CONFLICT CONCERNING WORKING WOMEN EXISTANCE IN MEDIA INDUSTRY

A Study on Cultural Production of A Female Radio in East Java – Indonesia*

The focus of this research is a problem occured in a radio segmented for and managed by women. Conducting on a female radio located in East Java-Indonesia, this research employed cultural production approach and Gramscian thoughts on hegemony. The result shows that working women experienced various conflicts over their existence as media workers. At institutional as well as societal level, as they decided to go into media industry, these women had to face media condition which is masculine and capitalistic in nature. This condition puts up women workers to follow the logic of capitalism which will certainlay exploit them.

Being a woman as well as professional journalist in a patriarchal society such as Indonesia is pretty sure very problematic. On one hand, woman are posed by cultural problems and society expectations concerning her femininity values. On the other hand, she was demanded handling job on men's domain. In Javanese culture, woman was identically attributed as kanca wingking. It means that women as wives are placed behind their husbands, and the role of women in such cultural concept emphasized more on mattress (bed), cooking (kitchen), and well (place for laundry). According to Friedan (Sarwono-Atmonobudi, 2004: 3), gen-

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der construction above was strengthened by established ideology defining women's success and happiness on their traditional role as wives and mothers. Within such ideological framework, it is no wonder if their working activities outside the house are considered as deviation of existing norms.

Gramsci (Bocock, 1986) described such gender construction as hegemony, due to the fact that such construction was considered as something truly normal or as natural common sense in everyday life. Furthermore, he explained that hegemony is not merely ideology domination in which certain group ideas were forcibly penetrated to other gorup. Rather, it is a socialization of thinking process from dominant group conducted by various social institution such as education, religion, family, and media. By this way, the thoughts of ruling group would be accepted unconsciously by society.

Media serve as vehicle for disseminating dominant group ideology which tend to marginalize woman. Media were capable to legitimate and control public discourse, as well as vehicle for power resistency. Therefore, the news text presented to audience are not neutral, but already constituted a new reality—a construction of a group of people, mostly of are men. Consequently, the endurance of gender stereotypes in news discourse can be directly connected to newsroom culture and environment. In this condition, journalists tend to select news based on events rather than issue. Meanwhile, the events selected are almost entirely those that occur in the public sphere and concern the activities of men (Byerney, 2004: 118). In other words, typical journalistic works in general, including reporters assigning, news gathering, selecting, sorting and editing processes, even words selecting, are actually accomplished by several people in media institution ruled by men (Croteau and Hoynes, 2003).

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Women and Media

Today, the total sum of women journalists and workers in media organization rapidly developed, either in terms of quantity and/or positions achieved. Unfortunately, such development is still hardly uttering women interests in terms of gender perspective (Creedon, 1996). From quantity aspect, women whose professional job is journalist in developing country consist of 30%-40%. In Finlandia the total sum even breaks the total record of 49%. But in Indonesia, the toll was only reached 12% (Suryandaru, 2002: 11). It is interesting then to discuss whether the number of these journalists do really

making change in the newsroom or news agenda concerning women empowerment employing gender perspective.

Chambers, Steiner and Fleming (2004: 103-124) analyzing various research concerning media production which describe the existing impact of increasingly journalist number to the changing perspective in the newsroom (Weaver, 1997; Marzolf, 1993; Van Zoonen, 1998). In contrast, Ross (2001) suggested that such changing only happened in terms of sources use and media content concerning sex criminal. In other words, the changing of 'magazine style' applying in news report was not induced by the growing accumulation of women journalists. Rather, it was because such very style attract women audience more. The perspective being used there was not feminist at all. Albeit the existing professional value and various news gathering techniques, the media still dominated by male editors because the professional journalism ethos also referred to male values.

Many studies above illustrated how strongly patriarchal culture dominated the media, therefore making the media workers, especially women journalists, face ascending difficulties in their effort to bring about gender equality issues on media. One of the factor mostly influenced by such situation is media routine, organization, and its own ideology driven by contested power interests lies within the media. Meanwhile, media existence cannot be separated from culture and society values. Van Zoonen (1994: 51-52) explained several difficulties generally experienced by women in their media career as external factor, not something actually originated from their very individuals. Apparently, being seen as woman with unequal competence as their male co-worker become the journalist's first obstacle. As consequences, woman activities must be differentiated and located separatedly of men, and shall be limited. The second problem comes from male colleague and decision makers which reluctantly giving opportunities for female reporter prioritizing herself in a place prior presumably for men men only. Moreover, female reporters are facing slower promotion than male reporter albeit their equal competencies. The third problem concerning family responsibility comes from female reporter's husband who restricted his wife's career in order to maintain household duties.

Research conducted by several fashion magazines in America proved that journalists had identified themselves to their reader. They put and wrote everything based on their assumptions concerning the reader's preferences. Journalist hired by those maga-

zines definitely them whom considered as the right person in projecting themselves as reader and having ideology not so far away from the one of magazines. By this way, the femininity ideology was successfully preserved (Curran, Morley, & Walkterdine, 1996: 176).

According to Maria Hartiningsih (Jurnal Perempuan, 2003: 91), a senior journalist from a highly national reputable daily, Kompas, media culture is a male-dominated-culture. Although the media led by a woman, it remained as such as long as the leader did not give any other option or open up an opportunity for other 'color' applied in corporate culture. It meant also that such media fell into the same cathegory as male dominated media. If the women who held important positions in media organization structure failed to strategically employ their intelligent thoughts meant to alter local corporate culture, they definitely will be absorbed by typically patriarchal corporate culture. Therefore, Maria hoped that the entrance of women in male dominated media culture would be balanced by their improved well-being.

The problem arising is whether or not the media manager (or mostly of them) are aware that their products are full-packed with gender inequality. What about the female media whose the workers are all women? Are they capable in handling women-sided-program? What is the nature of conflict experienced by these female workers concerning their presences as media worker?

In order to answer such questions, the researchers use feminist perspective. By employing this perspective, one can make different assumptions concerning the role and functions of the media or communication in society. As Cirksena and Cuklanz (Salwen & Stacks, 1996: 505; Tong, 1997) suggested, liberal feminist emphasized equality and the same opportunity for women. Therefore, sexual role stereotype became the core of media analysis conducted by liberal feminist which manifested in their study concerning advertising, drama, and soap opera. The result of those two research experts showed the female dominations in domestic world, personal matters and family relationship, while men dominated the public life. On the other hand, socialist feminist group, in their effort to address problems concerning class, ethnic, sexual preferences and media, tended to consider it as matters related with ideology vehicle which represented the interests of capitalist system. These views is basically different with radical feminist who emphasizing their media analysis on patriarchal effect experienced by women. In order to do so, those researchers kept try to unfold the darker side of family life such as domestic

and sexual abuse, as well as women exploitations in pornography industry.

In this research, based on the purpose of obtaining necessary data, the researcher has selected a female radio located in West Java which will be called as Mitra Perempuan (unreal name) over the course of this presentation. This radio is segmented on women and believed that they had actually represented women interests and necessities down-to-earth by employing all-women-personnels for all positions including board of directors, announcer, technical staff, management staff, marketing staff, and reporters. The radio company profile proudly pronounced their nature as "Radio with real women empowerment." On October 2004, Mitra Perempuan was awarded by Museum Rekor Indonesia (Indonesian Record Museum— MURI) as the only women segmented radio which represented all women personnels as their human resource. High spirit firmly planted at the moment of the radio foundation lined up by conscience concerning the role of women in current and future era based on assumption that women do posses enormous potents.

By repeatedly illustrating ideal women packed with feminine natures in its program, it could be that whatever happened in this female radio would only strengthening and preserving woman stereotype. Women ideology and its femininity become the sole ideology uphold by every media workers in producing their product. Given that the audience represented media and product being advertised by the radio, so does the media worker—they represented their consumer. While magazines fully packed feminine ideology by depicting smooth skin face and beautiful dresses in their content (Curran, Morley, and Walkerdine, 1996: 175), such ideology manifested itself in radio by selecting the diction, tone and voice character which tend to be tender and spoiled nature (Kusumaningrum in *Jurnal Perempuan*, 2003).

In brief, it was possible that the worker of *Mitra Perempuan* prefer to represent normally asssumed description, which typically reflected dominant group ideology. Whatever the production process is, it would absolutely can not being separated from ideology contestation between media worker and their corporate. This contestation is not spared from the interest lies beneath.

M Intellectual Group as Hegemony Organizer

The process in which the journalist made, maintained, and reproduced dominant values was mentioned by Gramsci as hegemony.

"Hegemony is won not given, further it needs to be constantly rewon and renegotiated," (Barker, 2004: 319).

In this hegemony model, ideological process of news production is not originated as the result of capital owner intervention, or as consciously manipulated action of the journalist. Rather, such process was the result of routine affection and behaviour, which also reproducing ideology through common sense. For Gramsci (Simon, 2004), common sense is no more than uncritical and unconscious comprehension acquired by people to understanding their lifeworld. Their conscious conception of the world, religion, or ideology could be very different with their political activities which marked the beginning of their conscious ideas. Likewise, one could acquire two theoretical consciousness. The first is implicitly attached on their activities and merged with others in reality. The second is explicitly inherited from the past without critical considerations. It is through this very common sense that the dominant ideology was built and maintained. But such common sense also become the field of ideology contestation and resistence which always challenging the dominant ideology.

Other Gramscian thinking was addressed the intellectual group. Basically, Gramsci rejected the notion of intellectual developed by idealistic philosopher such as Plato and Aristoteles, which he assumed comes from nowhere above, outside the production world, and primarily based on economistic interpretation. In contrast, he considered that the role of those intellectual group must be determined not by its status, but rather by social relationship of production.

Gramsci then divided the intellectual group in two broad cathegories: traditional and organic (Patria & Arief, 2003: 159-163). Traditional intellectual group was consisted of those who acquired leadership duties in a given society. Meanwhile, organic intellectual was directly related to dominant way of production, rendering service to one or more capitalist in its production space and activities, related with economical-corporation necessities of capitalist class. At the same time, this organic intellectual group has also become the organizer of their own extended capitalist class. Including this group is labor party or burgeouis class who lay aside the labor struggle and penetrating up to the mass. They give a new worldview and creating the unity between above and below layers. It didn't meant that the new culture of production has arisen. Rather, this condition was occured because they have to refute the common sense of

traditional way of mass thinking. This group become the leader of oppressed class.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology employing in this research is ethnomethodology (Patton. 2002: 110). The informant criteria are: working in *Mitra Perempuan* at least 2 years, based on assumption that so long as the worker worked for the organization, she would be more intensely become socialized to organization values and policy in written or otherwise (Van Zoonen, 1994). The selection of informant is also in line with the procedure known as non-random (Jensen & Jankowski, 2002: 238-239). In order to obtain a good result, this research is using criteria given by Creswell (1994), employing thematic analysis as analyzing technique. An observation was also conducted in the radio station for one month.

A Glimpse on Mitra Perempuan Radio Station

Mitra Perempuan Radio, which reaching 80% of East Java area, was founded in August 8th, 2000 with spirit and two belief: first, women in current and future era have enormous potent. Secondly, there is no particular radio specified for East Java women at that time. Based on assumptions which put family and women as potential buyer as starting point, the main target of this radio station is women ranging from 15-35 yrs old (85%), and subjected family as their secondary target.

In general, Mitra Perempuan vision and mission are concentrating in their strives to implement attractive and advantageous vehicle and facilities for its audience. Their short term objectives is stated as being vehicle as well as entertainment and information means needed by its audience. Middle term objective including developing insight in order to upgrade self quality in dynamic family life. While long term objective was to give benefit and well-being for each stakeholders.

The programs being aired are consistend of: (1) news report from Voice of America. (b) "Mitra Morning Music;" information concerning healthy and fitness. (c) "Mitra Ladies Program;" information about women. (d) "Mitra Family;" presenting info concerning family, children and its development. (e) "Mitra Beauty;" presenting info concerning beauty. (f) "Mitra Evening Season;" concerning celebrities round-ups and music. (g) "Mitra Around the World," presenting unique events happened in the world. (h) "Mitra Relax," concerning

lifestyle, lover attachment, husband-wive relationship. (i) "Mitra Home Sweet Home," a how-to-do's or do-it-yourself's on house maintenance and its interior/exterior. (j) "Favorit Boga," an interactive cooking program in which one or more guest hosts from stars hotel kitchen or fine dining/restaurants sharing their recipes.

RESEARCH RESULTS

Informant Background

First informant is a 27 years old bachelor, a communication scholar from a private university in East Java which started her career in LSM (concentrating in government affair). She joined *Mitra Perempuan* since 2000. As the only daughter in her family, she feels that she was raising in a family weighed with male nuances, and in effect formed her self character as a tough and hard woman.

Informant 2 is a 30 years old bachelor, starting her career as announcer since 1995 in one ratio station before moving to *Mitra Perempuan*. While she wants to be an artist, her past life history was originated from a traditional orthodox family. She was raised by her grandparents who uphold traditional rules and tended to restrict girls.

Informant 3 is 31 years old, born in East Java, once a student of communication program in university. She joined the radio since 2002. In her pastime, she occupied herself in dancing—she's also a dancer an mastering all form of dances ranging from classical ballet, traditional dance, top dance, ballroom dance, to modern dance. By her dancing skill, she is able to freely expressing herself. This informant comes from a family which respected openness. Her parents give their children open opportunity to determine the road of their own life. She views her mother as an ideal mother, i.e. a good housewife whose time was spent mainly for caring her husband and children, and very respect to her husband. But this informant admitted that she doesn't wanto to copy her passive and uncomplaining mother. Therefore, she wants to be independent.

Informant 4 is an operational manager which positioned in the radio since its establishment. Before that, she was an announcer for six years. Her current main task is regulating the broadcasting as well as marketing, she is held responsibility (and having authority) to arrange broadcast and interactive program. In her opinion, the character packaging of her broadcast program is in line with East Java characters: shy, cannot accepted the deviation of community norm.

Informant 5 is the head of *Mitra Perempuan* since its establishment. Before starting her radio career, she was a writer. According to her, her radio is featuring no feminist perspective. In fact, she admitted that she was not actively engaged in feminist acitivities. The most important matter for her is how to make profit for the radio in order to be consistently exist in women segment and survive long enough.

Cultural Production in Mitra Perempuan Radio

Gender Perspective of Female Worker

If gender perspectives was related to the conditions in *Mitra Perempuan*, it is clearly that the radio is not bringing gender equality vision and mission, although 80 % of radio personnels consists of women. The reasons are: (1) the segmentation of women audience was based on the consideration that women are potential buyer. (2) Radio announcer women are positioned as trademark only, not as substantial proof of women empowerment and feminist movement. (3) The targeted segment is women, therefore, one who considered capable for communicating with the audience is one belonging to the same group, i.e. woman.

Research results show some interesting insights concerning the informant's gender perspective, i.e. (1) Informant opinion over ideal woman; and (2) Informant opinion concerning career and independent woman. Speaking about ideal woman, all informants concluded that ideal woman was represented by a married woman who has children and not abandoning her family. For Informant 4, it is better if woman willingly spent her time concentrating in family caring for the sake of her husband career.

As to woman career, two informant explained that an open opportunity for woman engaging in her career do exist now. But, such opportunity must be appropriately responded with woman character define by patriarchal society. According to informant 4, it means an expanded opportunity because women didn't prioritize their renumerations. According to informant 5, such career opportunity only available for unmarried woman. This latter opinion are in line with recruitment policy applied by radio corporate due to nature of work in media industry: no exact measure over the worktime, lots of challenge, untolerated environment for pregnant women. According to the radio director:

... if she (woman) gets pregnant, it is impossible for her to report (news) ... it was a prohibition. (If she still work) there will be connotation around the exploitation for pregnant woman.

In terms of woman independency and establishment, the informant felt that current condition is allowing woman for freely achieving her career in order to be independent and established. But, there were various interpretation concerning the topics. (1) Independency, in effect, has been producing double role, i.e. having career in public domain without leaving household responsibilities. The first informant comprehended this concept as woman nature. She said: "What is actually woman nature? If we have married, it means for example, to serve husband and raising children." (2) (Being) Independent means not depended on men because this condition is encouraging woman to accomplish their rights, for example, asking for divorce to her husband. (3) Independency means woman didn't need man anymore. They were capable to earn a big income easily and didn't put more importance on marriage. This was the opinion of informant 3.

• The Policy in Mitra Perempuan

The role and position of radio owner and leader is more dominant than the announcer, even marked an air of authoritarianism. This conditions obviously were reflected by policies around program packaging, the selection of topic and resources for interactive program by the leader. Announcer responsibility limited only as operational staff at the time of the on air (for talkshow). Decision making related with talk show based on advantageous economical considerations for radio station and program sponsor and tend to skip idealism.

Unconsciously or not, policies emphasized on material loss-benefit calculations subsequently inducing unsensitive women policies, such as giving no pregnant vacation, and applying temporary resign. Within such policy, the corporate didn't need to pay any salary for vacant workers. On the other hand, it is possible that the temporary resign decided by the worker will be permanent resign (stopped working or quit from the radio). Therefore, a married worker tended to leave her job and would be substitute by a new bachelor worker. A stronghold belief was firmly planted on the radio owner: a married woman is not productive anymore when working in the radio station. Such belief and policy burdened most the worker, when they have to leave their job due to their marriage. "... when one marry, or get pregnant, they will quit from their job shortly afterward. I see

Wulan (not real name) got married, I presumed she will quit immediately. Well, I was right."

Unfortunately, such belief also acquired by other workers. Asking about the differences of career development between single woman and married woman, the informants agreed that the single one could developed their career more openly, or working until late night, without having to bother themselves with forms of permissions from their family. This belief made female worker accepting working hour or extra work limitations applied by their husband in order to avoid the possibility of deserting her family. To make the matter worse, the salary being paid was still unmatched with extra works being demanded.

It was a common opinion that female worker salary is uncomparable with their duties and tasks concerning, considering that women income is not the main support of the family (Lim in Visvanathan, 1992: 216-229). Women income is regarded as additional family income only which deserved to be paid less. This fact was revealed through the interview. The informant admitted that no extra paid was available for any announcer handling the duties left unattended by their sick colleague, no allowance or health account and reward provided by the radio.

Working Routine

It seemed that the informants background, characters, and gender sensitivities is featuring on their activities as announcers. The culture which suggested women responsibility on domestic matters more than anything else and therefore should not prioritizing their career ahead (and left the family interests) has unconsciously driven the informant to select topics which is in line with women stereotype developed in the society.

Research result on program topic pointed at two main things. First, the information presented by *Mitra Perempuan* radio must be around women and family necessities such as beauty, health, fashion, lifestyle and sex as well as entertainment. Second, certain issues which considered as taboo must be avoided by the informants. Assuming that women don't like politics, and considering that such political issues have been adopted by other radio as its concern, then politics is being part of that taboo.

Based on those two points, the presentation of program which related with women empowerment being understood by the informants is cooking class, or beauty seminar discussion. An informant explained,



....lots of creativity program... women was being demanded to be more creative. The meaning of creative here is ... if (women) didn't work at the office, then build business such as cooking class ... It (cooking class) was one major effort in order to advance woman and... a form of gender consciousness.

In addition with those programs, an informant also try to present program which take the side of women. Data revealed that so many efforts has been done by informant 2 to present programs which inviting audience to discuss women subordination and the consequences of Domestic Violence/Abuse (Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga—KDRT), in order to make the audience understanding more about those issues. Ironically, the program which is held in conjunction with Woman Crisis Center had to be cancelled after 4 months because the radio station chief didn't want to impress that the radio was merely concerned and taking side with women interests. For the radio management, the program was being broadcast merely to disseminate information concerning the existence of KDRT in the community, neither to serve nor to give consultation about KDRT cases. The management also objected if a trademark as women advocate was being attached to the radio. What about the men who was also being part of its audience circle? They deserve to be defended, too....

According to informant 2, there were many other programs which should be broadcast, including workplace abuses, violence in flirting and polygami, in order to protect women's rights. But the management emphasized more on program concerning children and health by inviting public doctor and pediatrician as guest host. Within such limitations, informant 2 tried to include actual diseases and its treatment which must be understood by her audience. The informant view concerning the importance of such supporting issue for her audience was based on her belief concerning the woman figure represented by the radio station. According to her,

... I see Mitra Perempuan (edited by the researcher on behalf of informant request) as mature woman figure. Surely she's not a superwoman... but we take care the family... she was motherhood... I feel that Mitra Perempuan is capable of being a housewife as well as career woman.

Informant 2 is one who realize that women must be progressive and able to achieve the equal success as men. Therefore, she often inserted information in order to encourage women advancing more in public sector. This belief is illustrated by the success story of her dancing teacher (a woman, of course). For her, "I feel that my infos is more subjected to girls: (that) a girl is capable of doing that-and-this, ... is able to progress, something like that."

DISCUSSION

■ Conclusions

First, Mitra Perempuan is radio produced by women targeting women as their majority audience. Therefore, Mitra Perempuan should be an ideal channel for socializing gender values. But, as implied on research results, it is regretted that no gender perspective had been carried out by this radio. Such conditions was perpetrated by beliefs hold by several informants that suggesting children and husband care as all-women-nature and plight. In effect, this belief enhanced a distorted comprehension over women empowerment which is translated and limited on upgrading domestic skills such as cooking wits, or mastering health information for the family's well-being.

Secondly, unconscious or not, conflicts concerning the existence of working women was unstoppable in the internal layer, but advancing to the society. In the office, the female worker felt that the capital owner didn't pay any respect on their achievements. Two points stated below must be underlined:

- (a) As workers, female proffessionals working in this radio is only considered as cheaply-paid-money-machine. Female worker who didn't dare to demand anything even being exploited by the corporate to earn more profit. Other substantial matter addressed cultural construction issue as well. Culturally, female workers are not considered as the first breadwinner whose well-being deserved to be prioritize.
- (b) Meanwhile, whatever breakthrough had been recorded by these women is not considered as significant steps contributing to the advancement of woman achievement. A stronghold belief had been adopted by the society. Whatever great the women's success are, whatever significant their career in public sector are, all of which have no meaning at all if women are ignoring their responsibilities at home.

Thirdly, this research recorded an effort from a media worker to present program which challenging society and corporate culture. But such effort was limited by the program duration. Sometimes, messages containing women empowerment only could be transmitted by inserting such information exactly at the on-air-time by the announcer herself.

Discussions

Is it wrong if a radio leader has no gender sensitivity that turned her as capitalist or suppressor for her colleague or employees? Normatively, from critical perspective exercising by feminist thought, such leader is wrong because, first, she is a woman, and secondly, she has power. Radical feminist has assumed that if woman builds her own community based on woman's female bonding, then all will be working better for their struggle. On this light, radicals feminist thought is not accomplished by this case. The reality on *Mitra Perempuan* is very different with radical feminist discourse. In this radio, women are trapped within their own power logic. Organic intellectual position imagined by Gramsci is far away from the leader act who conceptualizes women as potential market target that must be exploited for the sake of material benefit. This kind of thinking is tipically the capitalist one mostly exercised by men.

Why is the radio leader has no gender sensitivity at all? This conditions is not separated from patriarchal ideology and capitalism hegemonized the radio leader, and subsequently become a foundation both for the corporate and media workers themselves. Theoretically, if such ideology was being related to the concept of Marxian false consciousness, then female bonding is only a myth, ahistorical. The way of thinking acquired by the radio leader could be attributed as one which is very Marxist: if the employee is not productive enough, the contract will be void or null, he/she will be exempt from the contract (by applying covert acts such as giving opportunity for temporary vacation). This condition could be explained from socialist feminist which assumed that the problem faced by women is not mainly originated from her being in capitalistic society, but also as Impact of living in patriarchal community. Moreover, this feminist group assumed that if non material patriarchal and materialistic capitalism are fully developed, then the plight of women, or the suppression of women, will be worse (Tong, 1997).

Such assumptions was reflected on capitalistic and gender insensitive corporate policy which subsequently affecting the work routine. Every decision, every program being proposed, or every information being broadcast was not based on the worker self consciousness in which women should do important things for the advancement of woman. Everything was solely resorted on economical interest following the leader policy without ever criticizing or reflecting whether or not the policy was in line with her women-sidedconscience.

What has happened in this radio station and worker individual culture also is not separated by their childhood context in which they were raising. Most of them were born at the time of Orde Baru and Suharto ruling. According to the government at time, women roles are unique, and must be differentiated than of men due to their different nature, albeit their equal rights and obligations. As equal partner, with close attention to its nature, women has increasingly important role in the family, and over the duties in society related with their nature as mother. So, women should feel free to work as long as it didn't disturb her duties as housewife. Such conditions were codified in Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara as the national main guide for citizens.

Such understanding (over the multiple roles of woman), in effect, has turned women worker who has chance to empower women in public domain become ambiguous. On one hand, she doesn't want being labeled as provocateur against male group. On the other hand, woman worker is becoming more and more intensely presenting her broadcasting program by inviting her audience to prioritize their responsibilities at home albeit their open opportunity to have any career outside home.

In brief, related with cultural production, we can further highlight the characteristic position of media worker (intra) and market position (extra) through encoding analysis. The most interesting thing in this research is highlighting woman who was being positioned as top leader. Her leadership style tends to be authoritarian which is seemingly resulted from successfull dictation by the market that put her more as capitalist than woman peer. In addition of her internal situation, there are strong external reason of her turns-out. Within her position as leader, she actually has chance to be an organic intellectual. Yet, such action was never implemented due to market reason. Radio for her is a material production tool, not a cultural production means, and therefore must earn material profit, not cultural benefit. The result is, it is not easy for media worker within her authority (in this case, annoucers) to broadcast cultural production program, notwithstanding the fact that such program were needed to cut off patriarchal hegemony.

Apparently, capitalist ideology was not only inducing woman to reproduce capitalist interests and patriarchal values, but also affecting woman worker by separating them from their female bonding instinct. In fact, capitalist ideology has made woman worker lost her female bonding instinct. Michel Foucault (2004) suggested, power will be exercise more effectively if subject felt that they were not being punished by external factors, but by their own manner. So, if a woman feels guilty following her assumptions that she had prioritized her public career more and deserted her domestic duties, or for being challenging and refuting patriarchal values carried out by her, then the power has been exercising effectively. Those were occurred on woman worker in media, and the whole situation had obscured the tiran as a construction made by capitalist system and patriarchal ideology.

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