

Yowis Ben's Agency Changing Structure of Hegemonic Language in Indonesia Cinemas Becomes a Critique of Jakarta's Culture Industry

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Abstract

This study describes cinema production by the Jakarta cultural industry that engages in anti-diversity practices. Cinema production in Jakarta is an industry that standardizes language in the social formation of Indonesian society, which has a variety of vernacular languages. This study aims to evaluate the centralization of the Jakarta Cultural Industry, especially the language practice in film. This study uses the desk research method with data collection techniques in the form of literature studies and digital observations. This research takes the case of Yowis Ben's agency social practice, which has carried out language structuring in the film industry in Indonesia. This study finds that Indonesian is a structure that alienates local languages in the industry and communication style that Jakarta dominates. Jakarta uses Indonesian in its cinematic style of speech as a form of standardization that Jakarta production houses do for for-profit purposes. This research is novel because it discusses the Indonesian language as the hegemony of the cultural industry centralization in Jakarta, which also explains the oppression of ethnic languages in Indonesia in terms of structure and agency theory.

Keywords: Structuration; Culture industry; Local Languages; Film; Yowis Ben; Jakarta

Abstrak

Penelitian ini menggambarkan produksi sinema oleh industri budaya Jakarta yang melakukan praktik anti keberagaman. Produksi sinema di Jakarta adalah industri yang membuat standardisasi bahasa dalam formasi sosial masyarakat Indonesia yang memiliki keragaman bahasa vernakuler. Penelitian ini memiliki tujuan untuk mengevaluasi sentralisasi Industri Budaya Jakarta khususnya praksis bahasa dalam perfilman. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode desk research dengan teknik ambil data berupa studi literatur dan pengamatan digital. Penelitian ini mengambil praktik sosial agensi Yowis Ben yang telah melakukan strukturasi bahasa dalam industri perfilman di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa bahasa Indonesia adalah struktur yang mengalienasi bahasa lokal dalam industri dan gaya komunikasi yang Jakarta kuasai. Jakarta menggunakan bahasa Indonesia di dalam gaya tutur sinema sebagai bentuk standardisasi yang rumah produksi Jakarta lakukan untuk kepentingan profit. Penelitian ini adalah baru karena membahas bahasa Indonesia sebagai hegemoni sentralisasi industri budaya di Jakarta yang sekaligus menjelaskan operasi bahasa etnik di Indonesia dalam kacamata teori strukturasi dan agensi.

Kata Kunci: Strukturasi; Industri Budaya; Bahasa Daerah; Film; Yowis Ben, Jakarta

Introduction

This is communication research from socio-cultural tradition. This study examines the cultural industry in Jakarta. The mass media (as a cultural industry rite) in Jakarta builds oppressive relations with regions, ethnicities, and the periphery. Jakarta builds its oppressive relationship with the periphery by standardizing signify, images, symbols, and language in its media products.

Language is a cultural image. Culture is often identified by the peculiarities of its language. However, modernization gave birth to a nation-state that created cultural simplification

through language standardization. In Indonesia (which is diverse), the mass media simplifies culture (language) through standardization. Therefore, the visual language marginalizes ambivalence (ethnic and margin). The problem is found in the media offices located in Jakarta.

Jakarta broadcasts its homogeneous products (including language). Media Jakarta controls all the production of images and symbols. Information about ethnicity is broadcast from Jakarta's point of view. Ethnicities are "forced" to watch the homogeneous image created by Jakarta as a consequence. Therefore, this research

assesses Jakarta as the center of the cultural industry that operates on ethnicity through standardization and homogenization of language.

The structure of a three-act film, a film with a happy ending, and the story of the rich falling in love with the poor are just a few examples of the standardization of the film industry. Films, which are works of art, do not appear as individual creations but are implications of mass entertainment standardization and homogenization. The artwork is not entirely new, only a reproduction. Indonesian cinema film is a process of standardization and homogenization of mass entertainment in the form of language standardization: Indonesian language.

The cultural industry has the aim of selling “products” instead of empowering people and art (Jennings, Doherty, Levin, & Jephcott, 2014). Thus, it changes the motive of commodification in the face of culture. A culture with high cultural value (Adorno, 1991) must become a standardized commodity. It describes the process of producing cultural values for the benefit of a small number of people. A small number of people are capital owners living in Jakarta.

Jakarta is not only the nation’s capital, but it is also the center of Indonesian culture’s “cultural hub” (Power, 2018). Moreover, Jakarta controls center-periphery relations in Indonesia’s social-cultural-politic-economic relations. Therefore, the periphery (margin) adapts to Jakarta, and the periphery must behave as Jakarta wants (Eilenberg, 2013) including language uniformity (Mikihiro & Budiman, 2010). The Jakarta production house does not produce films in local languages. Jakarta is the center of Indonesian film production houses. Starvision, MD Entertainment, Rapi Films, Soraya Intercine Films, and others are examples of Jakarta production houses (Squat-lefilm.com, 2021). Jakarta production houses create films with standardized language and distribute them throughout Indonesia’s margin. Instead of maintaining diversity (*kebinekaan*) through

language, production houses in Indonesia prefer to accommodate films in the Indonesian language to accumulate capital. At the same time, cinemas in Indonesia are also more likely to accommodate the presence of foreign language films that are more profitable in terms of business. (Pusparisa, 2019). Consequently, the hegemony of the cultural industry in Indonesia is alienating local language films.

Using the national language in the Indonesian cinema film industry is a dilemma. Indonesian language is the language of unity that unites vernacular languages. At the same time, the Indonesian language obscures and marginalizes local languages in the Indonesian film industry. This research attempts to describe how local language films in Indonesia cannot compete with their national language films (Indonesia language), before the emergence of the agency.

This research used Hollywood-related articles as a comparison, but this research reflects the social and cultural formation of the society in Indonesia which cannot be matched with the social and cultural formation of the United States. In the social formation of United States society, the category of local languages does not have the same meaning as local languages in the cultural landscape in Indonesia. It is based on a different history between the two countries.

Indonesia is a poly-ethnic country, whilst the United States is a multi-cultural country (Eriksen, 2010). In the United States, the nations of the land of Europe and other countries came to the land of the natives, agreeing to create a new culture, namely “United States culture”. Like the emergence of the C-M-I-O nation in Singapore (Hoong, 2021). Indonesia is called a polyethnic country because it comprises almost 700 ethnic groups (if distinguished by language differences). Before the Indonesian nation-state became independent, ethnic and linguistic varieties existed. Indonesia is united and continues to strive to preserve the local language and culture. In a more modern

explanation, the meaning of ethnicity does experience a shift. Ethnicity can be understood as a grouping in human social relations: ingroup-outgroup, us-them, marginalized group, outermost group, inner group (inlander), depending on how the power defines ethnicity. (Brewer, Gonsalkorale, & van Dommelen, 2013).

This research would equalize the perception the very problematic of variety of languages and cultures. This research uses the term local language to describe the language used by ethnic groups in Indonesia. This research borrowed the term Alamsyah as the language used by ethnic groups in the archipelago (Alamsyah, 2018). In some terms in Western literature, the term “non-English” film does not match this research’s description. This research does not use “non-Indonesia language” films to describe ethnic languages in Indonesia. This research will use local languages.

Local languages are rarely discussed in studies of cinema in western literature. Garrahan (2015) study does not recognize local languages similar to local language terminology that Indonesians understand. If any, the terminology used is always problematic. The local language, he mentions, is defined as a country other than Hollywood. Bleichenbacher (2012) research said the usage of “other” term to describe the use of a language other than the mainstream used in cinema films.

Previous articles such as; Mhando & Kipeja (2010), Moore (2014), Desmalinda, Herdiansyah, & Naripati, (2016), Brillon, (2018); Satriawan (2019); Jha (2019); Oakley & Connor (2019), have different axiological characteristics from this research. Brillon (2018) describes how the post-colony era in the Philippines influenced the logic of national-centric filmmaking rather than globalizing. Desmalinda (2016) criticizes the marginalization of the local Palembang language in the mandate of broadcasting networked television in Indonesia. Satriawan (2019) describes the use of Javanese as a representation

of the filmmaker. Jha (2019) describes the contradiction between North and South Indian filmmakers. Mhando & Kipeja (2010) explains how the small film community in Tanzania is trying to get involved in the national film industry because the national film industry is dominantly involved in economic globalization. Moore (2014) explains how the global economy is changing the term creative industries. Along with the industrial revolution, according to her, the word creative also experienced commercialization. Oakley & Connor (2019) provide further explanation regarding the term culture industry which is not only related to creativity but also related to regulation, international development, and labor. From all these studies, this research takes a critical position. This research takes place Indonesia language (national languages) as hegemony. The application of the Indonesian language is a routine that the industry perpetuates through the style of film speech in Indonesian cinemas and marginalizes the existence of vernacular identities.

This research seeks to describe local language agencies’s role (as vernacular entities) in the Indonesian cinema film industry. For the author, the use of national and local languages in Indonesia has become an essential issue in the national cinema because the concept of locality is always seen in the way that Jakarta sees Indonesia. The terminology of locality is always seen as ambivalent to the unity of the Indonesian nation (Mikihiro & Budiman, 2010). This hegemony determines the views of the masses regarding the standard of the films the masses will watch. Later on, there is a local language that can empower and change the hegemony of the masses regarding the use of the national language in Indonesian cinema films. This research describes it ontologically through a desk review method using an analytical knife in the form of a proprietary culture industry theory (Adorno, 1991) and structuration theory (Giddens, 1984).

Structuration and agency are critical thoughts that Giddens (1984) offers to see the existence of mass groups that can get out of hegemonic false consciousness. A few people oppose the structure and objectification of mass entertainment in the cultural industry. A small group of people that Giddens (1984) refers to as “agents”. Giddens identified that the structure could not totally move humans. Humans move in space-time, respectively, so the structure does not fully move the social practices that the subject does. Giddens (1984) challenged Comte’s positivist thinking because Comte saw humans only as machines moving according to directions (Haslett, 2012). Giddens (1984) resists the structure-function theory, which has been established in sociology. He offers a more hermeneutic and interpretive sociological thinking. This view sociologically sees humans as subjects and no more extended objects. Humans are not entities that work like machines and obey mechanical functions, but entities can reflect on every social practice agents do: agents (Giddens, 1984; Fuchs, 2003; adequately integrate the human being. In order to avoid dualism, mechanistic determinism, and reductionism, a dialectical concept of social systems that is based on the notion of self-organization seems necessary. In order to establish a dialectical theory of social self-organization it is appropriate to integrate aspects of Anthony Giddens’ structuration theory. Giddens acknowledges the importance of knowledgeable human actors in society and argues that structures are the medium and outcome of actions (theorem of the duality of structure Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, 2010).

The agent must try or struggle to arrive at the production stage of the new structure (Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, 2010). As Susilastuti et al. (2017) said, the agent is an entity that moves outside the structure. Agent tends to attract authority, for the purpose of change (DN, Wahyuni, & Akhmad, 2017). Occasionally, the agent must negotiate with capital owners. Thus, as an agent, creating creations that are different

from standard social practices is a challenge. Thus, in this writing, the cinema film industry in Indonesia is an arena for agents to negotiate and struggle to manifest their creations. The thinking of Adorno (1991) and Giddens (1984) has it is used as an analytical knife in this research.

This research makes the film *Yowis Ben* a structuring agency. Therefore, this research seeks to describe how the film *Yowis Ben* is an agency to structure the hegemony of national languages in the Indonesian cinema film industry. This research seeks to bridge the concept of agency and cultural industry in analyzing the Indonesian cinema film industry. This research also has the objective to criticize the centralization of the cultural industry in Jakarta. This research hopes that there will be hundreds of cultural industrial centers that represent more local cultures, including local languages. Even though it is utopian. This research, in addition, places language as a new form of cultural industry standardization that is seldom explained and discussed in academic’s debates.

Research Methods

This research uses a desk review method. The desk review method (desk research) is a method that facilitates writers to utilize sources that are easy to access. The desk research method facilitates researchers to conduct research on their desks. Researchers can take advantage of various technologies in the internet era, such as telephones, fax machines, magazines, clippings, books, and trusted sources on the internet. The researcher can answer the research questions he offers in his research (N. Moore, 2018).

There are two essential things in desk research. The first is materials. The second is to utilize a variety of information or data already available in various archives (on the internet). In other words, the desk research method uses a variety of open data in digital archives without digging up empirical data and information in the field (Juneja, 2021).

Therefore, the researcher described the knowledge held on to various archives on the internet in this study. The data and information that support the researcher's answers require extracting and coding. So, researchers can answer the questions that researchers ask. This research uses secondary data (Johnston, 2014) to support the study. Secondary data comes from various official sources ranging from scientific writings, newspaper clippings, magazines, and official internet sources (Hague, 2012).

This research started the desk review by making the research question, the primary guide in writing the discussion. Articles and scientific journals relevant to this study, such as the structuration theory and cultural industry theory, have been collected through online sources. Some of the scientific journals are original writings of related theories: Cultural Industry (Adorno, 1991) and Structuration (Anthony Giddens, 1984). This research also collects various recent writings on the two theories, such as those of Bernstein (1991), Fuchs (2003) adequately integrate the human being. In order to avoid dualism, mechanistic determinism, and reductionism, a dialectical concept of social systems that is based on the notion of self-organization seems necessary. In order to establish a dialectical theory of social self-organization it is appropriate to integrate aspects of Anthony Giddens' structuration theory. Giddens acknowledges the importance of knowledgeable human actors in society and argues that structures are the medium and outcome of actions (theorem of the duality of structure, Falkheimer (2007), Caldwell (2008), and van Rooyen (2013). Researchers do literature studies from the reading material.

In the next stage, this research collected secondary data from various online sources. The secondary data is useful for creating a significant research result. Secondary data includes the collection of films in local languages in Indonesia (the number of viewers) and the fact about local

films. Secondary data in this study additionally illuminate the bigger picture of the cinema industry. This research obtained the data from several online sources, such as Squat-lefilm.com, Livemint.com, Financialtimes.com, Tirtoid and various credible news article sources. This research is collected from the online interviews collected by a news journalist. This research is focusing on the verbatim that was collected from Yowis Ben Agency as subject: Bayu Skak (Director), Fajar Nugros (Director), Bagus Bramanti (Writer), and Gea Remy (Writer).

This research also uses Instagram to describe the role of agents to support secondary data. At that stage, this research looked for agent posts close to the *Yowis Ben* film production process, this research can analyze the goals that the agent wants to achieve in making the film *Yowis Ben* through this process. Thus, the researchers set limits on the subject and object of research. The subject of this research is *Yowis Ben's* agency. Meanwhile, the object of this research is the cultural industry in Jakarta. This research uses data triangulation to ensure that the data that this research gets is credible. After the data was collected from reading the literature, sources, and observations on social media accounts, the researcher took the time to understand the data. When the problems, research objectives, and research gaps are intertwined, the researcher determines the theme of the writing. Furthermore, this research performs data analysis using coding technique analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Wenzel & Babbie, 2016).

This study sorts the information obtained from various sources and artifacts on the internet. Therefore, this research provides unique codes for all info (open coding). After all the codes are finished, this research connects the codes with the same connection or nuance (axial coding). This research composes selected codes (selective coding) a paragraph called findings in the final stage.

Results of Research and Discussion

Jakarta controls relations with the regions in many aspects of life. Ministry offices, telecommunications offices, and media offices are based in Jakarta. Therefore, Jakarta sees the *daerah* from its point of view, not from the *daerah*'s perspective. Thus, the *daerah* is in a subordinate relationship with the center, including carrying out its own culture.

Ministry offices are based in Jakarta (Kemlu.go.id, n.d.), including the government subsector, entertainment industries, and its production houses. The office of the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud), the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy (Kemenparekraf), the National Film Agency (BPI), and the Indonesian Censorship Institute (LSF), the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), and hundreds of production houses. The headquarters of all these offices in Jakarta causes an unbalanced relationship in socio-cultural life to the *daerah*. It has an impact on *daerah* social life.

The subordination relationship between the center and the *daerah* creates socio-cultural praxis in people's daily lives. According to Bayu Skak (Yowis Ben's director), regions are often looked down upon. Local languages are often seen as anti-modern, reflecting backwardness, or borrowing Bayu's term "*ndeso*." Jakarta is Indonesia's cultural hub that oppressed *daerah*. Thus, Jakarta is Indonesia's Cultural Industry homogenized and standardized media practice including cinema's praxis. As Bayu Skak, said "*Selama ini kita didoktrin bahwa orang daerah ke kota untuk menjadi pembantu. Menganggap orang daerah rendah. Ndeso. Itu yang pengen saya ubah. Daerah mana pun, bukan Jawa aja, jangan malu akan kedaerahan sendiri. Saya mencoba melestarikannya dengan cara saya sendiri (creating films) melalui film dan Youtube agar anak-anak tahu* (Mohammad & Nur, December 2019).

In Bayu Skak's daily, he finds many socio-cultural changes in the daily lives of his young people. If in the past he saw that children still use

Javanese language, today he reflects on a different experience. Today, many children in Kota Malang (where Bayu Skak lives) use the *lu-gua* language.

"Bisa dibilang begitu. Misalnya di Kota Malang. Anak-anak kecilnya sudah ngomong lu-gua. Lha koe iki ning Malang opo Jakarta. Kalau bahasa daerah dilupakan, ke depannya akan benar-benar punah." (Mohammad & Nur, December 2019)

The trend in local languages user shows a decline from year to year. Setyawan (2011) identified that there are two reasons for shifting interest in using local languages. First, the loss of attention from the family domain to perpetuate local languages. Second, as an implication of government policies that require the use of language informal spaces. This research argues that the usage of regional languages is declining because the media creates a hegemony that is perpetuated in media practice in ethnic everyday life.

Indonesia media uses the Indonesian language formally in their speech activities. This alienates the local language from the dominance of the Indonesian national language. Although there are several local language programs on national television, their role is only as a complementary programs in passing (Armando, 2014) as illustrated by the growth of local media in the past 15 years. Compared to print media and radio, which are decentralized, Indonesia's television industry is dominated by five large media corporations that are all based in the capital city of Jakarta. As a consequence, this fails to leave much growing space to television stations at a local level, which would be needed to strengthen Indonesia's democratization. Media owners have successfully influenced the government in establishing a set of policies that sustain their dominance of the industry. Players within the television industry have even successfully swayed the direction of the broadcasting decentralization mandated by the Broadcasting Bill during Indonesia's early political Reform period. The influence of

these 'Jakarta television stations' stunted the development of television stations outside of Jakarta. Not only it deprives local actors of the economic value of developing their own television industry would bring, it also has resulted in the loss of television's potential in functioning as a public sphere facilitating social control over democratic processes. Although the Reform era promised a new age of media democratization, the centralization of commercial television actually worsened media monopolies that were thought to have been done away with in post-Suharto Indonesia. © The Author (s). Nevertheless, there was never an agreement that local languages should not be used in formal spaces.

The media also uses English more often. In Indonesia's print and online media, the media are starting to use foreign languages. The Jakarta Post, Tempo English, and Metro Xinwen use foreign languages in delivering news. Consequently, Javanese, Sundanese, Melayu, Bugis, and other local languages are alienated from the national media. This habit creates a hegemony of language as a speech medium in the industry. Indonesian language is the primary choice, whilst English and other foreign languages are the substitutes. The local language is a complement that will appear due to the most exceptional order or moment in their own "home".

Several local languages films indeed have appeared in Indonesian theaters, such as *Atambua 39° Celsius*, but their power is not significant to change the structure. Such films are only in theaters for a few days, with a maximum audience of one hundred thousand (Pusparisa, May 2019). Indonesian films with the largest number of viewers use the Indonesian language. Although, there is no data that mention the exact number but the researcher could prove the condition in 2020. As Annur said, there were 209 feature films and 236 short films produced in Indonesia in 2020. However, none of the local language films were shown in theaters in 2020. *Yowis Ben 2* was screened in 2019,

along with *Ziarah* films which hit theaters on a limited basis in the same year (Annur, 2021).

In the film *Warkop DKI Reborn: Jangkrik Boss! Bagian 1* (2016), the number of viewers reached 6.9 million; the film *Dilan 1990* (2018) with a total audience of 6.3 million; the film *Dilan 1991* (2019) total audience of 5.3 million; the film *Laskar Pelangi* (2008) with 4.7 million viewers (Pusparisa, 2019). In a contrast, Indonesian films in local languages have never reached 500 thousand viewers before the films *Yowis Ben 1* and *Yowis Ben 2* in 2018-2019. Several local language films received appreciation from overseas festivals but did not get a place in the Indonesian cinema film industry. It has been noted that local language films such as *Siti*, *Prenjak*, *Sekala Niskala*, *Turah*, and *Ziarah* have received appreciation at film festivals in Shanghai, Singapore, and Cannes. However, none of them made it to Indonesian cinema easily (apart from being short films). For example, *Siti* and *Ziarah* who had to struggle to get into the cinema with limited showing time and number of screens (Astarina, 2017).

Atambua 39° Celsius made it into theaters in 2012. The film directed by Riri Riza (from Miles Film producer) in the local language did not last long. No data mentions the number of viewers. However, estimating the number is not up to 200 thousand viewers. Meanwhile, the film rating from Hollywood managed to record a large profit. Data for 2018 states the film *Avengers: Infinity War* managed to have profit from 368 billion Rupiahs or 25 million US dollars (Pusparisa, 2019). In other words, films with languages other than the Indonesian language should have the same place.

Yowis Ben 1 and *Yowis Ben 2* seemed to be films that challenged the structure from 2018 to early 2019. The film by director Fajar Nugros and Bayu Skak is a success story. *Yowis Ben 1* and *Yowis Ben 2* became the first local (Javanese) language films with one million viewers (Khafid, 2019). *Yowis Ben* performs a reflection process and realizes that Indonesia is

a polyethnic. When American and Korean films are sold in Indonesia's market (in a language that is not the audience's native language), why is the local language not the case? Bayu Skak (one of the cast and Director of the film *Yowis Ben*) conveyed this (Khafid, 2019b).

"Terima kasih beribu-ribu terima kasih (...) film Yowis Ben berhasil meraih satu juta penonton (...) mengingatkan kepada semuanya bahwa film dengan bahasa daerah bisa juga bersaing (...) (film) ini ingin menyampaikan pesan bahwa bahasa daerah itu bahasa ibu kita dan jangan dilupakan (...) jadi mari bagi semua kolega jangan malu-malu menggunakan bahasa daerah masing-masing (...) bahasa persatuan tetap Indonesia tapi jangan lupakan bahasa daerah (...)" (Bayu Skak's Instagram Account @moektito, 2019).

Bayu Skak and Fajar Nugros (director), Bagus Bramanti (writer) and Gea Remy (co-writer) are agents in the Indonesian cinema film industry. The agent is the important person behind the local language film *Yowis Ben* (Kasman, April 2019). Fajar Nugroho or Fajar Nugros is a director born in Yogyakarta. He is a short story writer since his childhood. He showed talent to win the trust to become a director once he entered to film industry.

Bayu Skak is a YouTuber and stand-up comedian as well. He was born in Malang, East Java, and grew up through the Youtube channel through his vlogging activities. Bayu joined the Indonesian cinema industry by starring in the film *"Marmut Merah Jambu"* directed by Raditya Dika in 2014. Bagus Bramanti is a writer who started his career as a scriptwriter for FTV (Poskota.co.id, 2013). His co-writer is Gea Remy. Bagus is a new writer in the Indonesian cinema film industry. He was born in Malang, and has written and contributed a lot as a staff writer for cinema films in Indonesia since 2014. Bayu Skak starts his career as an actor. The film *Marmut Merah Jambu* directed by Raditya Dika is his first film. The film continues the success of Raditya Dika's previous film, *Kambing Jantan*.

The comedy-family film was a success in terms of audience reach. Therefore, his films are widely watched by audiences. With a distinctive simple comedy, Raditya Dika succeeded in gaining a place in the Indonesian public's hearts. Fajar Nugros has been in the Indonesian cinema film industry since 2008. His involvement as a director and Scriptwriter for significant films such as *Get Married*, *Si Jago Merah*, and *Sang Pencerah* shows his capabilities and experience in the cinema film industry. Bagus Bramanti is also not a new player in the Indonesian cinema industry. He received a Citra Award nomination for best writer. Some of his works are *Talak 3*, *Dear Nathan*, and *Yowis Ben*. Meanwhile, although relatively new to the Indonesian cinema film industry, Gea Remy has produced scripts and screenplays several times. Films that have been part of his project are *Hangout*, *Dear Nathan*, *Yowis Ben 1*, and *Yowis Ben 2*.

The four agents are relatively experienced in the Indonesian cinema film industry. Their involvement in previous films shows that the agents have never been involved in any film projects in the local language. Their success in making the film *Yowis Ben* is not an easy endeavor given that the previous films have never reached more than 400 thousand viewers. They are the agents who realize that the local language is the Indonesian nation's mother tongue, which national and foreign languages have eroded. Therefore, the agents become an agency that negotiates the structures and the goal is to carry out the production-reproduction of previously established structures or borrow Giddens' term as structuration.

Yowis Ben director Fajar Nugros said that making a film means convincing the producer. Without a producer's trust, the story and idea that filmmakers have is just a script. Therefore, making *Yowis Ben* films also means the art of convincing producers (Nugroho, 2018). As Fajar Nugros said *Yowis Ben* (in industry eyes) is a risky film project. Previously, films in local languages had never shown a significant advantage. For industry, that figure will not be profitable.

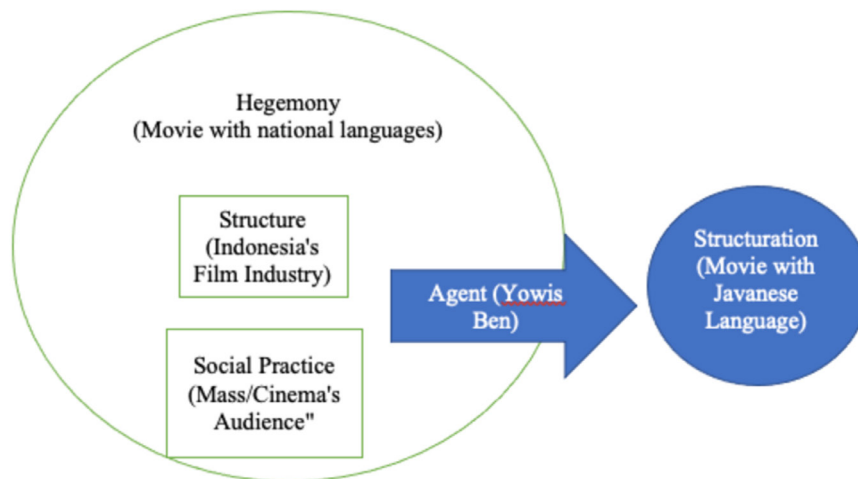


Figure 1. Agency Structuration Process

Sources: Edited by Researcher (2021)

Jakarta uses the Indonesian language in a cinema as a form of standardization that Jakarta's production house only uses for profit. To the persistent of agents, the production process for the film *Yowis Ben* was finally successful. The film *Yowis Ben* itself contains almost 80 percent Javanese language.

National media in Jakarta, including the film industry, embodies the structure (in which there is a mass object). The cinema's audience repeatedly performs social actions and practices without realizing production or reproduction. The mass is an object that forms a practice that is not much different from previous practices. Meanwhile, *Yowis Ben* carries out structural production, which means forming completely different practices. *Yowis Ben* creates structures that come from nothing into existence (Dixon, 2011) the same cannot be said for sociologists of sport. Anthony Giddens is a world renowned intellectual and author of some of the most predominant sociological texts of the last millennium. He is the most frequently cited contemporary sociologist spanning all aspects of the social sciences, and yet his work is seldom referred to or used within the sociology of sport. In response to this and in reaction to calls from authors such as Williams to re-think football fandom, this article aims to explore the potential

of Giddens 'Structuration Theory' (ST). *Yowis Ben* lead to creation, innovation, novelty, and discovery. Thanks to their fundamental reflection and knowledge skills, *Yowis Ben* (as agents) has succeeded in producing new structures.

The old structure which has legitimized that local language films will not sell well in the Indonesian film industry is changing. The film *Yowis Ben 1* successfully won one million viewers with an estimated gross income of 35 billion Rupiahs (Khafid, 2019). The film *Yowis Ben 1* directed the birth of the follow-up film *Yowis Ben 2*, which managed to get more than one million viewers. Films that a million viewers in theaters watch are relatively large in the cinema film industry in Indonesia.

The industry is doing this because local languages other than than Indonesian language have proved unsold in the film market. However, in 2018 the films *Yowis Ben 1* and *Yowis Ben 2* (2019) became the first local-language films to break the one million viewers mark successfully. At this stage, *Yowis Ben* agency in the Indonesian cinema film industry undertakes a structuring process.

Figure 1 shows agency structuring hegemony. The crew of the film *Yowis Ben 1* is an agent who interacts with the structure. *Yowis Ben* interacts with a structure in which

Indonesian language films become a routine and a repetitive social practice. The interaction between the agent and the structure causes the agent in the film *Yowis Ben 1* to reflect on the Indonesian language's dominant use.

Indonesia's language is a hegemony (structure). Since the era of the struggle for independence, people have used the Indonesian language in their daily speech activities. The national language was formally established during the New Order era through mass education (Quinn, 2010). Anderson (1991) said that the nuances of nationalism in the early 20th century brought the spirit of modernization and marginalization of sub-national identities. The sub-national identity (ethnic) should follow the national way of life. Unfortunately, most national figures live in Jakarta. These figures make policies from the eyes of Jakarta not from their own, nor from the locals themselves. The result is the formation of order that refers to community life joints' unification (Scott, 1998; Calhoun, 2007) including language as a symbol of unity (Karim, 2011). An example is Bung Tomo (who is Javanese) uses the Indonesian language to raise the spirit of the struggle of the people of Surabaya against the invaders (Hananto, 2016). That unification existed before the idea of formalizing the Indonesian language in mass education.

Quinn (in Moriyama & Budiman, 2014) says local language disturbs the order of the idea of unity that the New Order dreamed of. An "Indonesianology" program replaced the program "Javanology" under the leadership of the Minister of Education and Culture Republic of Indonesia Nugroho Notosoesanto in 1983. According to Quinn (in Moriyama & Budiman, 2014), shows the central government considers regional culture as a threat to the integrity of the nation and the potential of power. Therefore, it is carried over in the practice of national media controlled by Jakarta.

As a consequence of media practice, Jakarta will not allow the ratings in their media programs to decline. Hence, the media cannot be separated

from the homogenization and standardization of the program. The media seldom allow local languages (which would potentially reduce the number of viewers) to continue broadcasting regularly as consequence. Films that use local languages in the Indonesian cinema film industry are a risky social practice for the industry. The films force workers to perpetuate established structures in cultural industries. Therefore, using the Indonesian language is a pre-condition for achieving the profit target of the film. In the end, the use of the Indonesian language in cinemas has alienated the local language from its own vernacular landscape.

According to Nainggolan (2017) the film is the core of media capital. To support capital, the film becomes a product that will undergo a continuous production process (Nainggolan, 2017). The film is doing constant standardization from an industrial idea that is far from creative. In other words, the film is a content fabrication with a new cover but an old story. The industry that uses the formula continues to gain maximum profit.

The use of local languages is not common in the Indonesian cinema industry. Apart from reducing viewers' potential, films in local languages have also proven to have never succeeded in dominating Indonesian cinemas. Some filmmakers who have made films in local languages chose to make short films as an alternative instead of making feature films. Several filmmakers submit their films to international film festivals. Several others entered theaters with a less significant audience. The rest are only memories.

Indonesia's language is structured. One of the structure's characteristics is its ability to create hegemony in the heads of the masses. The masses carry out repeated practices and take for granted the determination of the system. Therefore, the structure determines (acts or borrows Giddens's term) mass's social practice. The structure is a daily process inherent in humans manifested in repeated social practices through the actions the masses take.

Yowis Ben's production depicts the interaction of agents with structures. Yowis Ben updates the structure as long as there is an action Yowis Ben's perform. Yowis Ben's creates new structures through the creative process (re-creating) of structures based on their role: structuration. Yowis Ben's crew is agents carry out based on knowledge. Yowis Ben's crew knows that local languages are an essential part of the social life of a poly-ethnic nation. If the use of local language is not linguist, then one day, the use of local language will die along with the decrease in the desire of native speakers to use it in everyday interaction spaces.

Conclusion

National media in Jakarta, including the film industry, embodies the structure. The cinema's audience repeatedly performs social actions and practices without realizing doing reproduction praxis. The mass object forms a practice that is not much different from previous practices. Jakarta's cultural industry causes society in *daerah* to enter the mass culture. Jakarta's cultural industry not only broadcast the content but also ideas and standardization in the form of language homogenization. So, the *daerah* only acts like an object, the *daerah* believes and practices the Indonesian language as the main medium in cinemas speech.

The audience does not realize that the structure has made them comfortable with the standardization and homogenization of content: language. So, for a long time, films that have local language content in Indonesian cinema are something that is not common. Through the film *Yowis Ben*, the agent emphasizes that local languages do not define traditional and ancient languages. Yowis Ben convinces native language users not to be shy about using local languages anymore. The agent has the aim of increasing the use of local languages and resists Jakarta's power.

Yowis Ben tells Indonesia is a poly-ethnic nation. The local language must stand parallel to the national language and foreign languages. This time, Yowis Ben forced Jakarta to look local from the perspective of the locals themselves. If one day the culture industry is in the local landscape, then that is a good thing. Yowis Ben's agency describes that Jakarta's existence as the center of the cultural industry in Indonesia causes vernacular oppression. Supposedly, Indonesia could create cultural-industrial centers (read: production houses) apart from Jakarta, for example in Atambua, Entikong, Payakumbuh, Ternate, Sampit, and Maluku, you named. With the collaboration from academia, stake, and shareholder, later in Indonesia, various expressions of vernacular culture manifested in the mass media will express locality from the eyes of the local people themselves.

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