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Reaching an Optimal Target: How Prambors Radio Network Uses Content to Connect with Millennials

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Abstract: Broadcast content is considered important, especially for radio network in Indonesia. However, it is often questioned because the media can be influenced and controlled by the owner. In this article, Prambors Radio's broadcast content for Jakartan upper-class millennials is examined from the perspective of critical political economy. The theoretical approach is guided by the notion of "commodification" applied to business communication by Vincent Mosco and by the concept of "exploitation" based upon authors aligned with the critical approach in the field of media studies. Prambors holds a radio network spreading in nine regions with homogeneous and Jakarta-centric content. Prambors Radio, which was established in 1971, is a radio network targeting the widest millennials in Indonesia. Through in-depth interviews and broadcast content analysis, this article finds a distinct segmentation in upper-class millennials to reach all Indonesian millennials to increase the number of advertisers who are interested in buying broadcast time. This shows that the utilization of certain social class group characteristics that are translated into broadcast content is influenced by profit-oriented media owners.

Keywords: Commodification, Exploitation, Indonesian Radio Network, Jakartan Millennials.

Introduction

The establishment of the first networked commercial radio in Indonesia was carried out by Prambors Radio in 2000, followed by other large radio companies. From the data provided by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (*Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia/KPI*), there are 15 radio networks in Indonesia, which are divided into three formats or audience segmentation, namely: six youth radio networks, four adult radio network, and five news radio network formats. The young age group holds the highest number of radio listeners in Indonesia (covering up to 57%), based on 2017 Nielsen Radio Measurement. This listener segment is a potential target of advertisers since they are prospective consumers in the future (<http://www.nielsen.com/id/en/press-room/2016/RADIO-MASIH-MEMILIKI-TEMPAT-DIHATI-PENDENGARNYA.html>), and the majority of advertiser products are intended for this group (Interview with Ade Suryawan, May 8, 2018).

This listener segment, aged 19-39 years old known as millennials or Generation Y, is defined as those who were born between 1980 and 2000 (Gurau, 2013). In this study, which was conducted in 2018, the interval taken into consideration was 1980-2000, focusing on millennial listeners aged between 19 and 39 years old. In addition to the reasons mentioned earlier, millennials are chosen as radio targets through various considerations. The Indonesian millennials are the largest population of productive age in Indonesia, which amounts to 90 million people (<https://www.inews.id/finance/Baca/56521/bappenas-millionaire-in-Indonesia-90-juta-orang-yang-berhasil>). Millennials who are chosen as the targets of Prambors network are more distinctly segmented, seen not only demographically (Dominick, 2009), but also psychographically in terms of lifestyle and consumption behavior (Eastman and Liu, 2012). This very specific radio segmentation is aimed solely to benefit the company (Lim, 2011; 127).

Specifically, Prambors Radio's targets are the upper-class millennials, because they are technology savvy and constant users of the Internet and social media (Tapscott, 2009). Upper-class millennials are those who were living in Jakarta, the state capital of Indonesia. Jakarta city is the center of Indonesian economic where youth's lifestyle, fashion, and hangout places become Indonesian millennial's references. Millennials who live in Jakarta are highly sociable people (*gaul*, in Indonesian). Such a tendency has been associated with Jakartan youth in terms of upward and outward-looking youth in many areas of Indonesia (Ibrihim, 2007; Smith-Hefner, 2007). As mentioned earlier, the Jakartan millennials have become a reference for

millennials in all regions of Indonesia. This is so because during the New Order era mass media played a significant role in the dissemination of social life in Jakarta. Even since the fall of the Soeharto regime in 1998, regional radio stations began to adopt a more Jakarta-oriented format (Manns, 2014) which often sacrificed broadcast content. When Prambors Radio as Jakartan youth radio formed a network radio in other regions in Indonesia, the needs of regional youth for Jakarta's information were fulfilled.

By networking in nine regions in Indonesia, Prambors Radio broadcast a centralized program strategy with homogenization of content. Jakarta-centric program content was produced and delivered from the head office, where all Prambors branches relay ten hours program a day. Prambors Jakarta accommodates the needs and the desire of millennials in nine cities and even other regions through Jakartan upper-class millennials references of needs and desires.

There has been very little research on radio network in Indonesia especially one concerning millennial targets in terms of critical political economy research which is often associated with macro questions about media ownership and control (Gunde, 2017). Critical political economy examines how the environment in which the media operates can function as a facility and barrier (MacGregor, 1997). Political economists have also discussed media and communications specifically in relation to public sphere, public citizenship, and democracy (Wasko, 2014). Media research in Indonesia that has been carried out focuses more on single radio which only broadcasts in one area and the strategy for determining broadcast programs. This article helps reduce the research gap by investigating the extent of broadcast content and target listeners commodified by Prambors network. This article aims to investigate, expose, and open people's minds that these symptoms have occurred and are carried out by a dominant group. Individuals as free human beings have the right to reject dominance over themselves.

Literature Review

The definition of critical communication is related to media analysis in the context of domination, asymmetrical power relations, exploitation, expression, and control (Fuchs, 2009; Winter, 2004). The critic is an epistemological method that shows logical contradictions attached to the object itself. To build a typology of critical media studies, three economic fields are utilized: production, circulation, and consumption. Production process is carried out according to human needs, while the intermediary between production and consumption is described as a circulation. In circulation, money is exchanged by selling commodities, and production is based on the distribution of means of production and labor through capital.

Circulation results in the distribution of money and commodity capital. In the realm of media, media produces content, and content distribution is done by the transmission of technology, and then audiences consume content. Critical media opinion underlies that media is used as a tool to manipulate people, creating false awareness and false needs (Fuchs, 2009).

Studies on Indonesian radio network are very limited, especially in terms of radio network with millennial targets. Previous studies tended to discuss pro-market policies of single commercial broadcast (Sudibyo, 2004; Lim, 2011), language selection in broadcast (Manns, 2014), and selection of media identity (Suryadi, 2005). Research on Indonesian radio network further highlighted media optimization (Maulana, 2013) and the management of radio network as a response to the current dynamics of the media industry (Zarkasi, 2015). Research on U.S. radio network, on the other hand, is more varied, addressing the purpose of network formation (Dunaway, 2014), radio relations and listeners (Saffran, 2011), and the number of radio listeners (Polinsky, 2007).

A radio network is a form of business expansion and media audiences (Dominick, 2009) and a form of efficiency corporate strategy in terms of advertisement. Radio networks are marketed simultaneously to the advertiser. Program content is produced by parent network and is broadcast to branches via radio streaming, using one product for all stations (Rivers et al, 2008). The benefits of networking are: getting good quality programs, using national stars that cannot be provided by local stations, and earning money from national advertisements as part of a network that national advertisers have never considered as part of a local spot (Lane et al, 2009: 376). All of which are considerations of media owners in profit orientation.

The ad price of radio network is higher than a single radio, which is determined based on the ranking or number of listeners at a certain time (De Bonis, 2015: 60). The highest advertising price is placed at prime time (during rush hour in Indonesia, between 06.00-10.00 a.m. and 04.00-08.00 p.m.) during which Indonesian TV celebrities act as DJs to attract listeners and advertisers. TV celebrities are known more widely, especially to listeners in the nine regions of Prambors branches in Indonesia, and they are used as homogeneous DJ programs. Culturally, Indonesia's population is easily influenced by the endorsement of celebrities and public figures (Blair et al, 2003).

The Indonesian radio network is run through joint program marketing and program syndication (Masduki, 2007: 9) which can reduce production cost of programs and human resources (Lane et al, 2009). Efficiency is done by pressing costs as low as possible so that profits can be obtained as much as possible. This capitalist principle related to the political economy of the media highlighted by Vincent Mosco involves the transformation of value to

become a medium of exchange. The contents of the media are commodified to obtain selling power so that owners benefit both politically and economically. In the commodification of media content, there is a process of changing the message into a marketable product. This commodification can occur because of the existence of power relations between the media, the government, and society (Mosco, 2009: 132). Audiences are the main commodities of mass media that are produced and sent to advertisers. Media content is created to attract a number of listeners which is then sold to advertisers. Media owners play an important role in determining the content, and they play a key role in determining dominant principles and ideologies (Herman & Chomsky, 2002). Media owner can intervene in day-to-day management and establish the company's general goals by appointing a manager or staff to implement it (Murdock, 2000: 147).

Prambors radio network chose millennials aged 19-39 years old as their listener segment. Millennials have different values, characteristics, and behavior compared with their previous generations (Eastman and Liu, 2012; Gurau, 2012), and this fact is seen by marketers as having a high level of spending power (Martin and Turley, 2004). Millennials require a different marketing approach. Thus, a clear understanding of this generation's consumption behavior is critical (Gurau, 2012), particularly in relation to characteristics which are highly relevant to their generation. Millennials are described as the first "high-tech generation" (Norum, 2003). They are digital natives (Bess and Bartolini, 2011), enthusiastic about technological advances since they have grown up related to mobile technology since childhood (McMahon and Pospisil, 2005), and these technological advances influence their patterns of consumption (Young and Hinesly, 2012).

Millennials are special, confident, pressured, and achieving (Howe and Strauss, 2003). They are technology savvy, constant users of the Internet and social media (Tapscott, 2009). Millennials are technology enthusiasts which provide a never-ending source of information, entertainment, and ecosystem for their social lives as well as a key method of interacting with their peers (Bess and Bartolini, 2011; Lester, 2011). The literature on millennials has addressed topics such as the growth of media choices (Geraci and Nagy, 2004), American millennials radio listeners (Berger, 2017), and liberal broadcasting system in Indonesia (Masduki, 2007). What these literatures have not yet addressed, however, is the issue of millennials as radio network targets from Vincent Mosco's perspective. Behind the selection of millennial's target, Prambors radio network psychographically focuses only on the upper-class group that is relatively homogeneous in needs and desires in products or services (Smith, 1956), and some

scholars keep this line of research alive (Kaynak and Kara, 2001; Vyncke, 2002; Wolburg and Pokrywczynski, 2001).

Method

To examine the homogenous content of Prambors radio network from a critical political economy perspective, this study employs a qualitative research methodology using in-depth semi-structured interviews with the highest ranking executives from Prambors radio Radio and major advertising agencies in Jakarta. Semi-structured interviews allow flexibility in questions rather than structured interviews, and generate valid responses from informants' perceptions (Burns, 2000; 424). The research is aimed at getting insights to the impact of the selection of certain social class segmentation for the presentation of broadcast content. The essence of using a qualitative approach is that the subjective meanings of participants, actions, and social contexts can be explained well (Fossey et al, 2002: 717).

The study involved eight research participants. Six of the participants were professionals in media companies. Other independent institution informants were important to be included in this study because of their duties as broadcast content supervisors. Other informants were advertising practitioners from the largest advertising agencies in the placement of media advertisements. This research was conducted from May 2017 to November 2018.

Table 1. Research Informants

No	Name	Details
1	Malik Sjafei	Founder / CEO of Prambors radio network
2	Chandra Novriadi	Commissioner of Prambors radio network
3	Tony O'Reagan	Business Consultant for Prambors radio network
4	Imansyah Iwoch	President Director of Prambors radio network
5	Christo Putra	Content Director of Prambors radio network
6	Ade Suryawan	Radio Lead for Mindshare World Indonesia
7	Agung Suprio	Commissioner of Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (<i>KPI</i>) 2016-2019

The central research question to the overall study is: what are the practices of commodification of content and audiences conducted in the management of Prambors radio network network? For the purposes of this article, the following additional question was posed to the participants through an interview guide on broadcast content policy—a selection of radio

segmentation—and broadcast content rules according to 2002 Indonesian Broadcasting Law No. 32. The interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. The validity of the data was obtained through a triangulation technique by interpreting the reduced data. The data were then presented by displaying processed data related to the research questions, including grouping data based on data found. The findings of the study were analyzed thematically (Miles and Huberman, 1994) based on the theory of critical political economy.

Results

Jakartan Millennials as Radio Network Targets

Radio segmentation is very important for the media. Every segment of the audience based on age groups has different media needs and desires. Therefore, radio owners must be particular in their audience target. Radio segmentation based on demography alone is not enough, segmentation choices must be added psychographically based on lifestyle, social class, and personality. Lifestyle determines individual behavior and consuming products and services choices (Vyncke, 2002). Lifestyle also reflects the way individuals spend their time and money expressed in activities, interests, and opinions.

Media targets must be a homogeneous market that has an interest in products and services with similar needs and desires. By selecting a distinct segmentation, it is easier for a radio station to compose a broadcast program suitable for its listener. The radio station will have a strong positioning for advertisers with specific and distinct segmentation. The advertiser's products have specific target consumers so that they can later be aligned with the advertiser's product. Since the mass media purpose is to get more listeners, the media then has more opportunity to get advertisers.

There are a lot more youth radio in Jakarta than other age targets, making competition in this segment relatively tight. It was registered that there are eight millennial segmentation radios in Jakarta. The reason behind the selection of this millennial target is because ads are more available for the millennial group than any other age groups (Interview with Imansyah, March 4, 2018).

Prambors Radio has been built for 48 years and it chose young people as its target. The target listeners are Jakartan millennials (aged between 19-39 years old), who are divided into three social classes (SEC); upper, middle, and lower classes which are measured based on four variables: monthly expenditure, source of drinking water, electric power, and fuel (Nielsen Radio Measurement, 2018). Millennial groups are quite large in Jakarta, so Prambors Radio

needs to be different from its competitors. Prambors Radio specifies its listener group, which is millennial with SEC A or the upper-class in the term used by Nielsen Radio Measurement.

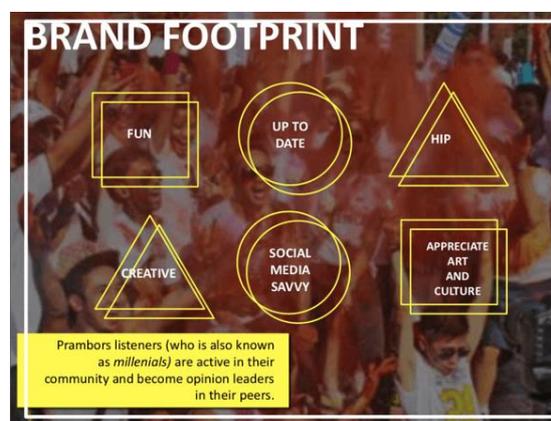
Prambors Radio chose upper-class millennials who are active, mature, opinion leaders, and visionaries (based on Prambors company profile, 2019). According to Flynn et al (1996), opinion leaders are defined as those who have an influence on the decisions of others. Jakartan upper-class millennials become a reference for the creation of Prambors Radio's broadcast content (Interview with Imansyah, March 4, 2018). Millennials are also status conscious, meaning that they are more likely to be affected by the symbolic characteristics of status brand (O'Cass and Fros, 2002). Therefore, the contents of Prambors Radio refer to the Jakartan upper-class millennials needs, making Prambors Radio a reference for Indonesian millennials, which amounts to 90 million or 33% of Indonesia's total population (www.bps.go.id).

Government-owned national televisions have spread social life in Jakarta even up to the fall of the Suharto regime in 1998 (Manns, 2014). Therefore, Jakarta social life has always been a reference for Indonesian people, especially millennials. The symbol of Jakartan upper-class millennials status carried by Prambors Radio is more easily accepted by Indonesian millennials in general.

Prambors Radio has been using Jakartan upper-class millennials as a reference for its network's broadcast content since 2012 when the owner hired a foreign consultant for developing the company's business (Interview with Tony O'Reagan, October 8, 2018). The specifying of this listener segmentation was done to make Prambors Radio stand out from other competitors. Prambors Radio company profile stated that their listeners are fun, creative, up to date, social media savvy, hip, artistic, and cultured upper-class millennials. They are also active in their community and are leaders for their peers. This can be clearly seen in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1.

Prambors Network Millennials Target



Source: Prambors Radio Company Profile, 2019

This listener segment was chosen for several reasons: they are role models, trendsetters for other groups of young people because of their activities, creativity, and achievements, and most importantly, they are leaders who act as decision makers (Interview with Imansyah Iwoch, March 4, 2018). This group is considered the most influential class in society. Their educational background and economic level lead them to have an influence on other people from different social classes. In other words, if Prambors Radio manages to gain their attention, more listeners from various other group of people from other social classes will follow. Pursuing this group of people means that they can influence others coming form different social classes to listen to Prambors Radio. In other words, they are used to lure people from other social classes.

Upper-class millennials absorb technology faster than other social classes, considering that economically they come from wealthy families. They have more skills, education, knowledge, and experience than other people of different social classes. To compensate for the upper-class millennials, Prambors DJs must be fluent in English with good pronunciation. As leading figures of the company, the selected DJs are upper-class millennials so that they can relate easily to listeners coming from the same group of people. They way they talk and the choice of words they use are similar, causing them to be able to create closeness to their listeners (Interview with Imansyah Iwoch, March 4, 2018). These DJs are chosen because of their ability to invite more listeners and spread more influence to their group (Interview with Ade Suryawan, May 8, 2018).

Prambors Radio content consists of information, music, and advertisements. In terms of music, Prambors Radio played 80% of international music. The upper-class millennials are more interested in international music, film, and artists (Interview with Christo Putra, August 3, 2018). This is obtained based on internal surveys and FGDs on this group. The results of this internal survey also show that the Jakartan upper-class millennials regularly go on a vacation abroad and attend concerts by international artists. Attending concerts by international artists has become a trend among this group of people. They even form a community and upload their activities on social media.

To complement the upper-class millennials preferences, Prambors radio produces a quiz program with prizes such as concert tickets by international artists abroad. They all have the opportunity to win these prizes. This was done to embody the desire of Indonesian millennials' who are not as fortunate as the Jakartan upper-class millennials. The quiz was created so that other millennials also have the opportunity to feel equal with their role models.

Prambors Radio Jakarta content was relayed through streaming by eight radio branches and since then other regions in Indonesia can listen to Prambors Radio content program. With high activity and higher economic capacity than other social classes, this group needs radio streaming that can be accessed anytime, anywhere (Interview with Imansyah Iwoch, March 4, 2018).

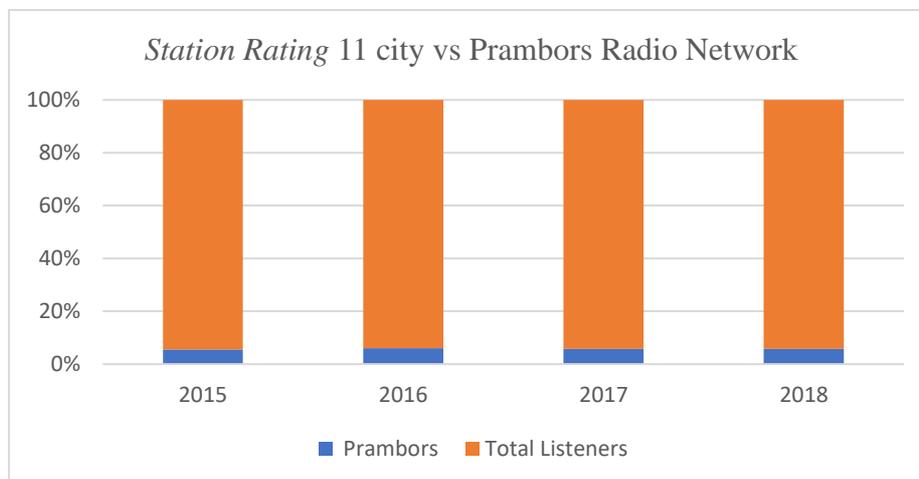
The Jakartan upper-class millennials are actually not much different from other millennials living in other parts of Indonesia. These millennials' bulkhead is more open, so they are easier to coordinate. Although the words and dialects used by Prambors broadcast are very Jakarta-centric, millennials in other cities can still understand them, because millennials are more open to information, and they can easily adapt to something new. The subject of discussion for the Jakarta youth can also be understood by youngsters in Yogyakarta for instance, and most importantly, music is the main thing that unites them (Interview with Chandra Novriadi, May 4, 2018).

Getting these millennials as listeners is Prambors' effort to be able to dominate other groups. Higher economic and social status, higher level of education, more experience, and limitless access to information make this group a key opinion leader. This group is thus admired, adored, and idolized. Whatever they do will be imitated by youngsters from other social classes. If Prambors broadcasts can successfully dominate upper-class millennials listeners, they will most certainly influence other social classes.

This group of people, millennials, has become a potential market for radio business up to today. Prambors Radio has nine branches in major cities, accumulating nearly 10% of the total of Indonesian listeners, as exhibited in Table 2 below:

Table 2.

Comparison of Total Listeners of Prambors Radio in 11 Cities



Source: Nielsen Radio Measurement, 2018

Nielsen Radio Measurement is a survey of radio listening measurements of +8,400 people aged 10 years old and over in 11 cities in Indonesia (Jakarta, Bandung, Jogjakarta, Semarang, Surakarta, Surabaya, Denpasar, Medan, Palembang, Makassar, and Banjarmasin).

Biagi (2013) states that the trend of radio management is narrowcasting segmentation, meaning that the media target is very particular. Therefore, the radio owner has chosen the Jakartan upper-class millennials as its specific targets with the following reasons: they are key opinion leaders, role models, and idols for Indonesian millennials. The Jakartan upper-class millennials have good access to paid information and entertainment abroad including streaming through radios without quota restrictions. Their needs and desires were made as a reference for all Pambors content production.

A series of relationships in the power process are organized among classes that are interconnected so that the media are used by the authorities to dominate society. In terms of message distribution, Vincent Mosco emphasizes that messages are distributed to maintain the group. In this context, transmission of streaming technology is used to distribute program content to be consumed by millennials in the nine cities of Pambors network. The media plays a role to influence public participation through knowledge and experience and its capital strength (Wasko, 2014).

The upper-class millennials are role models and also idols for other social classes so that radio owner use them to maintain the company's existence. Commodification and exploitation are inseparable; they are two sides of the same coin (Mezzadri, 2016). In terms of radio broadcasts, Pambors network exploits the Jakartan upper-class millennials' character to reach Indonesian millennials. Their needs and desires are produced in the program content so listeners can feel and become part of the social group they admire. Listeners are not aware of the false consciousness that has been instilled through the program content, which is actually a form of domination. Therefore, when domination reaches a complete stage, it does not appear as domination. This is often considered by the public as it is and it is not clear what the program content should be.

These exploited upper-class millennials have made the media increasingly dominant and strong in the community. In this case, in accordance with Gramsci's concept of hegemony, the media employs its persuasion power over the upper-class millennials to influence those from lower social classes. Media owners control the entire millennial groups through upper-class intermediaries to perpetuate their domination.

Pambors network has not only dominated millennials but has also practiced monopoly capitalism as stated by Baran and Sweezy (1966). This study finds that Pambors network

dominates millennial segmentation that all listeners numbers sell to the advertiser causing ad commercial prices to increase. Media and communication resources have become commodity products and services sold to buyers or consumers for company profit (Wasko, 2014). The process of commodifying audiences occurs when listeners are sold to advertisers for company benefit. Prambors network becomes a giant company and central to the practice of monopoly capitalism which controls most advertising to maximize long-term company profits. Prambors owner and manager are very important figures in modern capitalism, as they seek to maintain their power. Marx states that all oppressive classes try to justify their moral authority and deliberately hide exploitation system by falsifying and distorting the truth. Today's capitalists, using their professional accomplices (managers), have deliberately given birth to new morality to justify their position in society as rulers.

Profit-Oriented Exploitation of Public Sphere

Economic factor is paramount in media operation as a support system for the media. For radio broadcasting, the only substantial source of revenue is advertising. The advertiser sponsorship is not only a commercial cut but also a large portion of program content. In this context, radio emerges as a consumer-oriented media that reflected advertisers' desire to reach young upper-class listeners (Henderson and Baldasty, 2003).

Prambors Radio formed its network in 2000 up to nine radio stations until 2006. Radio owners form a network to gain more profit than having a single radio. Media corporations have grown and are more profitable by adding the same business line that is integrated horizontally (Wasko, 2005). The company's strategy in developing network radio has not met the owner's expectations at first. In fact, the company experiences a deficit as it assists all branches operational costs (Interview with Malik Sjafei, November 7, 2017). By having nine radios spreading across nine regions, radio owners cannot supervise all branches management directly and continuously. Prambors branches management is completely handed over to the managers and it was not in line with the owners' expectations, considering that the Prambors' manager branches quality and capabilities are not equivalent to the owner's expectancy.

Because there was no significant increase in profits, in 2012 the radio owner hired an international radio business development consultant. With previous work experience in a Jakarta media group, the adaptation and mapping process of Indonesian listeners has grown faster. The first step was to lay off 80% of Prambors branches workers (five employees per branch). Human resources and costs efficiency were carried out, and target audience was sharpened more (Interview with Tony O'Reagan, October 8, 2018). The fragmentation of radio

listeners, driven by the growth of radio, has encouraged new marketing strategies related to the segment. In this context, demographically, the upper-class millennial is the only target that advertisers want most. All content refracts through this economic lens, and thus through rather narrow, upper-class millennials marketing strategy.

By referring to the Jakartan upper-class millennials, the program content was created. The focus is only on prime time span in the morning and afternoon rush hours (according to Nielsen Radio Measurement), when radios reach their highest number of listeners. Radio production division investigates the listeners' activities at 06.00-10.00 a.m. and 04.00-10.00 p.m. because program content is adjusted to their activities in time period. A study of listeners' needs is carried out through an online survey called the "Indonesian Music Survey". The respondents were millennials who were strictly selected by the company research team. Respondents must be in accordance with Prambors Radio listeners' criteria: those in the age group between 19-39 years old and coming from an upper-class society (Interview with Christo Putra, August 3, 2018). For the music, the survey is conducted every two weeks, and the respondents give scores on the given song.

The role of business development consultants is very important in changing the company pattern, especially when it is related to the selection of music and program content. Music is the most important component and the power of radio broadcasts. Since music is used to attract listeners' attention, 80% of international music is chosen in correspondence to the upper-class millennials. There was quite a lot of international music production and this music is quite popular with advertisers (Interview with Imansyah Iwoch, March 4, 2018). Content program was not only tailored according to audience segment, but also according to the majority of advertisers. With a selection of music and program content that are predominantly international, the manager wants to emphasize the difference between Prambors network and other radio stations with similar targets. This strategy was carried out because youth radio with international music format domination was almost nonexistent, as well as high rotation of international hits. This element thus distinguishes Prambors network from other stations.

Prambors Radio owner and manager created a listener's habit through high rotation of playback songs which plays the same song four times a day. International music portion dominates Prambors network, and this is considered a corporate strategy to dominate the upper-class millennials as targets. They favor international songs due to their experience and knowledge of international music that is more dominant than Indonesian music (Interview with Christo Putra, August 3, 2018). This is the main reason for Prambors in choosing international

music to be broadcast in Prambors network, with the hope that this program content can attract as many millennials as possible.

During the broadcast, interaction with radio DJs was made via telephone and social media (Instagram and Twitter). A selection of DJs and program content, especially for prime time span, involves top level management, because prime time is the mainstay of radio rating and sales teams. Homogeneous content produced and broadcast ten hours a day from Prambors Jakarta is relayed by all radio branches through streaming. This means that all branches broadcast the same content as Prambors Jakarta. The Indonesian Broadcasting Law requires 60% of local content from the total broadcast hours as affirmed by *KPI* in 2012. Chapter 25 (68) of the Broadcast Program Standard (*Standar Program Siaran/SPS*) defines the number of content programs on radio network system as follows: “Local content must be produced and broadcast with a duration of at least 60% of the total broadcast hours per day” (Broadcast Program Standard, 2012).

The homogenization of content relayed by all radio branches does not adhere to the Indonesian Broadcasting Law. Local content is defined as local production for local public using local resources (Interview with Agung Suprio, March 18, 2018). The fulfillment of 60% of local content has not been achieved, but it is difficult for *KPI* to deal with violators. The limitations of monitoring tools are the reason for *KPI* in cracking down radio related to the fulfillment of local content. Local issues were not raised in radio network program content so that local public interests decreases.

The choice of media content sources that rely on Prambors Jakarta radio production broadcast program is economically and politically advantageous. This means that Prambors owner desires to control by simply distributing Jakarta's program to all branches through radio streaming. The process of communication and technology contributes to the process of broadcast content commodification (Mosco, 2009: 130). The pattern of broadcasting homogeneous content and distributing it to all Prambors branches is a form of media content commodification. Radio network broadcasts on public sphere solely to increase advertisement, not to meet public interests. The shift to exchange value, in this case the value of the public sphere, turns into merely commercial space for advertising and aims to generate as much profit as possible so that media content is victimized. Program content broadcast is not what the local public needed, and space is exploited to distribute as many advertisements as possible. Herman and Chomsky (1988) state that capitalist characteristics of mass media are: 1.) Profit-orientation, 2.) Advertising, and 3.) Dominant information sources. Profit-orientation is in

accordance with commodity media, while advertising and dominant information sources are ideological roles of the media.

According to Vincent Mosco, media-used streaming technology actually makes the listeners receive the program easier and faster. On that reason, Prambors network dominates all listeners spreading not only in nine broadcast areas but also in other regions without limits. Prambors dominates homogeneous and Jakarta-centric content causing local branches content to be ignored. As an independent institution who should supervise broadcast content, it is difficult for *KPI* to prove the misuse of local content. In that matter, *KPI* cannot proceed with the lawsuit due to their limitations of monitoring devices for verification misconduct. As an independent institution, *KPI*, that represents the public in supervising broadcast content, should stand in line with the public and not act as a government intermediary with radio owners. *KPI* can cooperate, intensify, and build strength with the public to fight capitalist domination in order to create prosperity for the community.

Conclusion

By exploring the case study of the Indonesian radio network and the selection of Jakartan upper-class millennials as distinct characters to be modified as program content, this article has tried to make useful sketches to analyze the practice of Prambors network in commodifying broadcast content and audience segmentation. Contributing to the general theme in this particular problem, this analysis has provided critical media insights within a framework that conceptualizes the formation of classes characterized by interactions between the commodification and exploitation of broadcast content and audiences. This analysis has emphasized how this interaction strongly reproduces the program content for all members of the radio network and targets of the millennial group by referring to Jakarta-Indonesia upper-class millennials who are role models for Indonesian millennials.

This study has revealed that Prambors network has been a critical political issue in Indonesia since it was launched in 2000, especially for choosing certain social class segmentation with homogeneous Jakarta-centric content which was started in 2012. One limitation of the study is the sample case, which were millennial radio segmentation and listeners in nine cities in Indonesia. The study has further noted that the coverage of this significant issue is much more focused on economic aspect. There is no in-depth analysis of radio network policies for the development of radio industry in Indonesia. This idea can be a recommendation for further research.

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