

Community Development Based on Community Media: Case Study of *Angkringan* Community in Yogyakarta

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Abstract

This study seeks to examine and analyze the process and strategy of community development based on community media namely *Angkringan* in Bantul Yogyakarta, based on the conceptual scheme (Habitus) (Capital) + Field = Practice established by Pierre Bourdieu. Within this scheme, the community development means the dynamic of social practice of social agents in which case the combination of habitus, objective structure and a big set of other strategies make and bind such dynamic. This study employs a qualitative approach for which the data collection method combines some in-depth interviews, document studies, and literature studies. This investigation reveals that *Angkringan* develops its community by utilizing various types of media ranging from print media (bulletin), audio media (radio), audio visual media (Video and Community TV), to internet technology. Through the bulletin, *Angkringan* has been presenting various ideas and discourses on the necessity of considering various issues that hover the community. *Angkringan* also opens a kind of public space for community members to express complaints, making suggestions, criticizing and even litigating for anything that is taken as 'problematic'. Radio *Angkringan* offers an opportunity for some interactive dialogues between citizens and village government in the community. Moreover, internet technology is the most recent and spectacular phase as a series of social practices launched by *Angkringan* in order to develop its community. Through internet media, *Angkringan* seeks to develop community in a wider domain by developing community networks throughout the archipelago and even the world.

Keywords

community; community development; community media; *angkringan*; Pierre Bourdieu

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INTRODUCTION

After the collapse of authoritarian New Order regime in 1998, Indonesia began to enter a new chapter in its historical development. A chapter where the faucet of freedom, both freedom of expression, to organize and express opinions; was truly wide open as opposed to the New Order where the regime exercised its repressive and coercive power. To media and communication activists, this momentum is a very good opportunity to create a “free space” for expression in media and communication activities. In 2002, the Law Number 32 on Broadcasting was finally enacted. This law prohibits the government to monopolize information and communication.

The struggle for achieving media freedom is highly necessary because the media is a space for contesting various interests whether political, economic, social or cultural although it must not always be mass media. The discourse in media should reflect reality. Thus, media is actually a series of symbols that represent the social reality.

It is this series of meanings produced by the media that is the main task of social science. Now, society is no longer guided and dominated by the production systems, but by the media, cybernetics models and driving systems, computers, information processing, entertainment and knowledge industries and so on (Kellner 1989: 61). In this situation, the media appears as a simulation process that leads to the creation of simulacra or ‘reproduction’ of objects and/or events. The distinction between sign and reality becomes obscure. Thereby, making it increasingly difficult to distinguish the real from the imitation. Media thus ceases to be a mirror of reality, but instead it becomes a reality in and of itself. What the media wants to convey is absolutely determined by the media’s interests. The information presented by the media is a set of framed information because it presents a reality that runs according to the logic of the media. Indeed, media comprehends the reality as what they have been displaying, and it is not as what it should display on the basis of

objective public interests. As a consequence, reality turns out to be a fake reality. Given that the media supplies information to public, they distort such information in which case they recklessly consider the information as much as equal to the reality itself.

The process of media’s ‘drama’ finds its perfect form precisely at the practice of advertising. Symbols in advertisements are engineered in such a way to become something that is truly real (Turner, 1997: 609). Through these symbols, the advertising world creates an “imaginary world” concerning people’s needs and desires in consuming certain goods and services. The need for consumption has become a “fabricated” need. In a distinctive language, Bourdieu indicated that the media is actually the center of socio-political power in order to gather the symbolic power (Bourdieu 1991).

In this increasingly uncontrolled process of media transformation, the masses look like a ‘black hole’ which absorbs all meaning, information, communication, messages and so on. Consequently, they take information as though it is meaningless. The masses proceed the information in their own way, and they unfortunately disregard the probability of media manipulation towards themselves (Kellner 1989: 85). Indifference, apathy and inertia are appropriate terms to describe a sort of ‘mass saturation’ towards media signs, simulations and hyper-reality. The masses are no longer seen as being manipulated by the media, but it is the media that are seen as being forced to supply their desires of information. This is what is called a cultural revolution which triggers the masses to be more passionate rather than being rebellious.

In the realm of political economy, media has been transforming into a mediated interactive communication network. Media is the most decisive political space, not in the sense of dominating politics, but it is the logic of media which plays the role of political structure and framework (Castells 2001: 312). The media shapes, frames and captures politics into its space. Without an active presence in the media, any political idea would never acquire some adequate support

from the masses. Media politics is not equal to the overall politics, but all politics should go through the media to be able to influence the policy making process. Once politics is captured in the media, the actors then organize their political actions as fancy as possible across all media platforms.

The framing of politics in the media space has an impact on the modification of the relationship between the state and society. Manuel Castells argued that the most sophisticated modification of the process was the formation of a global informational society and informational politics. The media plays the role of a liaison for citizens or 'citizens of the world' in their political actions. In the context of democratic politics, the access to state institutions depends on the ability to mobilize the masses through elections. Citizens get information and form their political opinion through the media, and so do political parties. In order to enjoy the coverage of big media, political organizations should adjust their communication strategies to the logic of such media. Therefore, the media logic frames and determines the dynamics of society and informational politics in terms of its substance, organization, process and leadership (Castells 2001: 315).

On a certain level, informational politics could transform into 'scandalous politics' in which case the media domination frames or does politicking to the case of corruption and the morality of politicians. Scandalous politics operates within this logic because media grows stronger in terms of their technology, finance and politics. Political parties should conduct their maneuver through the mass media in order to achieve public support because mass media is actually a political battlefield instead of another reason such as media is the fourth pillar of democracy. On the one hand, the price for media coverage is extremely expensive because it includes some opinion polling, advertising, marketing, media analysis, public relations, image creation, and information processing. On the other hand, political parties are always short of funds. Therefore, the main source of funding is the unofficial

contribution from any business and interest groups all of which require a return on their financial contribution or "investment." This is a matrix of systemic corruption in which case a shadow network of vanguard and intermediary businesses thrives into a vicious cycle ensues viz: scandals - media coverage - attempts to cover and build images through the media - corruption and collusion for additional funding - another new scandal.

The common character of this scandal is that all political actors are trapped in this "vicious circle" system. Their political position is ambivalent: they are hunters for today but they would be prey tomorrow; they are corruptors for today but they would be heroes tomorrow. Castells claims that this political phenomenon represents a thesis where the stream of power beats the power of stream (Castells 2001: 342). No doubt, democracy faces a serious crisis due to its openness and inclusiveness.

Angkringan Community Media as a form of media community developed by Angkringan is one of the community media his name is well known by community media activists in Indonesia. This matter because since the idea of establishing community media began to spread, Angkringan was the first to introduce the information dissemination system and communication through media based on the interests of that community. This is also what underlies the choice of Angkringan community media as the main focus from this study. Geographically, Angkringan is in the village of Timbulharjo District Sewon, Bantul Regency, Yogyakarta. The idea for making community media came froms mall talk among local residents as a reaction to anxiety and their concerns about all the problems currently plaguing their village, such as cases of corruption in village development funds and abuse of power carried out by government officials. Meanwhile, the phenomenon of residents who division into various interest groups causes bargaining power and their supervision of village officials becomes very weak. They then agreed to create a media - their own call Angkringan Community Media - which is expected to become space informative and

communicative dialogue between citizens. He also hopes to be able to become a means of controlling the behavior of village officials as well as a means for uniting citizens in common concern.

The initial question that immediately arises is who the agents are what is behind the emergence of the Angkringan community media and the relationship patterns and the interactions between them?. Next, how do they form? habitus -both individual and group- and managing various capital - whether economic, social, cultural or symbolic - what is the escalation of the battle? And finally, what processes and strategies they carry out in order community development?

Alternative Media and Media Democratization

To address the problem of increasingly distorted role and function of the media and the increasingly chaotic interests - both economic and political - in which case overshadowing the media; it emerges the idea of creating the independent media as an alternative media for supporting the movements of societal empowerment, emancipation and advocacy. This independent media serves as a counter-balance against all forms of domination of discursive practices made by the mainstream media which are full of the political-economic interests of their owners and rulers. One of the most prevalent independent media is called as the community media. It is indeed an alternative media that is owned, managed, intended, initiated and founded by a community. In short, it is the media "from, by, for and about a specific community".

In contemporary communication studies, the conception of alternative media refers to a number of models of mass communication media which, either openly or privately, rejects or opposes the established or institutionalized political policies. In this case, the alternative media takes a role of a 'counter' media against the domination of mainstream media which, in various levels, represents the political and economic interests of their rulers and owners. In this particular position, it initiates and inspires

the process of change in society or at least it makes a critical reflection on the values held by the community. In addition, the alternative media is also often referred to as radical media or underground media as opposed to the mainstream media production system, because it represents a set of political interests that fall outside the general defined boundaries (Sullivan 1994: 10). In a slightly different way, Downing DH John (2003) proposes the following conception of alternative media:

"Alternative media are, or should be, interactive concerned with every day life and the ordinary needs of people not simply with the economy and economic determinism. Collective organization then takes on a different aspect and becomes an attempt to include the readership in its decision making" (Downing 2003).

From within this conception, Downing wanted to propose an idea concerning the necessity of the word "interactive" in the working definition of alternative media. Apart from that, alternative media should also pay more attention to and accommodate various interests and needs, which are not only limited to the interests in deterministic economic idioms of everyone involved in it. Thus, the notion of 'collectiveness' in the philosophy of alternative media is very crucial and inevitable in shaping all policies.

The most obvious token of the spirit of collectivity in alternative media manifests in the form of community media by which case the representation of various interests of all parties involved plays the role of 'aura' for the sake of its sustainability. Community media can be categorized as alternative media on the ground of several aspects. First, on its organizational aspect, the community media is a media institution that is relatively small or limited to a certain communities which possessing some direct and intensive relations. As an institution, community media is not a business institution, because it is owned and supported by its community. Second, in terms of its content, community media strives to meet the needs of the lowest-level community as opposed to the mainstream media which does not address

it due to its low rating or it is not in accordance to modernization or popular culture. Moreover, the hustle and bustle of broadcasting industry has been marginalizing the interest of this community due to its low purchasing power (Sudibyo 2004: 224-225).

Community Development

The recent ideas of community development refer more to practical and applicable aspects such as how it should be carried out. For example, Sylvia and Irma (1983: 257) defined community development as a process of developing human resources based on awareness and strengthening of individuals and communities in order to understand, map and overcome the problems they face so that they are able to create conditions better for their lives. At the individual level, community development according to Sylvia and Irma presupposes a process of developing the psychological aspects of individuals through strengthening their self-help projects, as well as their active involvement in various policies that affect life. So does the conception offered by Herbert J Rubin which views community development as a process of strengthening local communities through organizing community groups in order to control various kinds of policies, programs, projects and regulations related to them as a community (Rubin 1992: 43). Regarding the community organizing process, Rubin stated:

“Community organizing is a search for social power and an effort to combat perceived helplessness through learning that what appears personal is often political. Organizing is a way of collectively solving problems like unemployment, deteriorated housing, or sexism and racism. The message of organizing is that a better world is achievable if people work together as community” (Rubin 1992: 3).

From this, it seems clear that what Rubin means by community organizing is a way to deal with various problems faced by communities collectively. A similar conception was put forward by Mohan L. Kahl who conceives community development as a method for defeating various environmen-

tal problems (in the neighborhood), which is built on the assumption that social change would, effectively, be successful by considering the geographical aspects where people live in it, because after all, an individual has a more ‘intimate’ pattern of relationships with other individuals in the environment where he lives, and he or she develops relationships (Kahl 1995: 269).

All conceptions proposed above seem to convey the same idea, namely to view community development as a ready-made and ready-to-use ‘recipe’ to solve all problems faced by people in the community. Just as a recipe, it could be used and applied anytime and anywhere. This kind of conception ignores various considerations on the basis of socio-cultural context for which a community grows and develops. Such a conceptual model assumes that individuals in the community are passive and weak subjects so much so that they need to be empowered. However, individuals are creative, innovative and manipulative subjects.

Jim Ife proposes the concept of community development with a stronger theoretical basis is proposed by Jim Ife. He believes that community development is a process of forming and re-shaping (a process of continuous formation in the process of becoming) community structures in which case patterns of relationships and social life organizations and accommodation of various individual interests involved in it could be possible (Ife 2002: 2). This idea conceives individual ideas and thoughts in a different and more dynamic way. Ife stated:

“Community development represents a vision of how things might be organized differently, so that genuine ecological sustainability and social justice, which seem unachievable at global or national level, can be realised in the experience of human community” (Ife 2002: xi).

In developing his conception of community development, Ife proposes two perspectives viz., an ecological perspective and a social justice perspective. In general, the ecological perspective in community development follows four main underlying principles (Ife 2002: 40-45). First, the prin-

principle of holism. This principle is grounded on the assumption that every event or phenomenon must be seen as part of a unified system. Therefore, it should be understood by relating to other parts of the system. The implication is that various arising problems cannot be solved only in some 'simple' and linear ways, but it must be understood as a manifestation of one unity in the system. Second, the principle of sustainability. What is meant by this principle is that the systems built should last in a long period of time. Therefore, resources can be used only at a level where they can be conserved, renewable energy can be utilized, and consumption should be minimized.

Third, the principle of diversity. This principle calls for respect towards various differences in values and views and possible solutions to various problems that occur. This principle also honors the idea of decentralization by which every person or community has the right to determine their fate according to local thoughts without having an isolation from other communities. Fourth, the principle of equilibrium. This principle emphasizes how important the relationship between systems is and how important it is to maintain a balance between them.

At this point, Ife's theoretical conception of community takes root on a developmental-modernist framework by which case assuming that a developmental movement runs linearly from one point to another. Such an approach rests heavily on a structuralist analysis scheme in which social phenomena are usually viewed and determined by various pre-conditions and situations that are outside and without the control power of social agents. Social agents appear like chess pawns which move two square forwards on the first move or if it is unobstructed, then it can move only one square forward. Having said that, a pawn could turn out to be any other piece if it succeeds to reach the opponent's last line. In contrast to a chess pawn, a castle cannot walk sideways or jump in an L like a knight horse, and the latter can never walk straight like a castle. Following this framework, the development move-

ment of community development centralizes on the movement of structural change. The final result is thus obvious: if the structural change leads to a positive direction, then community development is successful, and vice versa, if the change leads to a negative condition, then it is failing.

The formation of social structure happens through some encounters among agents who have different subjective conditions. Like a structure outside of itself that is always changing, the subjective conditions in the agent are also constantly changing. Social agents are not pawns and other ranks in the game of chess. He is a human being who has various sets of subjectivity - cognitive, affective, psycho-motor - which allow him to possess the ability to be creative, innovative and manipulative. With these tools, in turn, he is able to carry out both dialogue and dialectics with the social structure which he actually creates himself.

In the context of community development, the dynamics and diversity of subjective trajectories (habitus) of each agent in the social structure of the community should be taken into account, not only as a heuristic framework to see community dynamics but without these considerations, the analysis of the community social structure would seem floating around. It is like a structure that "only" has a head but no legs. By fully considering the subjectivity of each agent in the community, the concept of community development in this study refers to the dialectical process between social agents and the social structure of community.

([(Habitus) (Capital)] + Field = Practice) is Development

The concept of development in this study refers more or less to and is an interpretive scheme of the generative formula (Habitus) (Capital) + Field = Practice (Bourdieu 1984: 101) introduced by Pierre Bourdieu. One should read formula from right to left. In other words, it is only through the study of certain social practices that a realm can be described, habitus can be formulated, forms of capital can be perceived and methodology can be assessed. Although this formula

provides a heuristic tool that serves to simplify the relations between the big concepts at work, it does not mean that it works like a 'mahadeva' or a panacea for analysis. We should dismantle the elements of this formula prior to moving on to a description of various dynamics that drive it. Various field notes-abundant should be initiated. Instead, the use of this formula is to provide an 'explanatory framework' for the attempt to describe social reality. The most important thing is that Bourdieu himself condemns the objectivity of a theory achieved through this formula (Harker 1990: 7).

In Bourdieu's scheme of thought, this formula is an entry point applied to unravel and explain how a society with all its details is formed including its objective and subjective structure and the interactions between the elements in it. With this formula, Bourdieu investigates the origins of societies through their own social practices which underlie them. This is a schema of dialectical analysis of practical life. In this scheme, social practice is understood as a product of the relationship between the habitus as a product of history and the realm which is also a product of history. Bourdieu defines habitus within this particular way (1990: 53, 1977: 72):

"...systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practice and representations".

As a historical product, habitus is a subjective structure formed on the basis of individual or agent experiences in dealing with their counterparts in a network of objective structures that exist in social space. It forms a kind of classification system (Bourdieu 1984: 466) which is indicated by schemes as the conceptual embodiment of objects in social reality. The schemes are expressed in terms of naming some of which are the concept of space, time, good-bad, true-false, and so on. Through various ways, these schemes are internalized in such a way - even from birth - in the individual or

agent and function as a "guidance" for one in perceiving, understanding and appreciating social reality. The internalization process takes place subtly, is unconscious and appears as natural, so that it seems to be something natural, as though it is given by nature. This is why then the habitus has a durable nature. It appears as a cultural unconscious, as a historical influence that is unconsciously considered natural and works at the subconscious level. However, the habitus is neither innate knowledge, nor categories in Immanuel Kant's sense, nor are ideas innate from the world of ideas as intended by Plato and the Rationalists.

Habitus and practice have a link in which case influencing and intervening one another. Insofar as the formation of habitus through the filial socialization is well considered, parental social practices tend to structuring the habitus of a child. These practices continually instill various principles governing the emergence of practice (what the child does and his own reflection) into the child. These practices are prone to reproduce habits (regularity) which the child 'must' obey while he does some adjustments with the perceptions of ever-changing external environment (Bourdieu 1977: 78).

In a situation of relatively rapid change, the objective conditions of material and social environment would not be the same for each generation. Bourdieu argues, the habitus varies with each sequence or recurrence of events in the direction of adjustment to these objective conditions. Habitus is accordingly a socialized subjectivity (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 126). However, this adjustment is inevitably biased because perceptions of the objective conditions themselves are generated and filtered through the habitus (Bourdieu 1977: 77). It means the habitus itself is not more "unchanging" compared to the practice for which he does structuring. Habitus has never been 'immutable', neither through time for an individual or agent, nor from one generation to the next. Just as the positions contained in the various objective conditions fluctuate, so do the various dispositions which make up the habitus. This is an argument in favor of the

habitus is transposable.

As much as intermediating the emergence of practice, habitus also sets the foundation for the field. Habitus allows an individual or agent to act spontaneously and interact with external parties. It is in the process of interaction with outsiders that a field is formed. However, the field is not an intersubjective bond between individuals or agents, but a kind of structured relationship in which it unconsciously regulates the positions of individuals in an order that is formed spontaneously. In his book entitled *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97), Bourdieu defines the realm as:

“... a network, or a configuration, of objective relation between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.)”.

According to Bourdieu, there are three things should be considered in order to comprehend the field. First, the field should be understood as the the field of power. Second, the objective structure underlying the field is taken as a positional relation between agents who are competing for legitimate authority in the field. Third, the habitus of each agent in the realm is a system of different dispositions according to the trajectories of each agent in the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 104-105). Another necessary thing is the field should be viewed as a system of relations, as emphasized by Bourdieu: “I could twist Hegel’s famous formula and say that the real is relational: what exist in the social world are relations-not interactions between agents or inter- subjective ties between individual, but objective relations”(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97).

Beside a field of strength, the field is

also a battleground among agents to strengthen their position in the field. To those who have enough (dominant) capital, it is a field to maintain their position while, in contrast, those who have minimal (subordinate) capital to seize it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 101):

“As a space of potential and active forces, the field is also a field of struggles aimed at preserving or transforming the configuration of these forces. Furthermore, the field as a structure of objective relations between positions of force undergirds and guides the strategies whereby the occupants of these positions seek, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position and to impose the principle of hierarchization most favorable to their own products.”

This battle takes place on the basis of each agent’s capital ownership which allows him to gain access to various advantages in the field and in relation to other objective positions. Meanwhile, the logic that governs these battles is the logic of capital. There are four types of capital that are at stake and determine the objective position of each agent, namely economic capital, social capital, cultural capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 119). The logic of capital works in this way: in the field, every agent fights for a legitimate position which is marked by the ownership of various types of complete capital, save the notion of complete in terms of volume and weight. Along with the wad of their owned capital, agents scramble to accumulate capital as much as possible. Such legitimate position is highly necessary for the agent so that he can have the power to define other agents, and to claim to be the representative of other agents. The most important thing is that he can establish a “version of social world” which is considered valid. This is what Bourdieu (1995: 170) calls as the symbolic power. Therefore, the struggle which occur at this level takes place at a symbolic level or, Bourdieu calls it, as the symbolic struggle (Bourdieu 1994: 244).

Studies and research on community media so far is more likely to just dwell

on and still be limited to roles and the function of community media as alternative media, and the proposed analysis does not move away from analysis that 'only' focuses on study categories communication with certain variants of methods and theoretical tendencies underlying it. Meanwhile, aspects of community development and strengthening from community media 'almost' untouched. Meanwhile, community development, both at the theoretical and practical levels, is 'only' understood as one of the programs of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), and therefore The proposed approaches tend to be top-down (from corporate for the community), so that aspects of empowerment, 'truly' community-based development and strengthening of community development is neglected, and however, as the name suggests, CSR only represents corporate interests, not society/community. Through the theoretical framework offered, this study attempts to go beyond the two 'irony' approaches to the study above. Development and strengthening of the community which is the ideological basis and praxis for community media is the focus of the study while remaining with fully consider its informative and communicative aspects. The focus of this study is also intended to provide space for the concept of community development is to be understood as a development process and strengthening communities that are based on community interests – no corporate interests- and releasing it from the 'shadow' of the concept and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) practices.

METHOD

This research exercises a qualitative methodology, and it intends to parse the community development process and strategy by putting the *Angkringan* community radio as its basis. One reason to employ the qualitative approach is to synergize such process (Shaw 2001: 42), and this approach emphasizes the depth of data quality rather than simply describing it. Moreover, this approach provides a set of analyzes which describes in a more detail about the human

experience (Marvasti 2004: 7). This approach has three characteristics (Neuman 1991: 322-325), first, a non-positivist perspective (a non-positivist perspective) which focuses on subjective meanings, definitions, symbols, and so on. Second, a logic composed of practice (a logic in practice). Third, it is a nonlinear path. With such characteristics, this approach is expected to be able to parse and explain the process deeper compared to its quantitative counterpart.

However, due to the community development process and strategy is also related to how, for example, the background of the formation of the community, who are the actors involved and how the characteristics of each actor and their relationship patterns and so on, which require a more in-depth study; thus to serve this purpose, the employed approach is the ethnographic one. Ethnography works at a grounded level which involves the experience of human life in a particular social setting (Shaw 2001: 49). Ethnographic research also involves two processes at once, to wit, observation and participation. These two processes are absolutely essential for ethnographic research and it cannot be carried out separately. Therefore, ethnographic researchers act as both observers and participants. This dual role would be beneficial for him to explore the findings data as well as to understand them critically (Shaw 2001: 51).

The data collection process was carried out by living in with the *Angkringan* community in the Timbulharjo village, Sewon district, Bantul regency, Yogyakarta. The method used is in-depth interviews. The informants in tis study consisted of five elements. First, 'internal' media actors 'Angkringan' community, namely those who are directly involved in community development. These internal actors are divided into two categories, active and non-active. Second, the Timbulharjo village government and community institutions which consists of formal institutions, the Village Representative Body (BPD) and institutions informal Timbulharjo Residents' Communication Forum (Fokowati). Third, residents Timbulharjo community. Fourth, Community

Radio Network administrators Yogyakarta (JRKY) and the Indonesian Community Radio Network (JRKI) as representation of organizations that concentrate on the field of media and radio development community. Fifth, Community Radio Companion Network (JPRK). In terms of this is the Combined Resource Institution (CRI). Sixth, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission Yogyakarta Region (KPID) and the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) as representation of government institutions that deal with media matters, broadcasting rights and etc.

This interview process was to find out some deep information concerning each informant's view on various issues in this research as it is available in the interview guide. To collect the data, I did some observations with respect to the observation technique because I need to know more closely and deeply about my object of observation as much as cross-checking the data from the in-depth interviews. In addition to observation and in-depth interview, I also conducted some document searches and literature studies. It is important for strengthening the data from interviews and observations.

Two stages of data analysis are coding and analysis. In the first stage, scattered and raw data will be classified and structured according to each sub-theme. For example, data on the habitus and capital of each agent in the community are grouped into one theme group, and data on the pattern of relations between agents in the community are arranged in another group of themes. Thus, the data analysis process in which case utilizes the reflexive analysis method or a data analysis technique that focuses on the strength of the researcher's reflection as a token of research instrument. This method works through a dialectical process between the obtained data from various classified data collection techniques and the reflective power of researchers whose basis is the formulated conceptual framework. It is the process of interpreting data, speaking on behalf of data, because data "do not speak for themselves," but they ought to be inter-

preted and analyzed (Rossman 2003: 36). This dialectical-reflective process takes place continuously which leads to a conclusion that is stated in the form of narrative statements.

The data validation strategy is carried out through the triangulation method in which case synergizing the obtained data from different sources with different data collection techniques. For example, data from in-depth interviews will be validated using data from observations involved and document studies, and vice versa.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Action through Community Media

One of the key concepts in this study is 'strategy'. Following Bourdieu, the concept of strategy in this study is a means or mechanism to gain, maintain or seize a legitimate position in a social sphere launched by each social agent in that field. This mechanism works within the framework of practical logic for the purpose of earning recognition, legitimacy, capital and access to capital in the material and-especially-symbolic world. All forms of (social) practice are created and bound by the habitus, by the objective structures that define the social sphere and by a large set of other strategies which hiding the fact of capital struggle. Bourdieu composes the generative formula for the logical framework of practice as (Habitus) (Capital) + Field = Practice. The legitimate position that is being fought in the field is important for the agent so that he could possess the power to define other agents and claiming to represent them (other agents), and most importantly he can form a 'version of the social world' which is considered valid. This is what Bourdieu calls symbolic power.

The presence of *Angkringan* community media in Timbulharjo village, Sewon district, Bantul, DIY as a citizen media channeling their aspirations is one of the many 'unique' phenomena for which accompanying the frenzy of political reform in 1998. At the most local political level, the

community media Angkringan presents ideas of democracy, of freedom to obtain and disseminate information, of the necessity for involving citizens in making all policies concerning their life, and of the importance for controlling the power of rulers for the sake of good governance.

The anxiety of *Angkringan* pioneers over some problems surrounding their community; is similar to a sketch for the 'version of social world' for which *Angkringan* intends to set in the future. Attitudes towards all these problems - which are in the form of social movements through the media of information - turn out to be the starting point for the social practices pursued by *Angkringan*. This social practice, which is exposed in the form of *Angkringan's* relations and interactions with other parties especially the village administration of Timbulharjo in its simplest and spontaneous process; ultimately creates what is called the 'village political sphere' of Timbulharjo.

The choice to move through the media was arguably a strategy, at its earliest development, launched by *Angkringan* to gain a legitimate position in that field. Through the application of various media, *Angkringan* strives to empower its community. It makes critical reports towards community problems. For instance, the *Angkringan* bulletin exposes and parses the low quality service of post mail; exclusive access to information in the *kelurahan* (sub-district) office; financial assistance for the poor; red tape bureaucracy of land certification; and no transparency. The bottom line of various media application is fighting for the freedom of expression and access to information, transparency and public participation in the decision making process. In short, all of these ideas lead to the ideal of good governance.

Being similar to the general idea of good governance, *Angkringan* based this idea on its three main supporting pillars viz., transparency, participation and accountability (Suranto, 2005: 1). Transparency refers to the availability of public access to the process of decision making. The *Angkringan* bulletin media publishes as a guarantee for ensuring this mechanism. Public participa-

tion should encourage community members to play an active role in the decision-making process. The *Angkringan* radio boosts this role by providing an open dialogue between local citizens and the government officials. Meanwhile, accountability refers to the influence effectiveness of they who govern to those who are governed. The *Angkringan* live broadcast of the *lurah's* final report to the BPD is more than adequate to ensure the public participation. Beside the good governance, the democratization process is inevitable on this occasion such as securing the election of *kepala desa* (the village head) in 2003, installing the freedom of press and the freedom of access to information one of which is establishing the Village Information Center.

Angkringan promotes two discourses of good governance and democracy along with other discourses in the field. It turns into a kind of counter-discourse or what Bourdieu calls as the heterodoxa (heterodoxy) as opposed to the dominant, valid discourse namely doxa. Some examples of doxa are the argument against the supervision of village administration, against the involvement of community members in decision making, against transparency of the government officials service quality, and so on. The existence of doxa has always been supported and confirmed by discourses all of which are deliberately produced and reproduced to support it, which is known as orthodoxa (orthodoxy).

Bourdieu makes an analogy of the battle arena with a game. The games that occur in two areas are called as a "double game." The first is the struggle to monopolize the perspective on the social world that is considered as legitimate. Second is the monopoly on the utilization of various objective power instruments (Bourdieu, 1995: 181). In this game room, there are codes and rules that must be mastered by agents in order to play a role in the game. Those who master it well (feel for the game, practical sense, sense of the game [Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 120-121]) would control the game (or enjoying the dominant position), while those who don't, must be willing to be

in the corner of arena. (or standing on the marginal position). A battle between agents is necessary as much as inevitable to master the codes and eventually to control the game. The dominant seeks to maintain their position, and the marginal ones strives to seize it.

Establishing a People Forum

Angkringan launches a series of strategy to win the battle like other agents in the field one of which is the capital exchange strategy. This strategy accumulates capital especially the symbolic capital to support agents whose capital is limited. In its earliest and most natural process, *Angkringan* implemented this strategy - whether intentionally or not - when they collected 30,000 rupiah of dues as the initial capital for the creation of information media (the bulletin). Thus, this limited capital grows into a symbolic capital whose token is the trust and support of citizens towards *Angkringan's* serious activities. People are willingly to purchase the next edition of *Angkringan* bulletin. At this stage, such symbolic capital has turned out to be an economic capital.

The maximum reinforcement of this symbolic capital happened when *Angkringan* initiate the Timbulharjo Citizen Communication Forum (Fokowati). This forum functions as a hub for all components of Timbulharjo residents ranging from farmers, craftsmen, breeders, teachers and others because Fokowati's membership is open and non-partisan. Every resident of Timbulharjo can apply a membership, and serving as an administrator of Fokowati regardless of class, religion, political party, ethnicity and so on. However, in order to maintain representation and equity in each *dusun* (hamlet), of the 16 hamlets in Timbulharjo all have representatives in Fokowati starting from RT, RW, community and religious leaders. Fokowati fights for an autonomous Timbulharjo community as much as a clean and aspirational village administration. This forum is independent from the village administration, and it looks like a legislative body or a supervisory body due to there was no BPD (*Badan Perwakilan*

Desa - Village Representative Body) at the time. As a result, this forum transforms into a symbol of community's supremacy, power and strength *vis-à-vis* the village administration. Therefore, Fokowati can do many things for the sake of serving people's interests as much as decreasing the risk of abuse of power on the village administration.

When Fokowati and *Angkringan* initiated the Timbulharjo community called the Village Information Center (PID), the basic idea is to address the need for a media center which allows both people and village administration to be able to access information and communicate one another. On the one hand, this media will function as a place for residents to download all information from the *kelurahan* (sub-district office) as well as a place to express complaints, suggestions, and even criticism to the village administration. On the other hand, this media works like a funnel for the village officers to disseminate all information to residents as well as a kind of suggestion box for its residents. With such a reciprocal mechanism, it is their wish that PID could abridge the communication between two parties as much as a media for sharing information.

Angkringan's most recent idea is a computer for the people's information system (KUSIR-Angkringan). KUSIR-Angkringan is the distribution of internet connections as well as creating the village internet networks. By adopting Onno W Purbo's concept of RT/RW-net, the KUSIR-Angkringan concept works in two broad categories, to wit, the intranet and the village internet. Broadcast radio will function as the spearhead of the media in which case reaching the entire Timbulharjo village area, while internet technology will function to bridge the interaction between local people and the outside world.

Developing the Community Network

Apart from social capital, *Angkringan's* relationship and interaction with the Combine Resource Institution (CRI) is decisive. Since his introduction to CRI, *Angkringan's* struggle in creating and shaping a legitimate 'version of the social world' is closely related.

Their first meeting did happen when *Angkringan* initiated the formation of Fokowati in which case implying a distinctive impression to the CRI. Later, it works as a model for the practice of information-based community development by which the CRI campaigns intensively. Currently, it is through the assistance of CRI that *Angkringan* starts some cooperation with many other institutions including the donor agencies. In other words, it functions as an additional social capital for *Angkringan* for which it could convert it into the economic capital. Some institutions that have been providing financial assistance to *Angkringan* are the Tifa Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the World Bank, Internews and the Indonesian Ministry of Communication and Information (Depkominfo).

Along with CRI, *Angkringan* was invited to engage with the wider world, and they develop a 'world vision' of developing community networks. It means that what *Angkringan* has been doing is also available in other places, and they have not been fighting alone as well as developing solidarity with other similar organizations and activists around the globe. The Grassroots Information Broadcast (SIAR) and Suara Komunitas Indonesia (SKI) are two prominent community networking website portals - in which case *Angkringan* has been involving in their platform - which serve as shelters for these kind of community activists. From within both portals, they can share information, potentials and resources of their respective communities. This is because "... information plays an important role in making synergy with one another. For example, between two communities, maybe one community has good natural resources, but they don't have competent human resources to process it. On the other hand, there are communities whose human resources are good but [they] do not have natural resources. So, these two communities get to know their own potentials so the opportunity for the exchange of resources is easier. Each party knows their potentials, their issues, and they talk one another. The exchange of resources has never been automatically hap-

pen but the availability of information implies a greater chance to make it happen."

At a time when the struggle for recognition and legitimacy of community radio in the broadcasting system was ongoing, *Angkringan* and CRI were at the forefront to pave the way for enacting the Broadcasting Law which includes the community radio into the broadcasting system. Likewise, when community radio activists wanted to strengthen their network - either the Indonesian Community Radio Network (JRKI) or the JRK Yogyakarta - *Angkringan* was one of the leaders in its process. What has been making *Angkringan* popular among the community of activists is their engagement as a facilitator or a participant in some training of community radio management.

Angkringan owes its popularity to the CRI in which case the latter is both a social capital and a symbolic capital for the former. The transformation to economic capital takes place when *Angkringan* facilitates some training activities while the recognition of *Angkringan's* ability and skill in managing the radio community is actually a token of cultural capital.

Moving with a Strong Habitus

Angkringan's social practices - especially its 'version of the social world' - are not only influenced by the heaps of various capitals they own and their reconversion strategy. It is also created and bound by the construction of habitus that has stuck and enveloped it since the beginning. Habitus is *Angkringan's* subjective structure - as a social agent - which is formed both by the homology of habitus of each manager and by his experience with other agents in the network of objective structures or domains that exist in social space. It guides *Angkringan* in perceiving, understanding and appreciating the social reality as well as forming the latter's classification system.

Habitus is in fact a critical attitude towards the surrounding social reality in which case it is closely clung in *Angkringan's* subjective realm. This habitus grew with the initial establishment of *Angkringan* when it brought up citizen information media as

both critical reaction and attitude towards various issues. The investigative reports that have been successfully carried out - ranging from trivial cases such as the succession of youth leader elections to the uncovering of problematic village administration program cases and the disclosure of village budgets - how how closely this habitus has penetrated the niches of their subjectivity.

The intertwine is available between habitus and their resistance to all obstructing and stumbling attitudes and actions. The counter-active attitude of the village administration, who is not happy with the presence of *Angkringan*, is a challenge that the media has always been confronting. The village officers demonstrated various counter-active attitudes, ranging from being reluctant to provide the requested information - whether in the form of archival data or the interview refusal -, banning broadcasts, to some acts of intimidation. However, *Angkringan* resisted with various methods. Putting the Law of Press Freedom in almost every *Angkringan* edition is an instance of this resistance. They often write all they have got during the interview process one of which is an informant was reluctant to supply full information though he or she could have given. In this particular case, *Angkringan* usually puts forward the excerpt of interview.

Thus, *Angkringan*'s wad of capital and its strategy of reconstruction and accumulation, the structure of habitus that surrounds its subjective nature, and its objective position in the realm, at the practical level, underlie the emergence and creation of their social practices. This social practice fully connects with three things (capital, habitus and objective position in the field), and they manifest as a form of actualization of *Angkringan* in fighting for a legitimate position in the field.

Reflection

The concept of community is commonly understood as a concept that is solely related to problems of social structure. Community, by its reviewers, is usually used to define a space where various individual interests meet, where each of them has a close re-

lationship, understands and cares for one another, a space where people do not need to say "how are you" to others as a lip service (Etzioni 1994: 31). Community in a conceptual frame like this has two attributes. First, that each community member "feels" to have an attachment in a reciprocal network scheme that influences one another in an atmosphere of intimacy. Second, the community has a function of 'sharing' moral culture, value systems and norms (Etzioni 2005: 129).

Such a conceptual framework of community really places the social structure of community as a determinant for defining the concept of community itself. The social structure depends on certain conditions, for example, it should bind individuals, so that they are worth to be called as a community. Meanwhile, individuals or agents within the structure have absolutely "no right" to influence that structure.

The concept of community development, which rests on a model of defining a community centered on social structures, is then understood by using an analytical framework which also lean on a structuralist analysis scheme. This kind of thinking framework assumes that a development movement runs linearly from one particular point to another. Social agents appear like chess pieces all of which moving in accordance to and are guided by all rules of the game. In a theoretical assumption like this, the development movement of community development centralizes on the structural change. If the structural change leads to a positive direction, then the community development is successful and vice versa.

The theoretical comprehension which reflects the scheme (Habitus) (Capital) + Field = Practice on the phenomenon of *Angkringan* community media; implies to a change in the perspective of the concept of community and its development. The concept of community such schema means that a relation of social practice is created and bound by the subjective structure of the agent (habitus); by the objective structures that define the social sphere; and by a large set of other strategies that hide the fact of

capital struggle between agents in the field. Thus, community is a dialectical process of social practice among agents, and between agents and the 'objective' social structure (the field).

The objective structure is established through the encounters of social agents whose social practices are influenced by habitus and their ownership of various types of capital. It is the encounter of agents, guided by their habitus and capital; which in turn determines their objective position within this objective structure. The objective positions of agents, which form the objective structure, always change as much as their habitus and capital change. Meanwhile, dispositions in the objective structure determine the changes in habitus and agent's capital. Here, what is understood as community is more to the relation of agent's social practice in which case it reciprocally and dialectically influences the agent's objective positions. This objective position forms the objective structure, and the dispositions of objective structure affect the subjective structure of the agent.

When *Angkringan* decided to create an information media that functioned as a control medium over the power of the village administration, spontaneously, their social practices met with a series of village officers' social practices. This encounter would shape and determine their objective positions which in turn setting an objective social structure (the field). Then, when Fokowati and BPD emerged, the objective structure also immediately experienced a disposition which in turn affected the subjective structure of both *Angkringan* and the village administration. For instance, *Angkringan*, which originally had a critical and resistant habitus, with a structural disposition, this habitus was getting stronger - especially when dealing with the village officers and increasingly broadening to Fokowati and BPD, because *Angkringan* also expected these two institutions to do the same thing viz., controlling the village government performance. At this point, the concept of community should not only understood from the objective structure for-

med as a result of the encounters of agents, nor from the agency's creativity in shaping the structure. But community should be taken as the relation of agent's social practices which allow the dialectical process to occur between the agent and the objective social structure.

Community is a very complex and dynamic institution because the so called 'social life' sets the foundation of community's "pulse." Consequently, the concept of community development should also be understood in such a way. It should not be comprehended simply as a pattern of agent relations and structures in which case agents are connotatively clusters which shape the structures of development process. Community development is a dynamic and dialectical process between agents and structures, in which the dynamics of the social practices of agents - which are created and bound by their subjective structure (habitus), by the objective structures that define the social sphere and by the relative weight of the wad of capital they possess - serve as the material basis for the implementation of such process.

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