services [17]. TVRI's strategy for persuasion through establishing such alliances is to shape the issues that enter TVRI's systems of cultural text production. As a result, the public becomes more aware of and attentive to which topics enhance their interests. Public service broadcasting, exemplified by TVRI, serves as an essential source of unbiased information. The presentation of cultural texts on such platforms must adhere to publicness values. TVRI's internal dynamics significantly shape how it fulfills this mandate, rooted in a shared understanding of public service broadcasting's role in defining publicness. While government control over TVRI's programming may not be as stringent as during the New Order era, the focus on identifying internal issues underscores ongoing governmental pressure to obscure public meaning and rights through vague broadcasting regulations. To mitigate this pressure, TVRI must adopt a civic corporatic model, fostering transparency and public participation in decision-making processes.

Recommendations for reforming TVRI entail multifaceted approaches aimed at addressing systemic challenges and fostering positive change within the organization. Firstly, improving governance structures involves restructuring TVRI's organizational framework to ensure greater transparency, accountability, and efficiency in decision-making processes. This may entail revising internal policies, clarifying roles and responsibilities, and implementing mechanisms for oversight and evaluation. Additionally, enhancing transparency requires TVRI to adopt open communication practices, disclose relevant information to the public, and establish channels for feedback and engagement. Public participation can be facilitated through initiatives such as town hall meetings, public forums, and online platforms, allowing stakeholders to contribute their perspectives and insights to programming and policy decisions. A comparative analysis with other public service broadcasters can offer valuable lessons and benchmarks for TVRI, highlighting successful strategies and areas for improvement. Furthermore, further studies are necessary to delve into the nuanced dynamics of post-conflict transformations at TVRI, examining how organizational changes impact programming content, audience perceptions, and societal norms. Addressing regulatory and power structure issues entails advocating for reforms that uphold

principles of media freedom, independence, and diversity, while also ensuring fair and impartial broadcasting practices. Achieving meaningful reforms requires concerted efforts and political will, with stakeholders across government, civil society, and the media industry working collaboratively to enact change. Ultimately, this study catalyzes future investigations into TVRI's organizational culture, inviting scholars and practitioners to explore internal conflicts, power dynamics, and institutional practices to advance the cause of public service broadcasting in Indonesia.

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