

The Sinetron and the Contemporary Femininity Construction in Indonesia

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Introduction

Femininity is a social construction, therefore it is always in the making. By definition, femininity is how people perceived appropriate female norms and behaviour. There are femininities rather than a single perception of femininity. In reality, the dominant norm still prevail and influencing on women's behaviour and perception. Therefore the femininity that we use to have in our mind, is the femininity defined by the dominant norm itself. Patriarchy influence how women should be and in return women think that it is the 'natural' rule on how to be a women.

Usually women do not aware that such dominant norm have been guiding their behaviour ever since. The perspective such as poststructuralist have helped feminist understand the power relationship that contributes to the femininity construction. Power is not always something that is so great that people can see such as from the military equipment or thousand of flags across country². On the contrary, some power is invisible, it emerges as social behaviour, that power have shaped people lives.

Femininity therefore is a reflection of such power. Women not only unconscious of the dominant rule relation, but also, contribute actively by being a women. Women adorn themselves as a narcissistic reflection toward men, even more than what men have intend to. It is social construction that support the wide dissemination of femininity. To a large extent technology is the cultural apparatus of dissemination of dominant femininity construction.

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² Tseëlon, 1995 tentang gender spectacle



Femininity as a Mediated Construction

The media and the femininity as power is one of feminist critics to mainstream sociology. In fact such alternative view of power is one of the main concern of feminist theorist. This article is using Dorothy Smith theoretical framework to unmask the subsuming power. Smith's main concept is relation of ruling, by definition relation of ruling is:

“... that total complex of activities differentiated into many spheres, by which our kind of society is ruled, managed and administered. It includes what the business world calls *management*, it includes the professions, it includes government and the activities of those who are selecting, training, and indoctrinating those who will be its governors. The last includes those who provide and elaborate the procedures by which it is governed and develop methods for accounting for how it is done – namely, the business schools, the sociologist, the economist. These are the institutions through which we are ruled and through which we, and I emphasize this *we*, participate in ruling”.(Smith,1990,14).

Judging from such definition, media is controlling the message not only through content but also technology. Framework likes this gives insight on how to problematised the femininity construction, and the power of media to decimate it. The femininity in the media is not just some image, it is some representation. The representation deals with specific position on how women is constructed.

Below is a depiction of one episode of sinetron “Inikah Rasanya”. The sinetron is purposively chosen to show how is femininity constructed and what kind of femininity. Inikah Rasanya tells about sad story of a girl still in Junior high school who lost both parents and then lives with her auntie. She is stigmatised as bringing bad curse as several people died. So she endures hardship and violence psychologically and phisically. One of the thing that saves her is her friends at school, but still there are pupils who resent her. So she get violence at home, at school even in supposedly good and entertainment place like mal and restaurant.

The depiction is using a scene, that is a description of a scene after a scene thap show the development of the story. This is an articulation of how people represent or visualise the story. Many people have uses dialog to show the image or the content of a film, therefore a scene is another way to do it. The reason behind a scene as important representation is develop through the idea of posmodernic's regime of signification. Regime of signification is a concept by Scott Lash that show referent is moving around people that referent itself become the icon's people catch in their daily life experiemce. People don't bother anymore to question about what is the



reality, they just take reality as they perceived it. This kind of understanding is suitable for television programs as televisions are mostly on the whole day. People acknowledge the television as their friends as the television is there as if a radio. People watch television without giving much attention as they watch by doing something else such as children eat in front of it or do home work, or mother do ironing. Only at specific moment that people is sitting properly and watch closely that is for the favorite ones.

The advantage of television over audio is its visualisation. So people are catching the visualise, in this context of being a women and their reaction to a problem or to a situation. Therefore visualisation is the referent that people understand as real. At this point, the media is a powerful apparatus as the media brings the visualisation to the heart of household. The media is the ruling apparatus. To some extent the scene show the content that mostly are in the media, therefore the content is showing the dominant discourses that flying around.

The interesting point in using Dorothy Smith's framework is her insistence that structure and the everyday life is one big phenomena. The structures is represented by the media and its power influence everyday life. The everyday life is shown by how discourses and texts are there are referent for people. The obvious example is the advertisement of detergent that show not only how to wash properly but also what to chose. The gift of the price that the manufactured gives is only make what kind of detergent to be bought to day.

Below is the depiction of scene by scene figural description on sinetron Inikah rasanya 8 March 2005. The figural description is a way to explicitly showing visualisation people get on the television screen.

8 maret 2005

1. In a cafe³, Jason sits with Rena. Rena exhibits Jason as her boyfriend.
2. Nadia come in with Dedi.

³ Café is a place where mostly adult would come in, as different with junkfood restaurant which is mostly for younger person. In Jakarta, café is a way of life for middle upper class group. Although still mostly adult chose café over junkfood restaurant, a few younger ones start using café as their favorite places. On the other hand small restaurants café as a name to show their image as different and classy. Therefore in the film the using of café is an important image of class, way of life and adult mimicry behaviour.



3. Rena introduces Jason as her boy friend, Dedy then, says Nadia is his boyfriend.
4. Jason is resented and pushed Rena out of the café, leaves Nadia and Dedi.
5. Jason drive the BMW rather wild and almost crash to a car. He is upset by the incidence in the Café.
6. Although Jason is able to manouvre the car, but still his BMW bumps to a tree.
7. Jason blames Rena, as she keeps on talking in an angry voice. Her talking makes him loose his concentration.
8. Rena knows Jason and Nadya are from the same school. Dedy is uncleared where is his school.
9. Jason feels rather afraid of the scratch in the front of the car. The car belongs to his mother.
10. Nadya says that she wants to go home, but never tells Dedi about her knowing Jason.
11. Nadia acts as if she doesn't know who Jason and Rena. Instead she askes who they are. Actually she only wants to know whether Jason says Rena is his girlfriend or the way around.
12. Jason who is afraid of his mother, feels furious of Rena keeps on talking in angry voice. He pushes her to go home alone.
13. Rena is very angry with Jason's attitude and leaves him.
14. Dedy is thinking bout Nadya, he feels Nadya likes him. She only shy of not letting her feeling.
15. Jason enter his home cautiously afraid of his mother catch him.
16. unfortunately his mohter is waiting for him and become very angry after she sees Jason's handling her carkeys.
17. His mother is very angry and says that it is his responsibility.
18. Jason as a man should be responsible to repair the car on his own money. Jason tries to bargain because he doesn't have any money.
19. Nadya thinks that Jason is cool now as he has girlfriend. But Nadya is bewildered of Jason attention toward her.
20. Nadya's auntie is angry with her and says that her room is stink. Nadya can smell anything, she is confused by her auntie comments.
21. At the classroom, Nadya and Jason keep on stealing looking at each other, but their behaviour is different. They act as enemy.
22. Similar behaviour is happening to other couples. Bemby and the boy who like her are acting the similar behaviour.
23. A woman, a teacher come to the class room and she will do a exam. All the pupil protest because they are not ready.
24. The teacher who has bad voice keeps on her decision to do an exam.
25. She seems happy to see pupil's reaction and even says that she will punished whoever cheat during the exam.
26. Jono is doing nature's behaviour and all the classroom is feel so stink.
27. She is very angry with Jono and sents him out.
28. Jono apologises to the whole class.
29. Even after such incidence, she keeps on her decision to run the exam. Jono do his nature outside, and other people are affected by his.
30. Rena is so angry with her thought about Jason.
31. Dedi is also upset because his relationship with Nadya not working.



32. Nadya keeps on observing Jason. Her friend notice it and try to cheer her up by saying “sabar itu disayang tuhan”.
33. Nadya tries to get close to Jason, and suddenly there is a problem with some of Jason’s friend.
34. Jason says that he never sent her that letter.
35. Jason’s friend smile seeing the incidence.
36. Bemby and her friend who like her, enjoy the incidence, while other friend aks Bemby to get in fight with her.
37. He aks rather harsh toward her.
38. Mimi and her brother, Riri are having lunch in the dining room.
39. Jono welcome himself in to the dining room.
40. He makes himself comfortable and invited himself to the lunch.
41. Both Mimi and Riri are confused with Jono’s behaviour which is considered not sophisticated.
42. Jono is enjoying the lunch himself more than Mimi and Riri.
43. Riki and Mimi loose their appetite because of Jono.
44. Tomi threatens Nadya to get Bemby’s phone number.
45. He threatens by using plate that she just wash. He will break the plate.
46. She refuses Tomi, and he let loose the plate so they are break to pieces.
47. Cindy, her auntie is angry with the broken plates. Tomi says that Nadya has done that breaking plate.
48. Tomi is the son of Cindy and Nadya is his nieces.
49. Tomi is making fun of Nadya.
50. Rena gives Jason some money to help him reparaire the car.
51. Jason accept the money she gave. Jason think Rena is goodheart because she helps him.
52. tTwo persons are in Niken way to the toilet. Suddenly the situation change, Niken is seem to dominated the situation.
53. Niken is acting very rude toward them and saying she is the leader to te gank.
54. Unfortunately Mimi sees them. And they are aware to Mimi’s observation.
55. Tomi seems to like Bemby.
56. Mimi decides to warn Nadya that Niken is a part of Lia’s gank.
57. Niken understand the situation and she say that lia has forced her to do so.
58. Nadya tells Lia not to bother about it, she understands her. Mimi is angry with such reaction and warns her that Niken is a snake with two heads.
59. Mimi is not only angry but also disapointed by Nadya reaction. She is Nadya best friend and she thinks Nadya is questioning her loyalty.
60. Mimi leaves them.
61. Tomi tells his mother about Nadya relationship with Dedy, knowing that his mother will be furious to hear such news.
62. Nadya enters the sitting room asking a permission to go. Tante Cindy takes her bag and starts cheking it.
63. Tante finds Rp 100.000, which she says is Tomi’s that missing. She accuses her of stealing.
64. Nadya looks very uncomfortable and belwilderes. She doesn’t know anything about that.



65. Tante Cindi refuses her permission instead orders her to go to her room, or get out of this house.
66. In a small street store, managed by a Chinese (the store is called warung Cina), Dedy asks Baba about Nadya whereabouts. Baba says Nadya gets headache so she cannot come to work.
67. Rena and Jason eat in a café, some of their friends come and ask whether they are couples again.
68. Rena leans to Jason's hand.
69. Jason seems uncomfortable with Rena's reaction, but keeps silent.
70. Dedy tries to find Nadya, which he doesn't know her address.
71. He ask several household about Nadya, he is really confused.
72. Niken is being massaged by her subordinate friends.
73. Niken wants to break friendship between Nadya and Mimi as a revenge.
74. Dedy keeps on asking about Nadya, and finally he finds Tomi house. He asks about Nadya.
75. Tomi is angry by such question and says that Nadya is still asleep.
76. Tomi and his mother do not like the idea of Nadya have a boyfriend.
77. Tante is angry and let herself come with force to Nadya's bed room.
78. Tante is angry because Nadya is supposed to prioritised school to a boyfriend.
79. She is so angry that she throw her with magazine.
80. Tomi who is jealous of Nadya says "Perempuan gatal, mampus loe, due aja gak dapat-dapat".
81. At school Jono buys an amulet from his friend Katon, as a way to get girlfriend.
82. Amulet is about iklas. If it is work than the amulet and the owner is suitable to each other. If it is not, then no money guarantee.
83. The seller is Bemby's enemy group. The amulet is a money transaction.
84. Bemby's enemy take the mobey and katon is given free lunch later.
85. In school canteen, Jono gives sign to his friend that talk to Mimi, tp get away. He wants to get close to Mimi.
86. Jono puts the amulets (like perfume with bad smell) to all his body and also drinks some portion of it. He starts act ridiculous in front of Mimi.
87. Mimi doesn't give any attention, even she throws a book to him.
88. Nadya asks Dedy to forget her, but she doesn't give any reasons.
89. Dedy asks her reasons but she refuses to tell him.
90. Niken asks Baba to fired Nadya.
91. actually it is Niken that gives Nadya the job. Niken force Baba by saying she will talk to her father.
92. Baba is very confused to see Niken.
93. Tomi calls Bembi, because he likes her.
94. Bemby refuses him and saying she already has boyfriend.
95. Tomi keeps saying he likes her and really doesn't care about Bemby reaction.
96. Bemby is so furious about Tomi's phone call, that she reprimands Nadya. She think Nadya give him the number.
97. Bemby stops Nadya and asking whether she gives him the number. Nadya is confused and says she doesn't do it.
98. Bembi tells Mimi, and Mimi calms her down.



99. Baba is firing Nadya, and saying he has to do it as he is not the owner of the store.
100. Nadya wants to see the owner to seek for forgiveness and to seek for the job. She likes the job.
101. Baba gives Nadya her salary with deep sadness. He is unable to arrange the meeting of her and the owner.
102. Mimi lets Niken know that Mimi realises Niken drama to acquire Nadya trust.
103. Niken makes Mimi's good behaviour into a chaos by letting herself down. As if it is Mimi that makes her hurt.
104. Mimi again shows her resentment of Nadya favour Niken over her.

After seeing this scene depiction we can categorised several things but for the sake of this articles the femininity representation that have first prioritised. Femininity is articulate through characters such as

- Nadya, an orphan that live with her widower auntie. She is seen as bad luck. She gets violence behaviour phycologically and physically.
- Nadya good behaviour is only aggravating her friends to do violence.
- Nadya is unable to protest due to her subordinate position and also because of the discourse of 'sabar'.
- Nadya is also unable to protest due to her position in a family which is seen as a better place than orphanage. Not to mention institution such as school which is so usual that people wont think such place able to be a violence place.
- One theme to do violence is the way to get attraction from boy or the way around. Only to get boy's attraction would eventually put some girl in violence situation eventually to dangerous one.
- Social relationship among boys and girl is not develop through understanding but through mythical things such as amulet, treathening experience, unclear understanding.
- Silent, and limited intention to clear the problem seems to be the discourse of such relationship.
- There seem to be at least two girls that confronted to get a boy. The boy himself actually already choose one favourable girl, but he keeps it. Girl usually shows her preference. It is girl who shows to other people that the boy is her belonging.
- The idea of bad stepmother is keep on growing by depicting Cindy as auntie that do bad and dangerous and violence to helpless child such as Nadya.
- The badness of Cindy is supported by her own son who is jealous of Nadya. The jealousy also come from differences in group belonging. This only shows how the social relationship is develop through conflict. Differences is shown as something that put the relationship into open conflict.
- Social relationship is also build through dehumanised behaviour, such as teacher (a woman) with bad voice, keep on her decision to to exam. The visalisation is putting her as authoritarian. Or the Jono's incidence that enfluence and embarasse Jono. What is interesting is Jono's reaction that take that as something usual. Embarassment is something that break the silence as a way to hinder conflict or tension.



- Loyalty among good friends are usually become a target of violence as away to break good friends.
- The only thing good things to social relationship among friends is Mimi calms Bemby who is furious toward Nadya.
- Furious, angry are come first before a dialog that discussed the situation and the problem.
- Niken has two faces toward Nadya, she has some revenge toward her. Revenge seems to be a way to perceived somebody and there is no alternatives to show that revenge is not a good attitude after all.
- Dedy and Nadya relationship is weird as he doesn't know her address but believe that they are more than good friends.
- It seems that nobody wants to see an orphan get a better life, an orphan should life miserable. People who wants to see orphan get better is in subordinate position such as Baba , a Chinese shop keeper, who is pushed to fired Nadya because a junior high school girl uses her parents social economic status.

The femininity construction shows how women should behave. It is a usual image that women should look beautiful as most of the players are beautiful. Even tante Cindy who do violence behaviour is very beautiful. All the players are fashionable. The women usually wear customary fashion such as teacher usually are seen as very formal two pieces outfit. The fashion for the teacher usually for women are more to suit not just two pieces dress. For male teacher the outfits are not very different with the usual male teacher, a long sleeve shirt. Male students are also fashionable by using a contemporary haircut for male

The female students wears rather short skirt with the usual Junior high school uniform. Some of them wear accessories such as colourful earring, bandana, hair clips, and belt. Male and female students uses colourful shoes and use backpack. The serious students and not so beautiful female students or rather odd students are using big, black framed spectacles, which only make them worse. Serious students is a figur people laugh at.

Characters who do violence usually are female such as tante Cindy as stepmother to Nadya, Niken which is Nadya's two faces snake friend, female gank against mix friends of Nadya. These women are in superordinate position as they are more senior or have high status. Male in this story is only supporting violence behaviour done by women.

The story is around middle upper class. The houses usually big and spacious with classy furniture. The room that the story uses, are bedroom, living room, dining room, kitchen. At



school people are using classroom, toilet, galley, school canteen, school yard. Jason use his mother's car without permission, a BMW, to get her girlfriend to a café.

What the Story Represents

These are several text and discourses that are represented by the story. As the media is a powerful apparatus then the discourses would have potential to become dominant. Many people may give a glimpse of attention but considerate the most common and most accessible view, the program would mean more than just a bad program. The history of soap opera come from the opera as a way to entertain people that differs from the usual elite of opera that only exist in the court. Opera in the court which is formerly an elite business is not as expressive as opera that produced by the middle class. Therefore class background makes different to the line of story as well as how people understand them. As middle class give more expressive make up to the opera, the line of story also show good behaviour in comparison to bad ones. As if opera is an apparatus to acquire sense of modernity.

The innovation of communication technology such as television has change opera into more common and accessible viewed such as soap opera. The basic understanding of soap opera is the story is usually everyday life, which is happened around family and women. No wonder soap opera has been one of specific focus of feminism. Eventhough film is more favourable than television due to its limited sample in comparison with television program which are just too much to grapple with.

The most clear understanding of such analysis is women do violence to other women, younger , even still a child, helpless, orphanage, her own blood line. This phenomena is different with usual women's image as victim. Or most people would see the victim as woman and not to realise that the actor of the violence act is also a woman. The family as an institution is a dangerous place of violence. Orphan has been stigmatised as badluck which influence women's perception to do violence. This situation is showing women who is dominated by perception of badluck will bring bad influence toward the institution.



Almost every scene are using violence as dramatical development of a story, so Nadya is almost always in danger. In the story there is less trying to put off the violence, because there is always unclear statement or behaviour. The scene is also using conflict such as two girl compete to each other to get a boy. The story like this, is actually similar to adult story. The line of the story is not suitable to development of social relationship among junior high. To get a spesific boy become an obsession and soon the boy become the belonging of a girl. To do that the girl is willing to dehumanised her rival by even do the violence. So violence is understanable as a usual act of such situation.

To view that women do violence to other women is a femininity construction is rather bold opinion. Feminism may categorised it as mysoginist perception toward woman in Indonesia. As sinetron get its booming development after crumbling down of the New Order, so it is tempting to see such situation as spesific character of after the New Order regime. People may defenses such story are develop quicly without much thought as television need such program. They will buy almost anything although some of the station have already state their spesific preference, such as RCTI who refuse mystical and ghost story line. To some extent such think will only reveal what is inside or what things are considerate as important story. The reality is never a question, they just pick the referent that most of the viewer like violence. They lean such opinion to rating of AC Nielsen. Nobody to be blamed, because people just love the sinetron. That is the dominant discourse.

The way the sinetron produce is called 'kejar tayang', the players are hired and do the work day and night. They have to do it because the station is waiting for their production. There is less time to think and do cultural production in a cultural way, it is an economic enterprises after alll.

As soap opera is mostly targetting women and children, they have less saying to what they get from the film. It is interesting at this stage to show that there is some resentment from people. There is the calision of 6 NGO who are able to stop sinetron Bunglon. The coalision describes that the sinetron is showing asocial behaviour, anti-religion, violence done by mother to her own child forcing her to learn to be a hooker. Similar to the sinetron Inikah Rasanya, sinetron Bunglon is also using Junior high players as social context. There is a trend to use younger and younger



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player as context. In that way there is less consideration that the story is for younger audience or still have soap opera as spesific genre for drama. In this case soap opera is only a genre to name a program for television. What is soap opera to Indonesia producer is different with other production from other country.

Such femininity construction is different considerably with similar program that develop during the New Order. The New Order regime has spesific criteria of good family and also the family they want to have. Therefore the story also uses women as character of good wife still able to work and done her housework. The story is also use a wise men usually a good husband, good community's organization, a leader to name several characters. As a way to show bad example the story is using other family to show the different characters. Actually in this story too women is already seen as persons who do violence, such as ibu Subangun which become very popular, from sinetron Keluarga Rahmat.

In this line of argument, the media at present is having their own way to do business. Some of them are esposed in sinetron production. How the story develop or acquired are important focus of study. To some extent this sistem of production only show how the regime of signification is used as legitimation to produce the sinetron. The regime of signification is also used as the way to say what is popular to the audience. There is less inquiry to view the social context as the way to use people as only legitimator.

The Problematised Femininity

Television as a technology is seen as technology for women in comparison of HI Fy that is a men's. The easier way to run the television set will make it a better equipment. Television also a closer friend to women as it play almost all day. Women watch, hear, enjoy the program usually by doing the housework chores. Therefore most of the time, television program have been program for women especially during daytime. One of the program that will be problematised by this paper is sinetron or soap opera.

In the first place soap opera is the program built for women as audiences, therefore mostly it is aired during day time. But in Indonesia sinetron has been seen as competion of local production



toward the imported production. Sinetron is also a recent development for television production as it is grow out of necessity of the development of private television stations.

At first, the state – the New Orde Regime – had been used television as an apparatus of power. At that time there was only one television station that was TVRI. Most of the program are carefully thought or carefully made to support the New Order Regime. Kitley's dissertation that has been translated into Indonesia, *Layar Kaca*, showed that family, nationalisme, harmony are among many values that colour the program, not to mention the prototype of sinetron. It is interesting to sompare Kitley with Sen dissertation that describes the development of film production in Indonesia. The film production is also the product of state intervention through the financial support and also through state's perception of the function of film in society. Therefore as Kitley shows the development of first generation of private television is also the decade where film production is decreasing. Probably it is too early to relate the development of first generation of private television with the decrease of film production, but Sen is showing there is the decrease of financial support to film production.

Some would eventually seen the development of private television as a part of regime's character – nepotism. But the one that interest this paper is a reflection on the first generation of sinetron that is also full of regime's cultural values. To show some of the values is through sinetron called "Keluarga Rahmat" by the RCTI. Keluarga Rahmat is about a civil service, a loyal and has lived in simple live. The counterpart of the lively Keluarga Rahmat is ibu Subangun that show a contradictory in character. This paper doesn't describe about the similarities or differences between tho families but will talk about the construction of femininity.

Differ with contemporary antagonist-protagonist set of story, in the New Orde, where Ibu subangun is the perceived of bad femininity is in comparison wih good behaviour of pak Rahmat's wife. Even ibu Subangun is in conncection with the wise man – pak Rahmat. She is so bad that her character is colouring the naration of the story. Why is women is shown as bad character in comparasion with pak Rahmat wich is a very wise men. According to the perception of the station, people love ibu Subangun character, sometime as a character that he or she will be avoided, or as person to enlive the social situation. Talking always in harmony will only shows



boredom? Or it is state that people personify ibu Subangun with? You hate it but you just have to live with it.

The Power is Shifted, the conclusion

By Mei 1998 the New Order was crumbling down and there are many changes. The media is mostly happy with the situation, because it is the freedom of the press that been among the first that get liberated. The power of Department of Communication was being minimalised as people could have a easier document to produce newspaper, tabloid, radio, television. State is no longer able to scrutinised program or influence the press anymore.

By the mushroomed of the media especially television, thefore heightened the need to have local products. The sinetron production is one of the first development of such need. The sinetron has been the economic motor of the crumbling Indonesian economy in general. Most of the people that once a film maker is becoming the human resources behind such impressive development.

Therefore the power has shifted, once it is the state who is powerfull as the way to generate 'good' values to the society. At present it is the media which is powerful as producing or interpreting 'good' values toward the society. The media is not a unitary aparatus, in comparison there are differences such as type of the media, program of the media. So what makes media important as a specific focus of research is the paradimatic perception.

Women's perpective is one of many paradimatic windows to the media. The media is always an intriguing subject for women's perception. For women in general, the media is an patriarkhal institutions, although women's as reporter are increasing in numbers. The media is like the religion or family, it is one of several important institution that deals with values and interpretation. As patriarkhal is a dominant values, therefore such values also insist on how the media is running it's program. The media is dominant also because it's position in society is similar to the biological clock of the society itself. The media is reflecting the social live. The media is on at about 5 o'clock in the morning, it is also the time to wake up and do praying for most of the people. Most of the program is made to suit the need of the people or perceived need



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of the people. Therefore television is likely to be on from the time the people wakes up until the time to sleep late at night.

Most of the program is also suited to the need of the family's member. Such as housewife and children would be the first target, then domestic helpers and everybody who need television as their closest friends. Therefore the infotainment is the one who are at the great demand, to tell people the most familiar news of the society. It is not just entertainment, it is not neutral, it is a reflection of power. The power to guide the society, the mediated power.

