

CHAPTER II

CULTURAL STUDIES AND MEDIA

A. Cultural Studies and The Consumption Society

According to Chris Barker, cultural studies¹ are a research field of multidiscipline or post discipline which uses a lot of things from subject area. Cultural studies was building by a way of talking that is set about object (which was taking as a problem) and gathered around the key concepts, ideas and points of attention. And the relationship of cultural studies with sovereignty in practice of significance of human formations, the need for change and with the representation of marginalized social groups at stake in cultural studies. Cultural studies are a formation of discourse, i.e., ideas, imageries, and practices building, which provide ways to discuss the topic, specific social activities or institutional arena within the society.²

Cultural studies developed the definition of culture in the new meaning than previously if viewed from cultural studies developed. The outstanding characteristic is the view that culture is examined as part than inseparable from the power and dominant relationships in the community. The character of the cultural studies that expressed by Stuart Hall is restored the debate on culture as a *teoritisasi* about classic ideology problem because culture characteristic and ideology determines the conditions of material, social, and historical of existence, in ideology viewed as a form of social reproduction that containing power. Cultural

¹ Cultural studies appear on 18 and 19 century in Europe the term of cultural studies has a meaning cultivation process or developing. On 20 century the term of cultural studies referring to the improvement and advancement of individual, especially through the process of education, aspiration, and the human ideals. Sandi Suwardi Hasan, *Pengantar Cultural Studies Sejarah, Pendekatan Konseptual, dan Isu Menuju Studi Budaya Kapitalisme Lanjut*,

² Chris Barker, *Cultural studies Teori dan Praktik*, translated by Nurhadi, Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2015, p.5-6

studies does not have a subject area that is clearly defined, it just stand on an idea of culture that is very wide and cover all terms to describe and study various kinds of daily human practice. Cultural studies have no subject of study or affiliation single disciplines.³

According to John Storey, cultural studies defined the culture is politically, culture is understand as the text and the practice of daily life. In cultural studies culture considered the realm of conflict and cultural studies is great on how to see culture. Cultural studies is the discourse that stretches, which responds to political and historical conditions are changed and is always marked by the debate, disapproval, and intervention.⁴ Marxism explained cultural studies in two fundamental ways. First, to understand the meaning of the text or the cultural practices must be analyzed in the context of social and historical production and consumption. Cultural studies assert that cultural significance comes from the fact that culture helped build the structure and form of history. Second, these assumptions are taken from Marxism because of the introduction of the industrial capitalist society is a society that sealed unjustly. Cultural studies argues that culture is one of the areas of principle, culture is the realm of the place during the ongoing fight over meaning, where the subordinate groups try to oppose overriding the meaning that fully loaded with the interest of dominant groups, this is what makes the culture is ideology.⁵ Thus, cultural studies is a multidiscipline or post discipline research field that defined culture clearly and stand on vast culture ideas and cover everything. Culture in cultural studies is defined politically, it included formation process of discourse or how to order in talks related to the issue of power.

³ Sandi Suwardi Hasan, *Pengantar Cultural Studies Sejarah, Pendekatan Konseptual, dan Isu Menuju Studi Budaya Kapitalisme Lanjut*, p.23-27

⁴ John Storey, *Cultural Studies dan Kajian Budaya Pop*, Translated by Layli Rahmawati, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2008, p.2-3

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 4

According to Jean Baudrillard, the consumption society is the position of society where the society is locating on a lot of objects, services, and materials and people doing massive consumption, so it appears inability and less awareness in reducing needed. The symbolic exchange is shifted by exchange has dominated by benefit value and exchange rates. Society is sedated with pseudo-overflow performed by ads from mass media. The items appear and circulate within the society offers a lot of imagery and it is a picture of endless extravagant.⁶ The main characteristic of consumption society is the universality of sundries in mass communication. All information actuated, that mean it made dramatic and spectacular. Picture, sign, messages, all consume, and inflict peacefulness.⁷ As mentioned by Mike Featherstone, Raymond Williams argue that, one of the most recent usage of the term consume is damaging (to destroy), use (to use up), waste (to waste), spent (to exhaust). In this sense, consumption is a waste, that extravagance.⁸ Rich societies will not longer surrounded by other people but surrounded by many objects, the object overflow make a rich society associated with extravagance and Jean Baudrillard calls it the culture of the wastebasket. The whole society always squander, dissipates, release, and consume the smallest needs for a simple reasons. Then, there is waste that is productive, excess beyond the purposes, or spent beyond the value of accumulation and appropriation. Consumption in the highest level becomes part of consumption society as well as a strong desire towards the object.⁹ In some cases the object was purchased by the society used to gain prestige through a high exchange rate. The meaning of pleasure is toward objects most associated with the physical objects consumption and related to the benefits of objects as the

⁶ Jean Baudrillard, *Masyarakat Konsumsi*, Translated by Wahyunto, Yogyakarta: Kreasi Wacana, 2013, p. 4

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 17

⁸ Mike Featherstone, *Posmodernisme Budaya dan Konsumsi*, Translated by Misbah Zulfaelizabeth, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2006, p. 48

⁹ Jean Baudrillard, *Masyarakat Konsumsi* . . . p. 31-33

giver of the characteristics. What consumed can lead to the existence of a class distinction.¹⁰

Consumerism ideology can be seen as one of the strategies of diversion, one example about the never-ending quest, the movement of the endless *metonymic* passion. Promises made as love. Consumption is the answer to all problems, consumption will be made whole again, consumption will make it complete, consumption gives happiness, then the meaning of life can be found on what is consumed.¹¹

B. Lifestyle in Cultural Studies

Lifestyle, as Chaney said is a characteristic in modern world, or modernity. That is, anyone who lives in modern society, no exception in urban teenagers¹² will use the idea of a life style to describe the action itself or others. Lifestyle is the patterns of action that distinguishes one person with another person. The lifestyle term, both from the individual and collective view point, contains the meaning that lifestyle as a way of life includes a set of habits, views and patterns of response to life, as well as equipment for living. In the life of modern society, there is a reciprocal relationship and cannot be separated between the existence of the image and lifestyle. Lifestyle is the way humans give meaning to his world of life, require medium and space to express the meaning, that is, spaces and objects, in which the image has a central role.¹³

The term of lifestyle in contemporary consumer culture are connotation individuality, self-expression, and self-awareness that *stylistic*. The body, clothing, talk, entertainment at leisure time, food and beverage options, houses, vehicles, entertainment option, and so on is seen as an

¹⁰ Mike Featherstone, *Posmodernisme Budaya dan Konsumsi* . . . p.37

¹¹ John Storey, *Cultural Studies dan Kajian Budaya Pop* . . . p. 146

¹² Urban : about city, the character is city

¹³ Rahma Sugi Hartati, *Membaca, Gaya Hidup dan Kapitalisme Kajian tentang Reading for Pleasure dari Perspektif Cultural Studies*, Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2010, p. 157-158

indicator of individuality of taste and sense of style from the owner or the consumer.¹⁴ By Bourdieu, as mentioned by Idi Subandy, lifestyle depicted as a space, or the exact space lifestyle, which is plural, in which the members of the group social construct their social habits Bourdieu calls lifestyle formed as the product of systematic habits, or called a *habitus*.¹⁵ From the definition above, the lifestyle is seen as the most expressive form of how human beings live and interpret his intangible patterns of action. Lifestyle can be reflected in the daily habits and objects that show the identity of the user or the consumer.

In the perspective of cultural studies lifestyle is an activity of consumption, because there are symbolic codes and practices of consumption. Consumption has always been more than just economic activity, consuming the products or use the commodities to satisfy material needs. Consumption is also associated with the dream and desire, identity and communications, in cultural studies called pop culture.¹⁶ The modern individual in cultural consumption aware that he not just talking to the clothes, but with his house, furniture, decorating, cars, and various other activities that must be understood and classified in relation to presence or absence of appetite. Every individual has the opportunity to do a self-improvement and self-expression of any class.¹⁷

Pierre Bourdieu argues, as mentioned by Jhon Storey, cultural life (lifestyle, and others) is an important area for the battle among the various groups and social classes. For Bourdieu, cultural consumption tend to be conscious and deliberate or not, fill a social function be legitimized social differences. For example, the class is used by the dominant culture. Bourdieu's goal not to state or prove what was already obvious, that different classes have different lifestyles, different culture taste, etc., but

¹⁴ Mike Featherstone, *Posmodernisme Budaya dan Konsumsi* . . . p. 197

¹⁵ Idi Subandy, Ibrahim, *Kritik Budaya Komunikasi Budaya Media dan Gaya Hidup dalam Proses Demokratisasi di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011, p. 169

¹⁶ John Storey, *Cultural Studies dan Kajian Budaya Pop* . . . p. 169

¹⁷ Mike Featherstone, *Posmodernisme Budaya dan Konsumsi* . . . p. 146

rather examined the process of formation of cultural distinction of securing and legitimized forms of power and domination which ultimately rooted in economic inequality.¹⁸ Those who has a high volume of capital Economics (industrialist, entrepreneur commercial) has the appetite to practical, car imports, the auctioneers specifications, another home (second house), tennis, water skiing, right-bank gallery. Those who have the capital high culture (artistic producer, teachers of high school, a teacher in College) has a-side festival theatre, *Avant grade*, *les tamps moderns*, foreign languages, chess, beaches, mountains. Those who have the economic and cultural capital (skilled, semi-skilled workers, not skilled) will have a taste of football, potato, red wine always, watching sports, public dances.

Injustice is appear if see social space complexity in social space of the center position has a clear role in generating shared tastes and options provide static. The lower group trying to match or exceed or robs the tastes of a higher group, which resulted in higher groups provide a response by way of adopting new tastes that will re-establishing and maintaining a distance that used to be there. Therefore the dominant groups tried to have or establish positional objects (positional goods), according to the term of William Leiss, i.e. the prestigious objects because of the artificial infrequency of the specified supply. One of the problems that arise due to the dynamics of cultural consumption is goods that are rare or are limited in the market led to emergence of social competition to maintain the difference.¹⁹

Lifestyle is a result from artificial creation and adoption, therefore lifestyle is a matter of choice. Lifestyle can be used and disposed as you wish, whenever and wherever. Lifestyle can be created, practiced, plagiarized, and recycled in the life cycle, especially driven by current consumption and popular culture. To survive, a lifestyle need space,

¹⁸ John Storey, *Cultural Studies dan Kajian Budaya Pop* . . . p.205

¹⁹ Mike Featherstone, *Posmodernisme Budaya dan Konsumsi* . . . p. 210-211

media, and public supports.²⁰ In information globalization era, various studies have shown that the major role shaping the lifestyle is: image culture and cultural taste is a fierce advertising which offers a visual style that sometimes charming and intoxicating. The ads present lifestyle by subtly embed the significance of self-image to appear on public. The advertisement is slow but surely influenced the choice of flavors, especially when engaged in social relations and association with a person or another group.²¹ According to Herbert Marcuse, advertisers are pushing the false needs, for example, encourages the desire to be a certain kind of person, wearing certain types of clothing, eating certain foods, drinking a special drink, using special items, and so on.²²

So, lifestyle is a part of criticism in cultural studies, because lifestyle is an activity of consumption. The choice of lifestyle displayed by someone is something that has been getting a selection process. In the lifestyle there is consumption behavior where someone will continue to meet what he want to show the image of himself. Consumption is endless, waste, and artificial needs. The image is considered very important in the life of, as it can indicate how high a person's earnings. With the presence of the image, then created the social classes to which the status and tastes are classified. Any advertisement is one that can be a trigger for the onset of lifestyle, with packaged dramatically and interesting ads make the consumer feel the need to follow and have the product in order to support himself. Lifestyle can be reflected from what is consumed, entertainment, leisure time, etc.

²⁰ Idi Subandy, Ibrahim, *Kritik Budaya Komunikasi Budaya Media dan Gaya Hidup dalam Proses Demokratisasi di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011, p. 307

²¹ Rahma Sugi Hartati, *Membaca, Gaya Hidup dan Kapitalisme Kajian tentang Reading for Pleasure dari Perspektif Cultural Studies*, Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu, 2010, p. 47

²² John Storey, *Cultural Studies dan Kajian Budaya Pop . . .* p. 145

C. Commercialization of Media

Generally the meaning of media is the communication medium like press, broadcasting and cinema.²³ Access to media has become the one of primary requirement for everyone, because the requirement for information, consolation, and education. The development of technology and information with sophisticated of devices was produced by industry like presenting “the world in your hand”. This term is appropriate with Thomas L. Friedman said, “The world is flat”. The world is more flat and everyone can access anything from any sources. And Richard Hunter was said, “The world without secrets”. The presence of media makes information as something easy to find and open.²⁴ Whereas, commercialized is submit to logic of production, and consumption as the commodity object in capitalist market.²⁵

According to McLuhan, as described by Idi Subandy Ibrahim, media is like an extension from the sensory system, nerve organ, which further make the world narrow, so it make someone’s behavior unwittingly has been arranging by mass media, like television program. Television has been giving preference of value and partiality of certain ideology. The important value is commercialization, whereas the vitality is market. So, the human culture will be demand to adapt with market situation, commercially packed in business package, the direction is desire and the primary model is the center of international culture. So, the face of media industrialization which appear has transformed become one of modern human prison.²⁶

²³Graeme Burton, *Media dan Budaya Popular*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2012, p. 9

²⁴Rulli Nasrullah, *Media Social Perspektif Komunikasi, Budaya, dan Sosioteknologi*, Bandung: Simbiosis Rekatama, 2015, p. 1

²⁵F. Budi Hardiman, *Ruang Publik Melacak Partisipasi Demokrasi dari Polis sampai Cyberspace*, Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2010, p.190

²⁶Idi Subandy Ibrahim, *Kritik Budaya Komunikasi Budaya Media dan Gaya Hidup dalam Proses Demokratisasi di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011, p. 87

For the example is America (AS). All of media in America, big or small is business. Their orientation is market. Like George Gerbner was said, media is culture arm from American industry. This is basis evidence about media in America. In America, the mass media has controlled by industry or business groups so, the function of mass media disposed to defend of status quo. The media used to influence society's behavior economically, because media is important device to achieve the aim of business. Now, all of media directed to please all of human and persuade them. All of media manager always try to adapt with market desire, with this method they can press the cost and maximize their income (for the example from advertisement). If, media understand the society's character, it make easy for media to hold the society. Media directly or indirectly controlled by commercial interest, so media must appear attractively to achieve the aim.²⁷

The relation between media and audience become to economic activities, it is the production relation with consumption. Something that coming from media production, program or books it can be described as the goods, those goods is commodity or object to sale.²⁸ Media is business. Production is collaborative process, using many creativity of human. For media and society, the social relation and the economic relation interweave each other.²⁹ Media become capitalism device and media as the business machine to looking for profit. Control of media is on the owner hands but, the owner of media only some person. As described by Henry Subiakmo, according to Peter Golding and Graham Murdoch said, media as a political and economic vehicle, tend to be controlled by conglomerates and media barons who are becoming fewer in number but

²⁷ William I. rivers w. Jensen, Theodore Peterson, *Media Massa dan Masyarakat Modern*, translated by Haris Munandar dan Dudy Priatna, Jakarta: Kencana, 2003, p. 39-40

²⁸ Graeme Burton, *Media dan Budaya Popular*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2012, p. 96

²⁹ *Ibid.* p. 100

through acquisition, controlled the larger part of the world's mass media and mass communication.³⁰

On 1983 there are 50 person of conglomerate who dominates of ownership television, radio, film, newspaper, magazine until publication, in American and Europe. But, on 1997 after through on process merger and *akuisisi*, the baron or mogul who has authority toward world media only 10 persons. Whereas, on 2002 the master of media only 3 person and their called as the holy trinity of the global media system. The global media concentration reduce the quality of media's character as the democracy process, although representation of public variety. Mass media influenced by the power of capitalism and those inclination prevail to whole the world. Holdings of media, has inclination to expand their trade network, then their accumulation the profit and the modal for their interest, and usually there is contradiction with democracy demand justice. As Henry Subiakmo described, according to Croteau and Hoynes, holdings of media are constantly trying to increase profit, companies must develop new ways to deliver goods and services at the lowest cost. This encourages efficiency on the part of producers and ensure low prices for consumers. So, AS has powerful industry culture in the world and as the holdings of process symbol globalization.³¹

And, Rianne Subijanto mentioned, Smythe was said that viewer is commodity. The term of viewer direct to generally viewer, including television viewer, radio listener or music listener, newspaper and magazine reader, and everyone who walk in the way or drive and looking or read the advertisement in *spanduk*, on the street, busway, etc. so, viewer is all of the media consumer on the everything type. According to Smythe, mass media is as the ideology production only. According to Symthe, the viewer working but they are commodity. The primary function that

³⁰ Henry Subiakmo, *Konsentrasi Media Massa dan Melemahnya Demokrasi*,

³¹ *Ibid.*

commercial mass media worked for capitalism system is carryout the agenda to produce the awareness. There are two aims, both of them are for sale, the first is to sale the object produce and consumer service which produced by *massal*. This sale is using the viewer's awareness via advertisement. The second aim is legitimation of the state. In here, the state is as the regulator capitalism system in the nation.

The important produce from commercial mass media is viewer source or audience force. This term directed to the term labor force in theory of classic Marxist. So, the viewer is who was slling by commercial mass media to advertiser and the viewer's awareness is target advertiser through the advertisement. When the viewer source produced, sold, purchased and consumed, those sources require used (scale) price and to be commodity. The contents of commercial mass media always attractive and build the *kondusif* mood to create the pleasing reaction on the message of advertiser.³²

So, commercialization of mass media is submit on logic of production and consumption as the commodity object in capitalism market. Mass media is the important device to achieve the aim of business, the method is binding the consumer and trying to understand what is market want. Whereas, the relation between media and society is the part of economy activity that is the relation of production with consumption. Anything that was produced by media, it is commodity, object to sale. The commercial media get profit from selling the viewer's awareness.

D. The analysis of media

According to post-modernist thinker opinion in this globalization era media grow as black hole which serve and produce more imagination. Black hole pervade many social factual. Every social media can creat

³²Rianne Subijanto, *Kritik terhadap Klaim "Kritis" Cultural Studies, Political Economy of Culture, dan Critical Theory* in Jurnal Pemikiran Marxis, "Indoprogres" Volume 1, Number 01, Yogyakarta: Resist Book, 2014, p. 83

some crisis as trendy commodity dan sexy news. In which, there are many demonstration, disturbance, violence and the conflict of ethnic, religion, ideology, so media will appear becomes late absurdity representation as the crisis of black hole, media is consider crisis as a sexy issue to show in public. Media exploit simbolis media's power is not to rise understanding feeling, but precisely rise the nation childish characteristic, such recrimination another also emotional exchange between elit politic, distrust, moreover doing decimate between ethnic, or *primordialism*³³ character and narrow *sektarianism*³⁴ and a politic alienation which really overcast inside of public space.³⁵ Through the media as a vehicle for publicity, societies have overflowed by information which stream down very speedy. Unfortunately, the news and information that spreading out in societies mind it could not make them enlightened or well-informed, but media could create emotional fragility as the psychological impact of cultural illusion, it is really real for people awareness. Media can be outer mind of people either bad or good and right or wrong.³⁶

Media is one of resource available for every societies and which getting more and more growing is television. There is no another media could be equal to television in volume pop culture texts that produced by television, and there are many viewer that they procurable. One of television text is news. News is not the windows of world without intermediatly. But, another a representation of the results selection and construction can make some reality. An various alection will be include and using specific ways to selected a news. Therefore, story of a construction work will never be neutral. The news is some certain version of the events. The news narration offers a framework to understanding the

³³ *Primordialism*: The excessive feeling toward ethnic.

³⁴ *Sektarianisme*: Spirit to defend a sect or mazhab, belief, or religion view.

³⁵ Idi Subandy Ibrahim, *Kritik Budaya Komunikasi Budaya, Media, dan Gaya Hidup dalam Proses Demokratisasi di Indonesia*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2011, p. 260

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 210

rules about how is the world prospective constructed. The Selection of news criteria is about the ideological worldview which is regulate and disseminated. Ideology is the structure significance or worldview that coverd social relationships and through the power of impementation.³⁷ On the other hand, according to baudrillard televition is the nucleus of postmodern culture's it proved by simulations flow and satisfactor *faksimile* and includes all hype-reality, where people offered by images and information. For Baudrillard, postmodern television is flat character and one-dimensional, image flow and simulacra.³⁸

The media is some message. And it convey a truth of message either from television, radio, etc. people read and consumed information unconsciously and deep, not the meaning that produce by sound and images, those are scheme that must be implemented. All media could break the relationships and perception models which can be feel either unconsciously and continuously. Some mass media truth is purpose to neutralize real induividuality, unique, world events, to replace the homogeneous multiple world each other, replace one another and send back each other.³⁹

The mass media globalization could creat vision which is almost same for audience or viewer. Post-modern media become a hegemony place for public opinion. The interpretation of phenomenon or reality is depend on vested interest media institution which regulating the global opinion. Media using the word composition neatly, so the media could deliver a scenario idea of global opinion. The neat word composition is cultivated able to change the presentation about phenomenon or reality and forming the new vision so, the cultural network of media creation was formed. Image, symbol, and lifestyle of media creation is menu for society

³⁷ Chris Barker, *Cultural studies Teori dan Praktik . . .* p.276

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 303

³⁹ Jean Baudrillard, *Masyarakat Konsumsi . . .* p. 154

every day. Society is primary commodity to achieve the desire of style, which has relation with pop culture.⁴⁰

One of the development mass culture globalism in post-modern media reality is the new media (internet). Internet could replace the old media like television, radio, and newspaper. Internet included all media, text, ranged picture, audiovisual image and virtual reality has presented by internet. Internet able to create the virtual reality which controlled by user (communication reins is on the user hand), the character is online and has character consequences interactive. Internet is hot media and cool media, because it make possible to participation and give many pluralistic information.⁴¹ Internet as new media, threaten the existence and humanity identity, it is like addict internet virus with image product, symbol and information has been stirring logic thinking of society into gap of ethical zero (Slouka's term). Ideology in internet is thick of language abasement, such as freedom of information, unbelievable of the authority, decentralization, a life than do by your self, the freedom of exploration passed every boundary beyond. Internet is the new phenomenon in pop culture reality which gives overproduction of image and consumerism lifestyle.⁴² Media is dominant medium by pop culture. Media try to be interesting for audience, the character of media are satisfactory and hyper-reality. Media serve information, image, and consumerism life. Media has been stirring the emotion and the logic of audience, through some crisis that was change to be a sexy phenomenon, new vision formation, and allurement to consumerism. So, un-directly media has been managing the society.

⁴⁰ Astar Hadi, *Matinya Dunia Cyberspace, Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2005, p. 73*

⁴¹ *Ibid.* p.25

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 81

E. Media and Power

Human is the important part from social hierarchy who has power. Every person becomes part of power structure hierarchy, power on everything level of humanity and the power which bounding the uniqueness of human identity. As described by Morissan, according to Stuart Hall, the meaning that was understood by society and power in society has relation. Dengan kata lain, a meaning cannot be understand from out of game area of power relation. Usually fight to having a power is happen, that power is to determine the meaning which must be accept by society, and the winner usually is someone who has top position social hierarchy. And media is part of society which has top position of power hierarchy, whereas the under position of social hierarchy is the groups which have not a power to find the meaning. Meaning is formed by media, for the example a meaning of “success” or “beautiful” that are formed by media and society will follow it. If media explain the meaning of success is have big house, luxury car and high position, while the meaning of beautiful is have white skin, sharp nose and slim, so that are the meaning of success and beautiful which accept by society and other groups to explain the meaning. Communication through the media has important meaning to influence pop culture through information distributing. Media has important position because media directly give the method to sight the reality, although, media explain the ideology clearly and directly. The domination of media is ideology. Media always said that they serve keberagaman and objectivity, but that are illusion which make irony. The fact of media is instrument of dominant ideology.⁴³

Mass media is disposed to manifestation of power which using the instrumental ratio. Ratio instrumental is ratio to sight the reality as the potential to manipulated, submitted, and totally dominate. Instrument ratio sight the reality as the object to classification, conceptualization,

⁴³ Morissan, teori komunikasi individu hingga massa, p. 548

efficiently arranged appropriate with the master interest. The mass media become battle place (region) to fight the discourse, because who can be the winner in the battle he can dominate and making hegemony. In Yasraf Amir Piliang opinion is where the phenomenon of mass media as the power instrument only, the effect is the mass media accused as the hegemonic apparatus of power system, when the media give information appropriate with the power interest. In this case media is only the hand extension from hegemony power system and a funnel to expand the power of ideology ide. The power system try for defend their position with dominating the communication media, the principle is *monosignification* and *monosemy*, it is indication and only one purpose.⁴⁴ Whereas, as described by David Holmes, according to Stuart Hall, media is power instrument of elite group and the function of media is deliver the group thoughts which dominate the society. Media is keep the group which has a power to control the society, while the society which have not power only accept everything from elite group.⁴⁵

According to Antonio Gramsci, he is the Marxist thinker, said that power can be restrained with one principle it called hegemony principle. The power struggle is a battle of idea, like the advertisement battle. Idea can be influence someone's behavior and desire. The dominant idea is the idea which has big effect for many people. According to Althusser power domination cannot be separated from the method of one ideology when creating the subject. The apparatus of State ideology hunt followers via inviting (interpellation). An ideology will be imperishable if it always calling the subject congenially. In communication theory, the theory of Gramsci and Althusser about power has relation with creation of illusion awareness in the society in order to appear good image from the holding of power and to express the consensus about power, that is power must be

⁴⁴Redi Panuju, *Relasi Kuasa Negara Media Massa dan Public*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2002, p. 44

⁴⁵Teori komunikasi, p. 535

hold. The program of special report is to be 'primadona' when rezim soeharto. The program of special report is one of effort to form the image about Indonesia still stable and president who close with citizen. The program of special report use one fundamental principle from communication media (politic), on the first time the citizen cannot accept it but the program always appear and make the citizen can accept it. In the term of ideology, that process called naturalization, something does not usual to be usual.⁴⁶

Power is concept which usually assumed concretely. Easy if assume that someone, group, or institute in the society have a power, while other have not, for the example King, group of master or politic elite. The politic scientist from American, Harold Lasswell said, who get something many that is elite, and other is mass.⁴⁷ Whereas, Foucault said that there is power in everywhere. Power is not only around of President, cabinet minister, military power, or politic partai, but there is power in television, house, luxurious car, concert rock music, in shampoo, or café. So, power is social relation which formed and propagated through many access. The power aim is always produce something new to make everyone hinging to them. Power in the Foucault view is there is power in everywhere, everyone having a power but they must able to give a pleasure and a pride for other.⁴⁸

And media have a power and can be found directly or un-directly in the media institution, the owner and producer. Ralph Negrine said that, media ownership has potential to control the media directly or un-directly. McQuail said that, in the wide limitation media has a power to achieve some effect. Media protect or convey the interest someone who has

⁴⁶Yasraf A. Piliang. *Transpolitika Dinamika Politik di dalam Era Virtualitas*, Yogyakarta: jalasutra, 2005, p.110-111

⁴⁷ Peter burke, sejarah dan teori social, judul asli, history and social theory, Jakarta, 2003, yayasan obor indonesia, h.112

⁴⁸ Yasraf a. piliang. *Transpolitika dinamika politik di dalam era virtualitas*, Yogyakarta, jalasutra, 2005, H. 112

biggest economic power or politic in society.⁴⁹ Another power which can be regulated the mass media is commodity so, media become a part of capitalism power. Media become the struggle of symbol for capitalism class. Media make false necessity, giving opinion with persuasion, giving imaginative explanation and using hedonistic offer until the public feel want it. So, capitalism hegemony is able to through the social and culture space.⁵⁰

Power is a concept that always appeared concretely, for the example some group or organization has a power in society. the king, elite class or politic elite. According to Harold Lasswell he is politic scientist in America said that, who get something many he is elite so, mass is other.⁵¹ Whereas Foucault said that, there is power in anywhere. Power not only around of President, ministry, military power, or politic party but, in television there is power too, in the house, in the luxurious car, in the rock music concert, in the shampoo, or in the café. So, power is social relations which formed and it spread through the kind of media (plural), usually using contradictory method. According to Foucault power using form of offer, for the example form of knowledge and pleasure. So, power try to get something new because, power want to everyone hinging on him. There is power in anywhere, everyone to be a master if they able to give pleasure for other. So, who able to give more or highest knowledge and pleasure he is more powerful.⁵²

⁴⁹Graeme Burton, *Media dan Budaya Popular*, Yogyakarta: Jalasutra, 2012, p. 66

⁵⁰Redi Panuju, *Relasi Kuasa Negara Media Massa dan Public*, Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2002, p.46

⁵¹Peter Burke, *Sejarah dan Teori social*, Jakarta: yayasan obor indonesia, 2003, p. 112

⁵²Yasraf A. Piliang. *Transpolitika Dinamika Politik di dalam Era Virtualitas*, Yogyakarta: jalasutra, 2005, p. 112