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10 Televising the local in the Special Region of Yogyakarta

In the competition for audiences between transnational and domestic media, ‘domestic production can become even more commercial, garish and explicit than the western “originals”’ (Sreberny 2000:115). At the same time this competition can have stimulated the creation of ‘new programming formats, indigenized media products, alternative news frames’ (Sreberny 2000:115).

This describes exactly what happened with the local broadcasting institutions in the Special Region of Yogyakarta. These broadcasting institutions, both public and private, adopted various strategies to localize television, to define themselves as local within the Indonesian televisionscape, to represent local cultures and to compete with other domestic and global television. They firmly linked their image to the region, by broadcasting programmes in Javanese, by localizing foreign formats and productions. They also featured local expressions of culture and established local alliances. By regularly organizing off-air activities they set about addressing local communities, both as potential audiences and as potential advertisers.

1 The local as branding: The image of Yogyakarta²⁵²

Branding is a particular kind of audience address. It is constructed by means of cultural identity markers that represent *kearifan lokal*, as I shall clarify below with an example of TVRI Yogyakarta’s internal publicity. It also reflects and resonates the cultural circumstances in the environment in which it is at work. An analysis of any station’s branding reveals the ways in which the television industry imagines its audiences.

In defining their branding, both TVRI and the commercial television stations in Yogyakarta link themselves explicitly to their geographical locality and its inhabitants, turning to concepts like tradition and local wisdom, and using regional vernaculars. They all retain the longstanding idealized image of Yogyakarta, composed of local and national identity markers. This image is soundly based on an interpretation of cultural, linguistic, political, economic and historical arguments. The city is perceived as icon of education (because of the presence of Gadjah Mada University and its historical foundation, and other educational institutions that attract students and academics from all over Indonesia and abroad), of culture (because of the *kraton* as ‘the centre of Javanese culture’, and the wealth of artistic and cultural activities in the city) and of tourism. The city’s role during the independence struggle, when it was capital of the Republic, burnishes its special position. In short, this idea of Yogyakarta as an imagined community (Anderson 2006) and *lieu de mémoire* (Nora 1984-92) is constructed on local tangible and intangible heritage, and leans heavily on a glorious past and its legacies, but contemporary issues are by no means neglected. Actually, this image is not new as it had already been used by TVRI Yogyakarta in the New Order period (see Chapter 3).

²⁵² Citra Yogyakarta.

TVRI Yogyakarta's internal publicity to announce the programming of 14 July 2001 serves as an example of how images and sounds convey (part of) this construct. The young female presenter, dressed in a batik kain and a pink kebaya and a traditional brooch, addressed its audiences in Indonesian. Visible in the background was a map of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, on which (stereo-typical) symbols of Yogyakarta appeared and disappeared. To the south of the map the ocean, to the north the summits of the principal volcanoes surrounding Yogyakarta could be seen. It showed a strong resemblance to the representation of the ideal city in a (traditional) wayang kulit performance. In traditional shadow puppetry, a realm backed by mountains and facing the sea is prosperous, harmonious and flourishes under a just and righteous rule.

Recognizably Yogyakarta were images of buildings that were part of the cultural heritage (Tugu, the white tower, surges up to the clouds; the Prambanan temples), of important events/ceremonies (the marching kraton troops during the Sekaten festival and the food-mountains), the clock (*ngejaman*) in Yogyakarta's main street, Jalan Malioboro, and the sultan's palace. This focus on the local was cut off when the text appeared: 'TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta is now connecting to the Central TVRI Station in Jakarta.' The text made the link between the (regional) local and the national visible, simultaneously emphasizing the fact that TVRI Yogyakarta was not the centre nor was it independent.

Within this given context, every television station in the region claims a unique identity, so as to differentiate itself from the others. For instance, Jogja TV says that it uses up-to-date contemporary technologies, but never loses sight of local classic traditions. Brandishing its slogan 'Never-ending tradition' (*Tradisi tiada henti*), Jogja TV has made local content its most important asset and culture into its 'primadona' (Kusuma 2007).

TVRI Jogja forms a separate case. Founded in 1965 as TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta, it was intended to develop culturally diverse programmes devised for local audiences. After the October 1965 political coup, it became totally dependent of the national TVRI station (Kitley 2003:98). In the post-Soeharto era, for many years the station found itself in a paradoxical situation, because of the outcome of a combination of tasks, requirements and facts that were incompatible with each other. In 2005, when the government decided on TVRI's status as a public broadcasting service,²⁵³ TVRI returned to its basic principle: the Indonesian public would be the be-all and end-all of its broadcasts. Herein would lie the difference with the private broadcasting services (Atmowiloto 2006). This new status did offer TVRI Yogya opportunities, even though it was still hampered by financial problems and would now also have to compete with local commercial broadcasters. With the slogan claiming TVRI Jogja is 'our public media' (*TVRI Jogja media publik kita*),²⁵⁴ the station profiled itself by focusing on culture, educating its audiences rather than just entertaining them, establishing a closer relationship with the public in all locations and of all social classes, and being non-

²⁵³ In 2005, a new government regulation (Peraturan Pemerintah nomor 13/2005), building on the 2002 Broadcasting Law, instructed TVRI to become a public broadcasting service (Lembaga Penyiaran Publik, LPP, also called TV Publik). See also Darmanto 2009, Sukirman 2006.

²⁵⁴ Recently the slogan became '*TVRI Jogja memang istimewa*', which in 2016 was Javanized in '*TVRI Jogja pancen istimewa*' (TVRI Jogja is indeed special) (see Chapter 11).

commercial. As in the past, it continually reconfirmed its strong link to the Special Region of Yogyakarta. Before the changes, the station had been popular because of its broadcasts of Javanese performances, like wayang kulit and kethoprak, and of programmes considered to be typical representations of Yogyakartaan Javanese identity. In its new guise, it was looking for new possibilities to fill in the concept of *muatan lokal*. On the other hand, it did its utmost to keep its old successes going. These included the serialized *Kethoprak Sayembara*, then still a new media genre, based on traditional kethoprak (see Chapter 5), and *Obrolan Angkring*, a programme with a strong local content, categorized as local entertainment, featuring actual themes in a local setting (see Chapter 3). As TVRI Jogja did no longer have to comply with Indonesian government requirements, it looked for new, local partners.

Icons referring to the locality are used in the branding of the local television stations, as can be seen in the stations' identification and in the leaders of programmes featuring local content. The images and sounds conveying (part of) this construct include historical, cultural and natural landmarks, important events and ceremonies and gamelan music. In this respect, TVRI Jogja and Jogja TV differ from each other only in the selection and editing of the icons, not in the way they represent the locale and link themselves to this representation. All the while, the nation remained 'an important unit of representation, legislation, and collective address' (Mazzarella 2004:352). Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin argue that this is especially the case in those countries 'where the state has been the prime actor in the creation and regulation of media networks' (2002:11), and this is true of Indonesia. Although representing Javanese identity and addressing ethnic Javanese audiences in (a section of) their programming, the larger frame of reference of the local broadcasters is Indonesia, their main language of communication is the national language, Indonesian. Even in Javanese broadcasts – that represent only a limited percentage of the entire programming – this still lingers on in the background.

I shall now examine three other strategies that are used to localize television and to represent the local, namely: the localization of global formats, the featuring of local cultures and the establishment of local alliances.

2 Localizing global formats

When television as a technology was imported into Indonesia, existing formats of media genres like news programmes, talk shows, foreign film productions and advertisements were adopted and localized, meaning they were Indonesianized. This introduced the global alongside the national as yet another larger frame of reference. Later, the local television stations adopted these global formats to the regional circumstances, in Yogyakarta this meant that some of the formats were Javanized and identity markers specific to Yogyakarta were added to them. In order to understand how global television categories like news programmes and talk shows were adapted to the local circumstances, it is necessary to study what precisely made them into 'culturally specific' genres that were 'temporally limited' (Feuer 1992:139).

News programmes

One of the means to address local identity and to attract local audiences is by focusing on local news. News is a crucial element in the construction of regional audiences (Johnson and Fickers 2010:100). Therefore, television programmes featuring local news from a local point of view and presented in Javanese were a novelty. In this case, local should be read as sub-national, referring to a restricted geographical and cultural space.

In their tracking of indigenization processes in Asian television programming, Chan and Ma signal the function of local television news as the basis for national consensus and solidarity (Chan and Ma 1996:51). This is also what used to happen in Indonesia. Local should be read here as domestic, national. Until the late 1990s, the production and dissemination of news in Indonesia was controlled by the Indonesian government. News formed the heart of the television programme schedule at that time (McDaniel 1994:242). The transmitting of the national TVRI news had been compulsory for all television stations, and only some local radio stations broadcast news programmes in local languages.

Slowly but surely TVRI's news monopoly was weakened by the growth of competition. For commercial reasons, at the outset the private broadcasters experimented in the fringes (Sanyoto 2002:88) of the state monopoly and claimed part of the news space by broadcasting alternative news bulletins, at first focusing on soft news and human interest stories.²⁵⁵ These news bulletins were also presented in Indonesian. Other alternatives to the national news programmes were the foreign news broadcasts received by satellite dish (Kitley 2000:211, Sen and Hill 2000) and spill-over transmissions from neighbouring countries (Kitley 2000:212).

The local news market became more competitive after the actual implementation of the 2002 Broadcasting Law. In 1 December 2009, for example, SCTV began broadcasting a local version of its early morning news programme *Liputan 6* five days a week in Yogyakarta. It was presented in Indonesian and targeted viewers from the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Solo and Klaten. It focused on regional cultural items, including those with an artistic or cultural flavour (Widiyarso 2009), light subjects and information on culinary topics and artistic expressions like music and comedy. *Liputan 6 Yogyakarta* also offered room for 'citizen journalism', consisting of light audiovisual news from the public from Yogyakarta and its surroundings (SpLoclNews/PRSCTV 2009). But also TATV (Terang Abadi Televisi), based in Surakarta and using two transmission towers the most powerful of which is located in Pathuk, Yogyakarta, fished in the same pond. It broadcast news programmes in several styles and speech levels of Javanese, depending on the target audiences and the topics. Besides, its programme *Jogja Hari ini* – broadcast daily from 18.00 to 18.30 hrs, except on Sundays when it broadcast *Jogja sepekan* at the same slot – was directly targeting the inhabitants of Yogyakarta.

²⁵⁵ The first alternative news programme was RCTI's *Seputar Jakarta* (Around Jakarta) that later developed into *Seputar Indonesia* (Around Indonesia). See Kitley (2000:260-262), Atkins (2002:100), Sanyoto (2002:88). It became RCTI's biggest source of income after it was developed into a current affairs programme (Atkins 2002:100).

During the New Order, news programmes ‘serenaded the activities of state officials and promoted the state ideology’ (Kitley 2003:100). In the private television industry, news had become a commodity and was used by media-owners to secure their economic and political interests (Ignatius Haryanto 2011:108). This was equally the case with the new local private television broadcasters.

The local news programmes reported on events in the region: political events (elections), the local economy (a good cacao harvest, the rising price of rice), natural disasters, crime, local cultural expressions and social and religious events like weddings or circumcision ceremonies. The topics were presented in an adaptation of the standard global news format. They consisted of a studio presentation of the themes, followed by a more detailed coverage of each topic. Every item was covered by the screening of visual footage, shot in locale, accompanied by a voice-over of the local reporter, sometimes with an interview with an official, a specialist or a person involved in the topic concerned. Both private and public broadcasters showed the advertisements of their sponsors during the news programme. The big difference lay in the style of presentation and the language use according to the station and the programme.

While the national TVRI station used to transmit *Berita Nusantara*, a news broadcast featuring local and regional news, presented in Indonesian, as were the national news (*Berita Nasional*) and the news of the world (*Dunia dalam Berita*), the new local television institutions and the regional TVRI stations provided news in local languages.

As speakers of Javanese highly value the correct use of language etiquette, several considerations had to be taken into account when deciding on the ‘mode of direct address’ (Tolson 2006:7) to be used in Javanese news bulletins. To keep the audiences watching, ‘the onus is then on broadcasters to speak to us in ways we want to be spoken to, in ways which enhance our domestic environments and do not detract from them’ (Tolson 2006:8). This implies that it is crucial that television stations meticulously assess which language style best fits the expectations of the viewers. After all, as Tolson states (2006:16), identities are ascribed to audiences in the ways they are addressed. The controversy caused by the use of the Surabayan dialect in *Pojok Kampung*, a news programme of the afore-mentioned JTV Surabaya, is a good illustration of the significance and impact of language choice in a news programme. Lingual etiquette was the touchstone that elicited either praise or criticism of the audiences (Arps and Van Heeren 2006:309), and ‘in particular the coarseness or even offensiveness of its language’ was commented upon (Arps and Van Heeren 2006:313).²⁵⁶

Speakers of Javanese use a complicated system of rules and conventions governing language use to express degrees of politeness, courtesy, respect or appreciation towards the person(s) one is addressing or referring to (Arps et al. 2000:31). For that purpose, they have different speech styles at their disposal; *ngoko*, *basa* and *basa madya* are the main ones. *Ngoko* is used in familiar circumstances. *Basa* is spoken when one wants to be very polite. The use of *basa* can also be affected by ideological grounds, as I have discussed in Chapter 2. The intermediate speech style is called *basa madya*.

²⁵⁶ See also Hoogervorst (2008:74-5) on this topic.

In order to decide on the speech style to be used in its Javanese news programme, TVRI Jogja organized a seminar. The outcome of the discussions was that TVRI Jogja should use the polite and refined speech style, *basa*.²⁵⁷ TVRI was convinced that inhabitants of Yogyakarta would be unwilling to accept the use of *ngoko* in a television programme, as this speech style was only used in communication with persons with whom one is familiar.²⁵⁸ The choice of *basa* might have been influenced by the link between the image of the station and the court-related (*adiluhung*) branding of Yogyakarta.²⁵⁹ Jogja TV – possibly because of its connection to the *kraton* – also opted for the use of the polite speech style, to show its respect for its audiences, it explained.

That the use of Javanese speech styles other than *basa* in news programmes in fact does not have to be a hindrance to the viewers was proved by the news broadcasts of TATV. Its morning news, *Kabar Awan*, and evening news, *Kabar wengi*, were presented in colloquial Javanese. While the news topics were introduced in *ngoko*, the speech style intended for use in familiar circumstances, some of the discussions with audiences who called the station to air their comments and opinions were held in *basa*. TATV's daily evening news, *Kabar Wengi*, highlighting the crime news in Surakarta, Yogyakarta and Magelang, used *ngoko* throughout the entire programme. TATV's daily afternoon news programme, *Trang Sandyakala*, featuring news about the former residency of Surakarta²⁶⁰ and the Special Region of Yogyakarta, was presented in the very polite Javanese.

Every day at prime time,²⁶¹ Jogja TV broadcasts *Pawartos Ngayogyakarta*, the Yogyakarta News. It was just one of Jogja TV's news programmes presented in Javanese, alongside *Pawartos Enjing* and *Pawartos Sonten*, the morning and the afternoon news.²⁶² Jogja TV also broadcasts a local news programme in Indonesian, *Seputar Jogja*. *Seputar Jogja* is categorized as hard news, offering the latest updates on politics, economics and current events happening in Yogyakarta and its surrounding areas in a formal way. The television station categorizes *Pawartos Ngayogyakarta* as soft news, as it presents items concerning human interest, local history, art and culture, and local events in an entertaining style. These items alternate with advertisement blocks, and commercial sponsors are mentioned in running text banners as well. *Pawartos Ngayogyakarta* is presented by newsreaders, male or female, wearing an outfit inspired by traditional Javanese dress, and it follows a fixed format, that over the years remained the same. The presenter in the studio opens the programme, addressing the audiences with 'Salam Indonesia' (Hello Indonesia) (Figure 10.1). Komisaris Oka Kusumayudha said that the purpose of this greeting and of the pin of the red and white Indonesian flag worn by the news readers, is to define the television station's branding: The local identity is presented as part of the Indonesian identity.²⁶³

²⁵⁷ Personal communication Agus Kismadi, July 2012.

²⁵⁸ Personal communication RM Kristiadi, 23 March 2009.

²⁵⁹ On the *adiluhung* character of Javanese, see Chapter 2.

²⁶⁰ 'se-eks Karesidenan Surakarta', as TATV calls it.

²⁶¹ In 2009 at 19.30 hrs., in 2014 at 19.00 hrs.

²⁶² At present both programmes are not broadcast anymore.

²⁶³ Personal communication Oka Kusumayudha, 13 March 2009.



10.1 Jogja TV - *Pawartos Ngayogyakarta*: Salam Indonesia!

Pawartos Ngayogyakarta combines the polite speech style of Javanese with a swift and dynamic style of presentation, while the prosody follows a kind of international standard for the reading of news programmes, not the prosody that was once connected to the use of *basa* and/or traditional settings. Sometimes during interviews, other speech styles might be used, depending on the interlocutors. With a market-seller, for example, the reporter uses the intermediate speech style *basa madya*. Often the interviewees speak Indonesian, usually with a strong Javanese accent. Possibly, the televised news is considered to be an official environment in which one is unaccustomed to speaking Javanese; at least this was not done under the New Order. If Indonesian is spoken, the reporter at the locale summarizes the interview in the voice-over in *basa*.

All *Pawartos Ngayogyakarta* programmes include a sequence called *Awicarita*, in which Javanese shadow puppet characters are introduced to the public in a *wayang kulit*-like setting. Every episode used to close with the sequence *Pitutur*, containing traditional Javanese teachings on cultural values and moral behaviour, presented in both Javanese and Indonesian. These sequences within the news programme can be looked at from various angles. Both *Awicarita* and *Pitutur* add a unique local cultural flavour to the news programme. They refer to local traditional culture and values and a traditional Javanese manner of instruction (*piwulang*), and address *kearifan lokal* as the shared competence between producers and audiences. They confirm the link of Jogja TV to the kraton, considered the icon of Javanese culture and the centre of its preservation. At the other hand, these sequences can also be perceived as a continuation of the educational character of New Order broadcasting.

As it had become relatively independent of the national TVRI station, and perhaps inspired by the success of the other local TV stations, TVRI Jogja began broadcasting *Yogyawarta*, a thirty-minute daily news programme in Javanese. It focuses on issues of importance to village life, farming, health and local culture.²⁶⁴ The local TVRI station also broadcasts *Berita Jogja*, a news programme in Indonesian focusing on the locality of Yogyakarta. *Yogyawarta* is presented in a formal style, that does not deviate much from the TVRI news programmes of the New Order period. Similarly, the topics raised often still concern local government matters and include ceremonial news.

The local television stations did not confine their efforts solely to the Javanese culture of Yogyakarta, the (sub)cultures from its environs were not overlooked. The programme *Inyong Siaran*, produced and broadcast by Jogja TV, is a good example. It featured Banyumasan news about social and economic topics, art and culture, tourist sites and traditional food.²⁶⁵ Two female presenters in the Jogja TV studio introduced the topics. The studio recordings were alternated with audiovisual footage of the topics raised, with voice-overs by local reporters and interviews with local people. The language of presentation was the Javanese dialect characteristic of Banyumas. *Inyong Siaran* targeted students and other inhabitants of Yogyakarta of Banyumasan origin. Among audiences of non Banyumasan origin, the programme was popular because they liked the sound of the Banyumasan dialect.

As in his research on TVRI news programmes during the New Order period, Kitley focused on the national news bulletin, and not on *Berita Nusantara*, the news broadcast featuring local and regional news, a comparison with the Javanese news programmes examined here is not justifiable. Nevertheless, some characteristics of the national New Order news do seem to have been adopted by TVRI Jogja, quite a logical step as the station built on the practices of its predecessor, TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta. But also Jogja TV has adopted some of these characteristics, including featuring ceremonial events and officials (now local, whereas before state ceremonies and officials were featured) and retaining the still rather formal presentation style. Furthermore, the news programmes are neutral, scripted reportages, meaning the television journalists offer 'a scripted explanatory and descriptive narrative voiced over edited material recorded by the camera man or woman at the scene of the event' (Scannell 2009:E4). They refrain from any unscripted assessments, comments or critical reflections (Scannell 2009:E4). The use of Javanese, however formal, the more dynamic and personal approach of the presenters who introduce themselves to the viewers and the foregrounding of local issues are what make these news programmes different. TATV's Javanese news (and that of the afore-mentioned JTV) diverges from this distinguished Yogyakarta style.

Both types of broadcasters are aware news is a commodity, hence the importance of selling time slots to advertisers. In the case of private television, the news sequences are alternated with commercial breaks. The public broadcasting service presents the commercial sponsors after the news bulletin. Both also show advertisements in running texts.

²⁶⁴ Personal communication Agus Kismadi, June 2012.

²⁶⁵ Banyumas is located in the southwest of Central Java. Banyumasan is the adjectival form.

An examination of these Javanese news programmes reveals a double ‘vernacularization process’, a term coined by Appadurai (1996:102). Initially, the national television station adapted the global news format to local (Indonesian) circumstances. The TVRI news was characterized by a formal presentation style, the use of the national language and a focus on matters Indonesian. After Reformation and the establishment of regional autonomy, local broadcasters moved away from the national news presented in Indonesian. The methods they applied to localize the news, including the use of local languages and the choice of local topics and events, were determined by their specific area of reach. Generally speaking, their style of presentation became less formal and more relaxed, moving towards contemporary global presentation styles.

We may conclude that language use in the news programmes displays plenty of variety; it gives a voice to sub-cultures, no longer confining itself to the cultures of the court cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta and the main dialect of these courts that had become the standard Javanese. Jogja TV and TVRI Jogja have secured their status quo by opting for a conservative choice with the use of formal Javanese. In contrast the Javanese used in news broadcasts like TATV’s *Kabar Awan* and *Kabar Wengi* does reflect a trendier approach to the language. It ties in with the dialects and styles used by local radio stations and in contemporary artistic performances, both live and mediatized.

By choosing a certain format and offering a range of topics, these local news programmes have helped ‘to produce a feeling of belonging and cultural affiliation’ (Johnson and Fickers 2010:100). The framing of the programme, the language use and the costumes and body language of the news presenters supplemented the working of proximity.

Talk shows

Jogja TV’s *Pocung* and TVRI Jogja’s *Karang Tumaritis*, both live broadcasts, are examples of how the concept of a talk show has been Javanized. The programmes are based on a similar formula: An interactive dialogue, guided by a host who, with one or more specialists in the studio, discusses a topic and replies to phone calls from members of the external audiences. With these talk shows, by raising issues related to *kearifan lokal* (local wisdom), both television stations claim to have preserved the refined cultural heritage of the ancestors that is considered to be relevant in contemporary pluriform Yogyakarta.²⁶⁶

The title of the programme *Pocung* refers to a particular verse form in traditional Javanese poetry, *tembang macapat*; *Karang Tumaritis* refers to the home village of Semar, the quintessential god and clown in the Javanese wayang theatre. The leaders of *Pocung* and *Karang Tumaritis* frame the context – thereby defining the programme’s identity – by a combination of auditive and visual elements, all referring to aspects of Javanese culture: Gamelan music (performed on a gamelan or a keyboard), shadow puppetry, traditional literature and architecture.

²⁶⁶ As formulated in the 2012 programme descriptions of TVRI Jogja and Jogja TV.

The setting of *Pocung*, the music, the costumes, the formal language use including the prosody, the body language of the presenters and the style of discussion represent a courtly image of Javanese culture, associated with being aristocratic, refined and learned in specific topics. Javanese history, in particular court history, cultural heritage and etiquette are tackled seriously, and backed up by quotes from authorities. After the first slot with commercials, people from various areas in Yogyakarta and Surakarta phone in to ask questions. The majority speak *basa*.

Karang Tumaritis is presented in the studio of TVRI Jogja, in a setting composed of a mixture of traditional and modern elements. The atmosphere is less formal than in *Pocung*, and the specialists wear a contemporary variant of the traditional costume. Yogyakarta culture is a main topic of discussion, but ‘tradition’, its loss in contemporary Java and the urge to preserve it also crop up regularly (Figure 10.2). Other topics include Javanese culture in general, Islam and the younger generation(s). The show ends with announcements of the upcoming cultural performance agenda and a final message from Semar. Although the main presenter of the show speaks Javanese consistently, the language of communication among the guests is mixed: Javanese in different speech styles – *basa*, *madya* and *ngoko* – and sometimes Indonesian. As such, it approaches the continuous code-switching taking place in daily conversations among native speakers of Javanese in familiar circumstances. It seems that Indonesian is used as an escape route, when one automatically tends to speak in *ngoko* while the televisual context – according to the etiquette adhered by the programme participants – would not accept informal speech. According to the programme’s producer, the purpose of this natural use of code-switching was to create a more egalitarian atmosphere than that in the programme’s predecessor, *Pringgitan*, in which *basa* was used.²⁶⁷

The setting, the topics of discussion, the language use and the musical intermezzi are not the only parameters that define the degree of Javaneseness of these talk shows. Proximity and familiarity are important factors in determining the local character of the broadcasts. The live intervention in the broadcasts by the phone-in, in which the callers mention their names and the locality in which they live, creates a specific link between the audiences at home and the ‘actors’ in the studio, between the broadcasting location and the habitat of the callers. Hence, ‘the relationship between spatial and virtual neighborhoods’ (Appadurai 1996:189) is fairly close-knit. Often, as in radio programmes, interactive guests who call in are recognized by the presenter of the talk show, either when they say their name or just by the sound of their voice. This gives an idea of the popularity of the shows, and of their scope and area of reach. Consequently, Bu Ayub from Kulonprogo and Pak Harjono from Plaosan play an important role in contributing to and confirming the local character of *Pocung* and *Karang Tumaritis* (Figure 10.3).

²⁶⁷ Personal communication RM Kristiadi, March 2009.



10.2 'Oh, you're afraid that *Karang Tumaritis* is too traditional!'



10.3 Jogja TV - *Pocung*: Bu Ayub from Kulonprogo phoning-in

3 Featuring local cultures

A third strategy to localize television and to represent the local consists of featuring local culture in various forms and formats: Traditional performance genres (wayang kulit; kethoprak), hybrid genres categorized and/or perceived as traditional (*campursari*, *pop Jawa*), as well as new media formats based on local traditional genres (*Obrolan Angkring*, *Cangkriman*). In this section I give examples of all three categories.

Local performing arts genres

To the television industry the presence of a large variety of cultural resources in Yogyakarta remained an enormous potential reservoir to be explored and transformed into interesting broadcasts.

The industry was well aware that Indonesian audiences have a long history of direct interaction with mediated forms other than television, for instance dramatic performance (Coutas 2006:387). The similarities between performance and television, both sharing a ‘huge capacity for oral performance techniques that foster a “doubleness of imagining”’ (Lindsay 2002:336), might have contributed to the success of these genres in the electronic media.

Just as broadcasting institutions did under the New Order, local television stations disseminated Javanese performing arts genres they categorized as traditional. TVRI Jogja and Jogja TV’s broadcasts of various kinds of local performance were nevertheless a world away from the uniform, neatly constructed TVRI representations of regional and local cultures that used to be recorded at the Taman Mini Indonesia Indah National Park in Jakarta. The stations’ approach to local culture also diverges from the perceptions of local culture extant in the New Order period. Above all, the success of the stations now depended ‘on their capacity to bring the richness of local cultural sites and practices to the screen’ (Ida 2011:20-21). Besides, local broadcasts were being used to counter the monopoly of the Jakarta-based television stations (Ida 2011:20-21). But also, broadcasts featuring local culture were increasingly being used to support regional politicians and other elites, as I show in the section about the establishment of local alliances.

However, to make these performances alluring to new, in particular, younger audiences, they were often adapted. For instance, Jogja TV recorded night-long live wayang kulit performances and broadcast them in daily one-hour episodes. It also broadcast kethoprak in a shortened version. It was designed to be reminiscent of watching a film in a cinema, according to Oka Kusumayudha. This new approach was meant to make wayang kulit broadcasts appealing to younger audiences living in the outskirts of the Special Region of Yogyakarta.²⁶⁸

TVRI Jogja had been broadcasting wayang kulit since its establishment, either as transmissions of live performances that were recorded on location with several cameras, or of studio performances, attended by audiences, recorded and edited before the transmission. The station continued its long-standing co-operation with other local media, the newspaper *Kedaulatan Rakyat* and the radio station RRI Yogyakarta, and with the Yogyakarta branch of the puppeteers’ association Pepadi (Persatuan Pedalangan Indonesia) in its transmissions of wayang kulit performances from the court premises, the Sasana Hinggil Dwi Abad, every second Saturday of the month (Budhiarto and Murdoko 2009). These live transmissions were relayed by Jogja TV and RB TV (Marsono 2009). Hampered by a limited budget, for a while in 2011 TVRI Jogja abandoned the broadcasts. Nevertheless, the station continued to co-operate with local institutions and governments who organized shadow puppet performances for special occasions that were recorded and transmitted by the station. In short, joining in

²⁶⁸ Personal communication Oka Kusumayudha, 13 March 2009.

with local communities, it benefited doubly: it created close contacts with the agents involved and acquired cheap local content.

When audiences began comparing its wayang kulit broadcasts to those of private television stations, TVRI Yogyakarta did not always come out well of this comparison, as the private media had set a new norm for the mediation of traditional performing arts. They broadcast performances by popular, well-known puppeteers, supported by beautiful, neatly dressed female singers and young musicians. To recapture the attention of the audiences, TVRI Yogyakarta therefore tried various ways to innovate its wayang kulit broadcasts. Among these novelties was what was called *wayang kulit interaktif*, an initiative devised to augment audience participation in the TVRI broadcasts. During the broadcast of this new media genre in March 1999, by phoning in into the programme the public had the opportunity to influence the performance by making suggestions, expressing criticism and requesting musical pieces (*gendhing*). The *Obrolan Angkring* group led the interactive process (Jay 1999; nn 1999).

All kinds of other local performance genres were featured by the local television stations. Through their intervention these stations played an important role in preserving and developing traditional genres, and in supporting local performing artists (Kusuma 2007). One item on the programme to celebrate Jogja TV's third anniversary in 2007 was a three-day *jathilan* (horse dance) festival, held on the northern palace square in the city of Yogyakarta. The programme attracted plenty of attention from both potential festival participants and audiences (Dude 2007). The goal of the festival was to preserve local culture, in particular at grassroot level, and to promote a folk genre (*seni kreasi rakyat*) that was slowly but surely being neglected, claimed Jogja TV. Conforming to its motto, Jogja TV stated it was countering the increasing presence of foreign cultural elements, alleged to have unmistakably threatened the existence of local cultures, even persuading the local people to abandon the indigenous culture of their region. In making these statements, Jogja TV put itself on the same line as New Order ideology and discourse that continuously repeated the preservation of local culture discourse and the need to keep external, potentially negative cultural influences at bay. This ideological stance actually camouflaged the broadcaster's use of local culture for purely commercial ends.

Local events considered to be of great importance were paid special attention in separate programmes. For two days, on 8 and 9 May 2008, Jogja TV covered the wedding of the third daughter of Sri Sultan Hamengku Buwana X. In between the consecutive ceremonies, in Jogja TV's studio specialists discussed the Javanese wedding ceremony (Pribadi 2008). This shows that not only the newsworthiness of the event was decisive for Jogja TV to cover it, beside confirming the station's link to the court, but also the cultural background. In 2010 Jogja TV claimed it would broadcast the Sekaten and Garebeg Maulud ceremonies, that commemorate the Prophet Muhammad's birthday, live and exclusively; the same events would also feature in the music programme *Langenswara*. In its announcement of the programmes, Jogja TV's website gave a short introduction to the ceremonies.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ <http://www.jogjatv.tv/berita/14/04/2010/jogja-tv-live-sekaten-dan-garebeg-maulud> [Last accessed May 2010].

Hybrid genres categorized as traditional

A different kind of entertainment that gives expression to local identity could be found in programmes featuring traditional music genres (putting amateur gamelan groups in the spotlight in Jogja TV's *Langen Laras*), regional pop music (in TVRI Jogja's *Pop Daerah*) and music considered traditional like campursari. Campursari is performed in residential areas in which the majority of the population are ethnic Javanese, in Yogyakarta and Central and East Java (Supanggih 2003:1). In this case, local content is determined by ethnicity and social class rather than locality. All television stations in Yogyakarta used to have at least one campursari programme. The televising of this music genre boosted the fame of certain campursari artists and led to a rise in the number of live performances of campursari groups (Djadoeri 2005).

New media formats based on local traditional genres

Local traditional performance genres inspired the TV producers to create new television genres that in all their aspects – the setting, actors, characters, topics, presentation, audiences and sponsors – catered to mediated Javaneseness.

Obrolan Angkring, discussed in Chapter 3, was one of the rare programmes that have been able to bridge the transition from the New Order period to the Reformation with all its changes in the Indonesian televisionscape. Broadcast regularly, with only an absence of six months between January and June 2001,²⁷⁰ its strong Yogyakarta-affiliated content was considered to contribute to the *genius loci* ((cr11) 2001a). Categorized as local entertainment (Jay 2000), it featured 'real' 'Javanese' actors, trained to perform in Javanese for Javanese audiences, well versed in Javanese jokes and puns. They acted and improvised in the typically Javanese way of performing traditional drama on stage, in this case mediated by television. The audiences were familiar with this kind of acting and joking and appreciated it greatly. Those present in the TVRI studio during the recordings were directly involved in the show in several ways: their laughter during the joking became part of the show, they took part in a lottery for the *Obrolan Angkring* T-shirt contest and, at the end of the performance, the food at the foodstall was shared with the audience, making the 'common man [...] part of the event' (Bosnak 2006:110). Lastly, the show was sponsored by local entrepreneurs.

The local stations kept on creating new programmes that concentrated on the culture of the area within reach, linked to tradition – mainly in the sense of Thompson's hermeneutic and identity aspects of tradition. Since 2010 the Javanese-language quizz *Cangkriman*, a weekly one-hour programme of TVRI Jogja, has striven to keep traditions alive and to discuss Javanese language and culture on a high level, all done in a sympathetic and civilized atmosphere, as the programme criteria note. The quiz tests the knowledge of the participants

²⁷⁰ RM Kristiadi said the TVRI management banned the programme because of its outspoken social criticism (Personal communication RM Kristiadi, March 2009). When it was replaced by *Teve Kafe*, the programme's many fans protested. The newspaper *Minggu Pagi* declared this showed that the station's management did take their audiences seriously when making decisions about programming (Rachman 2001).

in four domains: Javanese culture and tradition (*Mbabar Kawruh*); Javanese speech styles, requiring the participants to give the very polite *krama inggil* variants of *ngoko* words (*Kerata Basa*); wayang characters, presented by a puppeteer behind a screen (*Bapak Pucung*); and their mastery of polite Javanese, with questions chosen by the audiences who attend the recording of the show in the studio (*Lantip Waskita*). A team of specialists adjudicates the answers. The keroncong orchestra, Prisma, and a female singer keep the spirits of the participants and the audiences up. For its content, TVRI Jogja co-operates with the Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta and the local Language Centre, and for the sponsorship of the show and the prizes for the participants with local enterprises that manufacture local articles like batik. The quiz-master and the participants (two female, two male) interact with each other in *basa*, in a fluent, intellectual and easy-going atmosphere, away from the prosody and body language that is appropriate to the *adiluhung* ideology I discussed in Chapter 2. The example of *Cangkriman* proves that programmes in which *basa* is spoken can succeed in connoting modernity and informality in a polite way.

4 Establishing local alliances

A fourth strategy to localize television and to represent the local is achieved by setting up alliances with artists and audiences, enterprises and advertisers, administration, government and other local institutions, production houses and so on.

Popular local artists – dancers, musicians, theatre and television personalities – are invited by local television stations to act as hosts of and entertainers in shows. Dancer-entertainer Didik Nini Thowok explained the inherent mutual loyalty and co-operation, in particular between TVRI and local artists. TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta had been very important to him personally at the beginning of his career. The station had acted as a patron, providing him with opportunities to display his new creations on screen. He was happy to continue the good relationship and help out TVRI whenever they needed a host who, because of his popularity, would attract large audiences, even though the honorarium available was only small.²⁷¹ Other artists think the same way. Nevertheless, this loyalty does not stop the artists from performing in the productions of other TV stations in Yogyakarta and elsewhere. For instance, on the occasion of Jogja TV's first anniversary, Didik Nini Thowok performed the opening dance.

For many artists from Yogyakarta, television has been an important medium that has underpinned their work. The tight relationship between television and traditional performing arts has assumed influential proportions in the survival of these artistic genres. Television has played a decisive role in keeping the art forms alive or letting them disappear. The local television stations themselves needed a strong dose of idealism when programming regional culture, as they constantly ran the risk that low ratings would influence advertising (Kusuma 2007).

²⁷¹ Personal communication Didik Nini Thowok, March 2009.

'Live' contact with local communities is essential to the local TV stations. It allows the stations to relate directly to their audiences 'in specific, inclusive, and cooperative ways' (Hutchby 2006:10-12). Making outdoor recordings and broadcasting from local landmarks enable mutual identification and bonding, particularly when the public is involved in the programme. This is equally true of the off-air activities organized by the television stations, to celebrate the station's anniversary, for instance, or to make a contribution to social welfare. The alliance is strengthened particularly when audiences are given an active role in the programmes as performers: reacting to the show as they attend the recording in the television studio, phoning-in to programmes with requests, questions and comments, or performing as a musician with the local gamelan group in a televised music programme. More recently, Facebook and other social media have begun to play an influential role in linking audiences to television stations and to specific programmes.

Moeran (referring to Bourdieu) argues that these activities show the inextricable link between the economic and cultural characteristics of the medium television. When they participate in and report on special events, the television stations accumulate cultural and social capital (Moeran 2001:29-30). By associating themselves with these events and their sponsors, the stars and artists involved and the audiences, they 'create [their] own cultural logic and currency which can be converted by recognized rates of exchange into economic capital' (Moeran 2001:29-30). Particularly when applied to Javanese television stations and their off-air activities this view makes good sense, as this area has the largest audience potential in Indonesia. In the long run, close contacts with its audiences from various social, cultural and economic backgrounds might result in economic profit.

Generating income and local content

Lack of funding and lack of content are among the problems with which local television industries have to contend. To generate income from local sponsors on a regular basis, several strategies are employed by the local television stations. Establishing contracts with local government authorities, political elites and educational institutes is one of those strategies to guarantee a regular source of funding. The local authorities buy time slots and deliver contents – and sometimes also audiences – , while the television stations take care of the technical aspects of mediation and the actual broadcasts. Both private local television and local TVRI have been fishing in the same pond and engage with the same authorities and business partners.

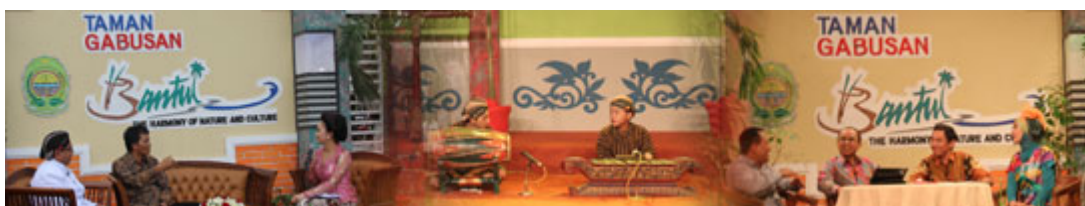
An important source of income for the private stations is generated by the advertisements of local and national enterprises. One of the principal objectives of the 2002 Broadcasting Law was to create opportunities for local businesses to derive profit from the local commercial television stations by advertising, thereby acquiring a share of the advertisement cake. Initially it was rather an uphill battle for the local TV stations in Yogyakarta to attract local advertisers, but slowly their interest of the latter grew. However, contracting national companies for the commercial slots was more rewarding than courting local companies, on the levels of income, impact, and prestige. The sorts of products advertised in either local or

localized commercials include tea and coffee, traditional medicine and beauty products, and local financial services (Figure 10.4).



10.4 Teh Kepala Jenggot (Tea Commercial) (*Pawartos Ngayogyakarta*)

Both TVRI Jogja and Jogja TV have co-operated with the local government authorities to generate income. After decentralization, these authorities had become more powerful – Ida (2011:21) calls them ‘local “little kings”’. In collaboration with the local television stations, they communicate local government policies and development programmes to the public, and reap political benefits and prestige.



Jadwal siaran acara Taman Gabusan di TVRI Jogja setiap hari Selasa pukul 16.00 WIB.

Hari/Tanggal	Tema	Tempat	Keterangan
Selasa Pahing, 28 Mar 2017	HUT RS Panembahan Senopati	Studio 1 TVRI Yogyakarta Jl. Magelang km 4.5 Yogyakarta	Narasumber 1. Wakil Bupati Bantul 2. Direktur RS Panembahan Senopati Bantul
Selasa Kliwon, 21 Mar 2017	Dukungan Sistem Informasi Desa terhadap keterbukaan informasi publik	Studio 1 TVRI Yogyakarta Jl. Magelang km 4.5 Yogyakarta	Narasumber 1. Nugroho Eko Setyanto SSos, MM (Kepala Dinas Kominfo Bantul) 2. Elanto Wajoyono (CRI)
Selasa Pon, 14 Mar 2017	Jelang Musda Dekranasda Kabupaten Bantul 2017	Studio 1 TVRI Yogyakarta Jl. Magelang km 4.5 Yogyakarta	Narasumber 1. Hj. Erna Suharsono (Ketua Dekranasda Kab. Bantul) 2. Amir Panzuri (Ketua Panitia Musda Dekranasda Kab. Bantul th 2017)
Selasa Wage, 24 Mei 2017	Bersama Lansia dan untuk Lansia	TVRI Stasiun Yogyakarta	Nara sumber 1. Bapak Drs. Sulistiyo, SH, CN, M.Si (Asisten I Bidang Pemerintahan dan Kesra DIY) 2. Bapak H. Abdul Halim Muslih (Ketua Komda Lansia Kab. Bantul) 3. Bapak Drs. Wagiyo, SH (Ketua Panitia Peringatan Halun Kab. Bantul)

10.5 TVRI Jogja’s *Taman Gabusan* schedule at the Bantul government site

The format of a talk show has often been used to feature local authorities and institutions; it has no complicated technical requirements, is easy to organize and to mediate, and cheap to produce. The shows are sponsored by a direct allocation to the television stations from the budgets of the regional Representative Councils (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, DPRD). The informative content is mixed with performances of local dance and music genres.

TVRI Jogja as well as Jogja TV have a co-operation with the government of the Bantul regency of Yogyakarta. TVRI Jogja broadcasts *Taman Gabusan*, whose schedule is published on the site of the Bantul government administration, listing the programme themes and the names of the speakers (Figure 10.5).²⁷² In 2009, both Jogja TV and RB TV relayed this weekly thirty-minute programme.²⁷³ Jogja TV broadcasts *Gardu Projotamansari*, a co-operation with the Bantul Representative Council. The programme is announced on the DPRD website and its Facebook page.²⁷⁴ 'Political' advertisements for local and regional elections candidates and live debates between these candidates are another interesting source of income for television stations. These co-operations between TV and sponsoring local government authorities do however receive criticism, as they are undoubtedly a restriction on the broadcasters' independence, not to mention their critical stance.

A good example of a programme with a strong local identity that floats on an alliance with a local political party is TVRI Jogja's *Pangkur Jenggleng*.

Pangkur Jenggleng

The programme came into being in 2003. When Amien Rais, a former leader of Muhammadiyah (a major Islamic NGO in Indonesia) and then chairman of the PAN (Partai Amanat Nasional, the National Mandate Party) ran for the presidency, he needed local backing and proposed to TVRI Jogja to make a joint programme featuring local culture.²⁷⁵ Initially the co-operation was in the hands of the Pusat Informasi Amien Rais (PIAR), the Amien Rais Center, a Yogyakarta-based institution (Figure 10.6). Later it was taken over by the Hanafi Rais Center, run by Amien Rais's son Hanafi (who stood for the local elections in 2011 but lost). The centre has a strong Islamic background.

²⁷² <https://bantulkab.go.id/tamangabusan/> [Last accessed March/April 2017]

²⁷³ TVRI Jogja programme description 2012.

²⁷⁴ <http://dprd.bantulkab.go.id/> [Last accessed April 2017]. See also: <https://www.facebook.com/1294823603895682/photos/a.1350585358319506.1073741841.1294823603895682/1350585444986164/?type=3&theater> [Last accessed April 2017].

²⁷⁵ Personal communication RM Kristiadi, 27 June 2012.



10.6 TVRI Jogja - *Pangkur Jenggleng*:
Symbol and running banner of sponsor PIAR

TVRI categorizes *Pangkur Jenggleng* as staged comedy (*komedi panggung*).²⁷⁶ The programme combines local entertainment with discussions relevant to everyday life. These are linked to social phenomena and current events occurring in Javanese society.²⁷⁷ Each episode is carried by two comedians and several guest stars, and features a story containing a comic dispute, a discussion on a cultural topic and a moral, conveyed by an old wise man (Figure 10.7).



10.7 Come here and I will tell you – ‘Kene, kene, tak kandhani’
TVRI Jogja - *Pangkur Jenggleng*: Pak Ngabdul instructing those present

The title refers to comedian Basiyo of the local radio station Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), who became famous for his *Pangkur Jenggleng*, a comic performance of a traditional

²⁷⁶ Compare to TVRI’s categorization of kethoprak as *drama panggung*, staged drama (<http://anangwiharyanto.wordpress.com/>) [Last accessed 2012].

²⁷⁷ Personal communication Heruwati, 11 July 2012.

gamelan piece, *pangkur*. It joined in with the popularity of the radio broadcast *Pangkur Jenggleng*. The programme features all kinds of traditional Javanese performance genres: *karawitan* (gamelan music), *sindhenan* (female vocalizing) and *macapatan* (singing of traditional Javanese poetry), dance, *lawak* (comedy), sometimes *pedhalangan* (shadow puppetry) and kethoprak, all performed by local artists. The music that accompanies the performers is played by the orchestra of the local radio station, the Karawitan RRI Yogyakarta. As the producer wants the show to exude a traditional aura, contemporary campursari has been re-modified into more classical gamelan style music. The performers speak different styles of Javanese in a very natural sounding way, and sometimes a mixture of Javanese, Indonesian and English, as people would do in daily conversations with persons with whom they are familiar.

The programme is characterized by Javanese humour, involving the musicians and the audiences in the studio directly – hence its popularity among the audiences. A few years ago, the waiting-list to attend the studio recording was one year; at the moment of investigation about three months. Everything is done to include the viewers in what happens on stage and give them a good time, to enable them to identify with the expressions of (traditional) Javanese and to make them captive, ready to receive the messages, together with the audiences at home. The audiences are recruited from local Muslim communities, mosques and Quran classes. The majority consist of women, elderly men and children, all wearing the uniform of the group to which they belong, often Muslim attire (Figures 10.8 and 10.9).



10.8 *Pangkur Jenggleng*: Audiences in the studio (December 2009)



10.9 *Pangkur Jenggleng*: Audiences in the studio

The sponsor Hanafi Rais, who usually attends the recordings, is regularly addressed during the programme, and the dialogues contain direct references to the medium of television, more specifically to TVRI Jogja. The centre takes care of the honoraria of the guest stars who perform in the show. TVRI claims that there is no direct relationship between the programme contents and the sponsor, a statement that obviously chooses to neglect the presence of persuasive messages in some of *Pangkur Jenggleng*'s episodes. A running banner with the name of Rais' organization frequently appears on the screen, visually affirming his sponsorship. Several slots in the broadcast are filled with advertisements for local banks and catering facilities, the other sponsors of the show.

Several interpretations for the popularity of the show have been given. They touch on Javanese-ness, proximity and the local, and nostalgia. Hanafi Rais has claimed that *Pangkur Jenggleng* is the most popular programme at TVRI Jogja. He attributes this to the fact it features local performance genres that belong to the Javanese.²⁷⁸ According to the head of the station, the programme has achieved such heights of popularity because it reveals the true meaning of local strength and identity. At a time when everybody owns a TV set, television audiences appreciate programmes that feature local culture, he explained ((hrd) 2003). Bondan Nusantara thinks that there is another reason *Pangkur Jenggleng* attracts these large audiences. Whereas most programmes try to persuade television viewers to turn into consumers, in this case TVRI Jogja offers the audiences space to gather in front of the stage, watch the performance together and interact with the performers – just as used to be the case in non-mediated traditional performances.²⁷⁹

Pangkur Jenggleng exemplifies how a televised performance categorized as traditional plays a role in ‘negotiating local power, money and religion’ (Richter 2006:188-189). The alliance between TVRI Jogja as a public service broadcaster and the Hanafi Rais Center as representative of a political party has however elicited critical reactions from the public and the press. Hanafi Rais himself has said he sponsors the show because he is a devotee of traditional Javanese art. But it is exactly this sponsorship that calls the neutrality of TVRI as a public service broadcaster into question. After it had become independent and neutral as required by the 2002 Broadcasting Law and the 2006 Government Regulation, TVRI should have left government and political party services behind.²⁸⁰ Whereas under the New Order period in its programming the government station supported Golkar, the party of the civil servants, it had now turned its attention to a local political party. While Hanafi Rais did deny his support for *Pangkur Jenggleng* was for purely electoral purposes, election campaigns were actually discussed in several broadcasts ((Cdr)-s 2009); the *Pangkur Jenggleng* guest stars invited the audiences in the studio and at home to support specific candidates in the Indonesian parliamentary and presidential elections (*Kenapa TVRI* 2014). Despite this overt electioneering, in its public relations the television station itself has continued to stress the importance of maintaining an independent and neutral character ((E013/M008) 2010). The advertisements in the commercial slots contradict yet another requirement of the Broadcasting Law, that it should be of a non-commercial character. Lastly, public television should provide services in the public interest and offer space for multicultural and pluriform contents, and not for political or economic interests ((IRE) 2010). But neither the legislative power nor the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission seem to have had the power to stem the tide of these developments.

²⁷⁸ Personal communication Hanafi Rais, 2 July 2012. See also *Pangkur Jenggleng* 2012.

²⁷⁹ Personal communication Bondan Nusantara, 2 July 2012.

²⁸⁰ On TVRI’s lack of neutrality, see also Veven Wardhana 2002:163 ff.

