



The Duality of Structure Behind the Practice of Reporting in Perpetuating the Existence of Corporations

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| ARTICLE INFO | ABSTRACT |
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| <p>Keywords: Structural Duality, MNC Group, Mass Media, Multi Mux, Broadcasting Bill, Critical Discourse</p> | <p><i>This research aims to reveal the duality of the structure carried out by MNC Group through Okezone.com in news related to the Broadcasting Bill. The delay in the ratification of the Broadcasting Law No. 32 of 2002 is the background for the dominance of media discourse by MNC Group which fights for a Multi Mux or Hybrid Mux system that is more beneficial to them than the government-supported Single Mux model. This research uses a critical paradigm with a qualitative approach based on Anthony Giddens' structural theory and Teun A. van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. The results of the study show that 12 news articles in Okezone.com throughout 2017–2018 reflect the dominance of MNC Group in building public opinion to support the Multi Mux system. The duality of structures is seen in three dimensions: significance, dominance, and legitimacy, which systematically intervene in the public space. This research highlights that economic-political motives are the main drivers, where the power of the media is used to marginalize the public interest for the benefit of certain groups. This study concludes that the power of the media supported by the socio-political structure has the potential to threaten the balance of information and democracy in the Indonesian broadcasting ecosystem.</i></p> |

INTRODUCTION

The revision of the Broadcasting Law (Broadcasting Bill) No. 32 of 2002 has not been passed due to various discourses, and public discourse related to three options for the implementation of television broadcasting digitalization, including, Single Mux Operator (single management of Mux by the government, represented by Television of the Republic of Indonesia / TVRI), Multi Mux Operator (management of Mux by all Private Broadcasting Institutions), and Hybrid Operator (mixed management of Mux, both by TVRI and Private Broadcasting Institutions). Article 20 of Broadcasting Law 32/2002 explains that Private Broadcasting Institutions (LPS), Radio Broadcasting Services and Television Broadcasting Services can only organize 1 (one) broadcast with 1 (one) broadcast channel on 1 (one) coverage of the broadcast area. This emphasizes that the model for implementing the digitalization of television broadcasting in Indonesia is a Single Mux Operator which is managed solely by the government represented by TVRI. If this is implemented, TVRI has a strategic and central role in the terrestrial digital broadcasting ecosystem in Indonesia.

Herman Herman and Udi Rusadi (2020) in their research entitled Structural Duality behind the Broadcasting Bill explained that the House of Representatives for the 2014-2019 period included the Broadcasting Bill in the 2014-2019 Prolegnas and made it the main discussion program. Until now, the bill is still in the Legislative Body (Baleg) to be harmonized, but until the end of the DPR period, the Baleg has not produced the harmonization in question. Furthermore, the House of Representatives for the 2019-2024 period again included

the bill in the priority program. In its discussion, the Broadcasting Bill experienced many delays, one of which

was due to the discussion of the definition of broadcasting contained in the Problem Inventory List (DIM) to the 40th of 865 list of Broadcasting Bill problem inventory, so that based on the data in the bill, it has not touched the substance of digital broadcasting.

Herman Herman and Udi Rusadi (2020) emphasized that there are at least two reasons why Law 32/2002 must be replaced, the first specifically because the law has not reached the development of rapidly developing technology, including the digital aspect. Second, based on an agreement from the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) that migration to digital ends in 2015, but specifically in Asia, especially Indonesia, it is given time until 2020. In various discussions and studies, Law 32/2002 is considered to have not reached the pace of technological development, so that matters related to the violations it causes are suspected to have an impact on violations of the law and cannot be acted upon. In this position, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) as the responsible institution is the disadvantaged party, especially in terms of authority. In addition, the digital era continues to give rise to new things that are not regulated in Law 32 of 2002 which are still analog based. The discussion of the issue of broadcasting digitalization is a complex and important problem field and must be dealt with certain parties, especially the television industry, and this has always happened in every discussion, especially related to the broadcasting law over the past ten years, so that it has an impact on the consequences of time.

Against the background of these things, efforts are needed by all parties to realize the implementation model of digitalization of Indonesian television broadcasting. The House of Representatives for the 2009-2014 period is known to have formulated the discussion of the Bill on the Migration of Indonesian Television Broadcasting from Analog to Digital. Along with the postponement of the Broadcasting Bill No. 32 of 2002, the Minister of Communication and Information Regulation No. 22/PER/M.Kominfo/11/2011 concerning the Implementation of Terrestrial Digital Television Broadcasting with Unpaid Permanent Receipts (Free to Air) was born which has appointed 33 companies as Multi Mux Operator Institutions by PTUN Decree No. 119/G/2014/PTUN-JKT on March 5, 2015, including mass media companies under the auspices of MNC Group, including: PT. RCTI Satu, PT. RCTI Ten, PT. RCTI Fifteen Aceh, PT. GTV Dua, PT. GTV Tujuh, PT. Global Information Bermutu and other mass media conglomerates in Indonesia.

However, the Indonesian Network Television Association (ATVJI) filed a lawsuit over the appointment of 33 companies as the Multi Mux Operator Institution. The lawsuit of the Indonesian Network Television Association (ATVJI) was granted by the State Administrative Court (PTUN) through Decree No. 119/G/2014/PTUN-JKT on March 5, 2015. The lawsuit canceled the appointment of 33 companies of the Multi Mux Operator Institution as mux managers in Indonesia, including the MNC Group business group through RCTI (Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia) and GTV (Global Television). The cancellation of the appointment of MNC Group's business group through RCTI (Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia) and GTV (Global Television) is also strengthened in various documents, including (a) Supreme Court Decision Number: 119/G/2014/PTUN. JKT; (b) Circular Letter of the Minister of Communication and Informatics of the Republic of Indonesia Number 4 of 205 concerning : Suspension of the Licensing Process for Principle License Holders for the Implementation of Private Broadcasting Television Broadcasting Services Digitally through the terrestrial system; (c) Announcement Letter of the Directorate General of Post and Informatics of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics of the Republic of Indonesia Number: 412/DJPP1.5/PI.03.02/03/2021 re: Selection of the Implementation of Terrestrial Digital Television Broadcast Multiplexing in 2021; (d) Letter of Announcement of the Results of the Administrative Evaluation of the Selection of Private Broadcasting Institutions as Terrestrial Digital Television Broadcast Multiplexing Operators in 2021 Number: 17/Tim-SelectionMux/KOMINFO/4/2021.

MNC Group is fighting and fighting to pass the Multi Mux or Hybrid Mux system in the Indonesian Broadcasting Bill. MNC Group's struggle over the cancellation of the Single Mux Operator model is carried out through mass media reporting activities such as the formation of public opinion, the manipulation of public opinion, the dominance of discourse and various other forms such as contained in Okezone.com mass media companies owned by MNC Group. Therefore, the study of the duality of media structure in this study can be considered from aspects involving the practice of power in planning, managing and implementing public policies through the content of news in the mass media.

Dennis Mcquail (2011) in his book Mass Communication states that the ownership and control of the media ultimately forms the dominant ideology that is broadcast or supported by the media. This study focuses on the critical view that there is a power of capital ownership and power that controls media ideology. Therefore, every content production and any type of mass media must be analyzed more deeply and criticized, because it is very

likely to be related to an ideology based on the power of capital ownership and power. Meanwhile, Mirza Ronda's (2018) perspective on Socio Materialist is to view the mass media and its content as a reflection of the material and political economic conditions of society.

Alex Sobur (2009:31) explained that the media as a form of mass communication has the power in shaping public opinion. Mass media is the most effective means of conveying information to the public, both by individuals, groups, institutions, and government agencies. Through mass media, individuals and groups can build perceptions of other parties. Mass Media As a tool to convey news, judgments, or general descriptions of many things, it has the ability to form public opinion, even become a pressure group on an idea that must be accepted by other parties.

In this study, attention is focused on how the role of Okezone.com editorial board as an institution or institution that is influenced by time, space/place, skills, motivation, knowledge, purpose/purpose, along with its rules and norms (Teun A. van Dijk, 2009) plays its role in power against the non-conformity of government interests, through the news articles it displays, as listed in table 1.1. The Okezone.com media as a structure act as a mediator between the community and the Broadcasting Bill No. 32 of 2002. Like what Teun A. van Dijk (2009) expressed in *Society and Discourse: How Social Contexts influence text and talk* that Social Context Theory emphasizes that the relationship between society and discourse is indirect and mediated by a definition of communicative situations that is socially based but subjective. This research focuses on the study of media discourse produced by social actors, in this case Okezone.com media.

In this case, the discourse of the Broadcasting Bill displayed through media coverage Okezone.com influenced by certain social contexts. Various Okezone.com news related to the Broadcasting Bill No. 32 of 2002 throughout 2017 to 2018 are suspected to contain power discourse and are part of the practice of power in their capacity as social actors. Teun A. van Dijk (2009) explained that although discourse and actions can be observed indirectly, they can be interpreted from the language, news texts and hidden messages associated with social actors, for example in terms of meaning, intention and purpose. The systematic control and intervention of the mass media by capital owners is the same as controlling the public interest. The mass media should be positioned sterile and neutral from the various pressures that affect it in order to carry out the function of its public space ideally. However, in practice it is difficult to implement. Mass media at the practical level are part of business institutions, which make profit their main orientation.

The impression of creating this space can then be played by the mass media which functions as an institution as well as a medium of information circulation for the state and society to discuss public problems. The realization of public space through mass media is realized as an important part that can be used as a basis in upholding democracy and strengthening civil society. Manasvi Maheshwar (2015) in *The Role of Ownership in Creation and Delivery of News Content: Case Study of Two English News Channels* explains that the practice of pressure, power and authority on the mass media comes from the owner of the media organization who has the highest power over the content or content of the media news. Maheshwar explained Altschull's opinion that the content of mass media coverage is directly correlated with the interests of the parties who finance the media. Okezone.com As explained by Dennis Mcquail (2011) that there is a power of capital ownership and power that controls the ideology of the media. Every content production and any type of media must be analyzed more deeply and criticized, because it is very likely to be related to an ideology based on the power of capital ownership and power.

Yoenarsih Nazar, Endah Hari Utari, Joni Arman Hamid, Yana Sofjan and Dewi EkaArini (2019) in *Television Broadcasting Management* explained that the history of Indonesian television cannot be separated from the milestone of Indonesian television broadcasting which began on August 4, 1962, coinciding with the opening of the Asian IV sports festival or Asean Games in Senayan. The broadcast of Television of the Republic of Indonesia (TVRI) has since been present until now and has reached all regions of Indonesia. Indonesian television at that time was considered advanced in the Asian region.

TVRI's broadcasting power that reaches remote areas has made it a mouthpiece for the government to the people. Until 1989, TVRI was still the single source of information for the public, the only source of information. Because of its position, efforts arose for TVRI to be used as a media for power propaganda. Since 1989, TVRI began to get competitors from several private television stations that were born, starting with Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI), then successively Surya Citra Televisi (SCTV) in 1990, Indonesian Education Television (TPI) in 1991 which later changed to MNCTV, Andalas Televisi (ANTV) and Indosiar in 1994 were present to decorate the screen of Indonesian television. Until now, there are 11 private television stations broadcasting nationally in Indonesia including Trans TV, Global TV, Lativi (renamed TV One), Metro TV and TV7 (renamed

Trans 7 TV). After the birth of several private televisions in Indonesia, along with the reform era, the government then opened its policy on press freedom, this created a new atmosphere in the field of print and electronic journalism, including television media.

This era of press freedom was then known as part of Indonesia's progress in implementing Pancasila democracy. The presence of various private television in the Indonesian television ecosystem finally brought a number of problems. Starting from the scarcity of the availability of educated human resources in the field of television, the distribution of intellectual income between televisions, the disclosure of survey results on television programs that can cause jealousy and sharp competition to the problem of the Draft Government Regulation on broadcasting which has the potential to limit many things in the world of broadcasting. This draft Government Regulation on broadcasting in reality is not in line with the Broadcasting Law, which should be managed by the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), but in the end it was cut a lot with too much government authority. This reminds us of the era of the new order which was all binding and did not get freedom from the government. Television as a mass media is finally considered to have a positive or negative impact. The impact caused by television is perceived differently by each person, it depends on how the audience views a program on television. (Yoenarsih Nazar, Endah Hari Utari, Joni Arman Hamid, Yana Sofjan and Dewi Eka Arini, 2019).

Setio Budi HH (2004) in the Indonesian Private Television Industry in the perspective of Political Economy explained that the dominance of TVRI as the government's sole media for thirty years in society began to collapse with the emergence of private televisions. When TVRI dominated broadcasting, the audience and the public were more treated to various productions of entertainment and information programs that referred to the political interests of the rulers. Starting from entertainment events, information to education, practically everything is in the realm of the government's message, interests and interpretation. All TVRI programs have been formatted in such a way that they do not have multiple meanings except as a single attitude of the government. TVRI as an extension of the government finally formed itself as a party that monopolized broadcasts, programs and program content. TVRI makes the audience and viewers a kind of data bank, with their daily lives receiving uniform and unidirectional viewing treats.

Hinca Pandjaitan (1999) in *Memasung Television: The controversy over broadcasting regulations in the New Order era* divides the development of television history in Indonesia through the implementation of the television broadcasting system in Indonesia which is divided into three eras, namely: (1) TVRI Monopoly Era (1962–1971); (2) The TVRI Renewal Era (1971–1997) which consists of three more eras, namely: Phase One Renewal Era (1971–1986), Phase Two Renewal Era (1986–1987), Phase Three Renewal Era (1987–1990) and Phase Four Renewal Era (1990–1997); and (3) TVRI Partnership Era (1997). TVRI's monopoly era lasted until the 1997s. According to Hinca Pandjaitan (1999), the government's political role in regulating various regulations directs and justifies TVRI as the sole holder of audio-visual broadcasting sovereignty (broadcasting monopoly).

TVRI, which originally had the ability to receive revenue from commercial broadcasts (advertisements), was gradually banned by the government from accepting advertisements on the grounds of educating the public to behave non-consumptuously. The broadcasting function was then handed over to the broadcasting area managed by private television (Hinca, 1999). Some of the private television companies that are under the auspices of the MNC Group mass media conglomerate include: PT. RCTI One; PT. RCTI Ten; PT. RCTI Fifteen Aceh; PT. GTV Two; PT. GTV Seven; PT. Global Quality Information is an inseparable part of the history of television development in Indonesia as described above.

The private televisions owned by MNC Group had originally obtained the right as a broadcasting management institution with a Multi Mux system, but on March 5, 2015 the rights were canceled through the Supreme Court Decision Number: 119/G/2014/PTUN. JKT. MNC Group then fought to regain its lost rights through various means, one of which was through the publication of 12 (twelve) news stories displayed by the Okezone.com news portal. The news represents the struggle of the MNC Group's structure for the concept of Digital TV Multi Mux and Hybrid (a mixture of Single Mux and Multi Mux) which is most expected to be implemented by MNC Group. The concept of regulation as explained by Brownen Morgan and Karen Yeung (2007) in *An introduction to law and regulation: Text and Materials* is the basis for the emergence of interaction between the parties involved between the mass media, the government and the public, so that a rule is born as a result of this interaction. Regulations in this context departed from the law, the rules of the House of Representatives so that a new forum emerged which in Anthony Giddens' structural theory is called space and time, then there was an interaction between agents and structures (Giddens, 1979:69-81).

Giddens explained that the debate on the formulation of the concept of digitalization, especially the concept of broadcasting, is called a social phenomenon. In mastering this problem, this social phenomenon must be considered whether the forces of individuals or groups in the discussion of the bill can change the conditions in society. Giddens' structural theory wants to explore whether the strength of individuals or groups in the formulation of the Broadcasting Bill can cause social change.

Based on the process of drafting the bill, the theory of structuring can be understood as social actions that always roll from time to time, anytime and anywhere. Social change and social action can be observed through two major concepts, namely agency and structure. Agencies can take the form of individuals, institutions, while structures consist of regulatory and resource components. The structure in question is a set of rules, norms that have been integrated and embedded in a person. Agents and structures are not seen as separate, but as a unified whole (the concept of duality).

Agents and structures are a duality, so all realities are fused rather than separate. Likewise, in looking at the Broadcasting Bill with all its dynamics, at least a common thread can be found between the agent and the structure, where the Private Broadcasting Institution (LPS) acts as the agent, while the DPR acts as the structure. These parties in Giddens' conception are interrelated and constitute a single unit (duality). The dynamics of the Broadcasting Bill above are the basis for this study, namely how the duality of the structure works behind the Broadcasting Bill, as well as what power is behind the process of formulating the regulation, especially in the House of Representatives for the 2014-2019 period. This perception results in differences of views in terms of regulating the digitalization of television broadcasting in Indonesia.

MNC Group is suspected of having structured the Okezone.com to support its resistance and struggle to pass the Multi Mux or Hybrid Mux system in the Indonesian Broadcasting Bill. MNC Group is suspected of carrying out this struggle as an integral part of its resistance to the cancellation of the Multi Mux broadcasting system which had previously been obtained by MNC Group's subsidiaries, including: PT. RCTI One; PT. RCTI Ten; PT. RCTI Fifteen Aceh; PT. GTV Two; PT. GTV Seven; and PT. Global Quality Information. MNC Group's structuring of news portals has Okezone.com dominated the public sphere by intervening in news that is biased towards the interests of MNC Group, namely the advantages of the Multi Mux system and the Hybrid Mux system. MNC Group's power of attorney is suspected to be behind a number of editorial policies Okezone.com to publish 12 (twelve) news related to the Broadcasting Bill including the concept of Multi Mux and the concept of Hybrid Mux in the Okezone.com mass media throughout 2017 to 2018.

The birth of 12 (twelve) news reports on the Broadcasting Bill related to the concept of Multi Mux and the concept of Hybrid Mux in Okezone.com throughout 2017 to 2018 is proof of the role of interaction between structures, the role of editorial routines and the role of agents who play a role in encouraging the birth of news in Okezone.com. Media workers in Okezone.com don't realize that they actually have the power to delay, withhold, cancel a piece of information into a story. One form of the editorial unconsciousness of the Okezone.com over the power of MNC Group owners is the dominance of discourse that has been carried out by MNC Group through news about the Multi Mux and Hybrid Mux systems in Okezone.com media throughout 2017 to 2018.

The birth of the Okezone.com news in the framework of structure is due to the relationship of power and structure. What is meant by the structure of the MNC Group is a number of regulations and resources in the MNC Group as a mass media corporation. From all the above events, it can be analyzed that the structure of the MNC Group has dominance, power, strength and control over the content of the editorial news Okezone.com. MNC Group has the power to intervene and determine the content of news coverage in Okezone.com mass media. where one of them is news related to the Broadcasting Bill.

This study intends to examine the problem of the duality of the MNC Group's structure over the Okezone.com mass media through the dominance and power over 12 (twelve) news reports related to the concept of Multi Mux and the concept of Hybrid Mux in the Okezone.com mass media throughout 2017 to 2018 as a form of MNC Group's struggle to pass the Multi Mux or Hybrid Mux system in the draft broadcasting law. In relation to the above explanation, the research questions that arise are as follows: 1) What is the form of struggle carried out by MNC Group through structural duality in the process of reporting the Broadcasting Law in the mass media Okezone.com. 2) What is the form of political economy motives behind the struggle carried out by MNC Group through structural duality in the process of reporting the Broadcasting Bill in the Okezone.com mass media?

METHOD

This research uses a critical paradigm mainly for the third reason above, which is to be able to reveal the hidden structures in the text and ideology facilitated by Okezone.com. Neuman & Fawcett (2011) in The Newman System Model explain that critical paradigms have the ability to dismantle myths and empower humans to change society. It is based on the assumption of a multi-layered state of social reality and controlled by hidden structures other than the situation of man trapped by his own mind and illusion.

Pujileksono (2015) revealed several characteristics of the critical paradigm as follows: a) The critical paradigm views a reality critically as the object of research; b) The critical paradigm views a reality that occurs not in accordance with what should take place in society; c) The critical paradigm witnesses inequality, injustice, oppression, marginalization, and marginalization occurring in society; d) Reality is the object of critical paradigm research; e) The existence of reality occurs in the researcher and also outside the researcher; f) The distance between the researcher and the research object is generally very close, the researcher is directly involved with the object being studied; g) Research with a qualitative critical paradigm where the researcher includes his opinion in the research; h) The proposed changes in the critical paradigm are an effort to make improvements in the existing structure in society

This research is subjective because the assessment of reality comes from the researcher himself. In including the results of the assessment in the study, the researcher also considers the opinion of the public in general. Neuman & Fawcett (2011) explain that the purpose of the critical paradigm is to reveal the false consciousness behind something that is judged objective. Research with a critical paradigm aims to obtain findings of social significance such as social criticism, awareness, emancipation empowerment, or social transformation.

Research on the Structural Duality Behind the Power of MNC Group in perpetuating Media Power using Structural Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis on 12 (twelve) news reports of the Draft Law on Broadcasting in the Mass Media Okezone.com the period of 2017 to 2018. What became the ontology of the research was the social practice of structural duality in 12 (twelve) news articles of the Broadcasting Law in the Okezone.com Mass Media. Research epistemology is an effort to explain the duality of structures and agencies that influence each other in social reality. Meanwhile, what is meant by the Axiology of this research is to create a new structure through the significance structure, dominant structure and legitimacy structure carried out by MNC Group in an effort to pass the multi mux or Hybrid Mux system in the broadcasting bill as part of the MNC Group's struggle

One of the research methods used in the critical paradigm is discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is the study of the structure of messages in communication. Discourse analysis is an analysis of various pragmatic functions of language (W Winingsih, 2022). Discourse analysis is born from the awareness that problems in communication are not limited to the use of sentences or parts of sentences, the function of speech, but also include more complex and inherent message structures (W Winingsih, 2022). Discourse analysis cannot be separated from the use of rules of various branches of linguistics, such as semantics, syntax, and so on (W Winingsih, 2022). Discourse analysis is categorized as a group of critical methods because: a) First; the critical school places more emphasis on the philosophical elements of communication; b) Second; The critical school sees social structures as contexts that greatly determine the reality, processes, and dynamics of communication, including mass communication; c) Third, the critical school focuses more on who controls communication (Muhammad Irhandi, 2021). The discourse analysis method used in this study is the Teun A. van Dijk model discourse analysis method. Because it uses a critical perspective, this discourse analysis is called Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Regarding the subject of the study, namely language, which is analyzed by the researcher, according to Titscher, Meyyer, Wodak, & Vetter (2009) the use of language can be ideological. To be sure, texts need to be analyzed to examine their interpretation, acceptance, and social effects. Critical Discourse Analysis or CDA sees itself as politically engaged research with an emancipatory need, attempting to impact social practices and social relations, a guide to the use of nonsexist language or proposals to improve the comprehension of news and legal texts (Titscher, Meyyer, Wodak, & Vetter 2009: 239-240).

Referring to the explanation of the critical paradigm above, the researcher suspects that 12 (twelve) news reports related to the Broadcasting Bill in Okezone.com in the period from 2017 to 2018 are virtual realities that have been formed by historical processes and social, cultural and economic-political forces. The researcher is of the view that the 12 (twelve) news reports related to the Broadcasting Bill in the Okezone.com are the result of the formation of the social, cultural and economic-political forces of the MNC Group. Through a critical paradigm, the researcher intends to dismantle the dominant ideology that hides behind 12 (twelve) news reports related to

the Broadcasting Bill in Okezone.com. The author suspects that these news reports have given an advantage to certain ideologies and marginalized others.

Denzin & Lincoln (2011) in the Handbook of Qualitative Research explained that in the Triangulation technique or method, researchers will use interview, observation, and survey methods. To obtain accurate information about certain information, researchers can combine free interview methods and structured interviews as well as literature studies. Researchers will also use interviews to check the correctness of the data obtained. In addition, researchers will also use different informants to check the accuracy of the information. Through these various perspectives or views, it is hoped that results that are close to the truth will be obtained.

Triangulation at this stage is carried out if the data or information obtained from the subject or research informant is doubtful of its truthfulness. Thus, if the research data such as texts, manuscripts, transcripts, media reports and the like are clear, then triangulation techniques or methods, free interviews or structured interviews are no longer necessary. The type of data collected is qualitative data obtained by the researcher from observations, the results of thoughts which are then transcribed (written) with a narrative. The data comes from documents in the form of news collections of online news portals Okezone.com related to the Broadcasting Bill which are qualitative and will be studied subjectively using Discourse Analysis (Text).

The data sources in this study consist of primary data sources and secondary data sources. The primary data source in this study was obtained from Okezone.com news related to the Broadcasting Bill in the period of 2017 to 2018. Meanwhile, the secondary data in this study was obtained from the results of interviews with 3 (three) informants, including: 2 (two) informants from internal Okezone.com and 1 (one) person from external parties Okezone.com. Qualitative research is carried out under natural conditions and will be a finding. In qualitative research, the main instrument is the researcher himself. J.W. Creswell (Creswell, 1998) in "Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five traditions" explains that at this stage, a researcher will compile a complex picture, examine the words to be written, and provide a detailed report from the perspective of the respondents, as well as conduct studies, scientific studies, and analysis of the situation he is experiencing.

The supporting instrument used in this qualitative research is a literature study, a research instrument in the form of interview guidelines equipped with a voice recorder or a type of Voice Recorder. The answers to the interview guidelines will be recorded by the researcher using a voice recorder, video camera, smartphone video camera, notes, and interview summary.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The practice of duality of the news structure of the Broadcasting Law as a form of struggle of MNC Group

The media is an important channel for finding and disclosing the identity of the media itself, because the public needs identity symbols to be expressed in the public space. Religious symbols, group symbols cannot be separated from the commodification of the media which then develops into a lifestyle. In the online media industry, especially news portals, news portals were born that became an extension of a TV station or a news program with various segmentations that were highlighted according to the needs of the media. According to www.internetworldstaats.com data of about 6.5 billion people in the world in 2008, almost 1.5 billion are already using the internet. Online media readers or audiences continue to grow on the contrary, print media readers continue to decline. Therefore, almost all print media now have a website to develop reader behavior.

In 2000, internet users in a number of Southeast Asian countries reached 5 million people. Indonesia is the country with the largest internet users in Southeast Asia. Internet users in Indonesia itself continue to increase from year to year, as well as the number of internet subscribers in Indonesia increases from year to year. According to the website [www. internetworldstaats.com](http://www.internetworldstaats.com) of the total population of more than 230 million Indonesians in 2008, 25 million people were recorded as internet users. In fact, in 2000 internet users in Indonesia only reached 2 million people. That means there has been an increase of about 900% in just 8 years. Asia Pacific Telecom Research estimates that Indonesia's internet users in 2009 reached 48.7 million and in 2010 as many as 58.60 million.

In Indonesia, a number of media conglomerates also dominate online media; The Kompas Gramedia Group has kompas.co.id; Media Nusantara Citra Group (MNC Group) has Okezone.com, Sindonews.com and Inews.id; The Bakrie group has Vivaco.id and Tvonenews.com. In this study, as shown above, it is stated that to discuss the duality of structure in the content of the Broadcasting Bill, the researcher uses theories and methods to wrap the focus of this research problem.

The researcher used critical discourse analysis from Teun A. van Dijk which was divided into three layers of analysis. The first analysis is text analysis, where 12 (twelve) news articles of the Broadcasting Law are analyzed and studied using 3 dimensions, namely: (1) Macro Analysis; (2) Super structure analysis; (3) Micro Analysis, which was found by Teun A. van Dijk to be insufficient. To see the tendency of the media to be biased, in this case the researcher assumes that there is resistance and struggle from the MNC Group through Okezone.com on the government's attitude, in this case the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia which wants to use the Single Mux model in the Broadcasting Bill, which then the private broadcasting media wants to use the Multi Mux model in the Broadcasting Bill. So to conduct the analysis, the researcher uses 2 advanced analyses of critical discourse analysis, namely: Social Cognition Analysis and Social Context Analysis. Where the analysis is also supported by 3 dimensions sourced from Vincent Mosco's Structural Theory and Anthony Giddens' Adaptive Structuring Theory.

For Social Cognition Analysis, the researcher lowered the measurement dimensions, namely, (1) Significance Structure; (2) Dominance structure; (3) Legitimacy structure. As for Social Context Analysis, the researcher uses dimensions derived from the theory of Adaptive Structuring, namely (1) Agency and Reflectivity; (2) Structural Duality; (3) Social Integration. In the analysis of the text of 12 (twelve) articles on the Broadcasting Bill in the mass media, Okezone.com the researcher found articles that in practice showed a dual attitude in determining the broadcasting model that will be stipulated in the Broadcasting Bill this time.

On the one hand, the House of Representatives, which represents the government, wants the Single Mux model to be enacted, on the grounds that broadcasting control is completely in the hands of the government and parties from the government. On the other hand, the House of Representatives through the Legislation Body (Baleg) approved the use of the Multi Mux model which has the same interests as the interests of private broadcasting institutions where control is completely on the private side so that starting from planning, production and post-production are completely under private control.

This is where the clash and resistance and struggle occurred, because the DPR who wanted the Single Mux model, wanted the presence of the state in every aspect of people's lives, especially those related to the lives of many people, one of which was broadcasting. Because with broadcasting as stated in the Press Law, the media has the functions of information, education, entertainment and social control, so that if there is no state presence there, private broadcasting institutions will have to use their broadcasting facilities for business purposes.

Meanwhile, the government who wants to use the Multi Mux model views that the broadcasting rights owned by Private Broadcasting Institutions (LPS) are part of human rights, namely the right to issue opinions, both oral and written, which are protected by the Constitution, so they support the private broadcasting institution to be bolder and open to creativity without intervention from the government. Okezone.com, who is a representative of MNC Group, saw this opportunity as important even though he had to face with the government who supported the use of the Single Mux model, so that the 12 (twelve) news articles appeared as a clear resistance and struggle from Okezone.com against the government that supports the implementation of the Single Mux model.

However, when all the resistance and struggle for the change in discourse experienced an impasse because each party persisted in its attitude, the House of Representatives representing the government such as representatives of the Legislative Body and the Speaker of the House of Representatives gave input to use the middle way model, namely Hybrid Mux. This is understood by the mass media, especially Okezone.com, as a breakthrough, so it is not surprising that the results of the researcher's analysis of the 12 (twelve) articles found that the proportion of Hybrid Mux news was very large. Hybrid Mux is believed to be able to accommodate all interests, both the business interests of private broadcasting institutions and the presence of the state in realizing public welfare for the fulfillment of healthy and quality information.

For the second analysis, the researcher entered the analysis of social cognition where the structural dimensions mentioned above such as the dimension of the structure of signification, the structure of dominance and the structure of legitimacy were also dissected on the analysis of the text that had been carried out by applying it to the research question where the results of interviews related to the analysis of social cognition both in terms of structure, signification, dominance and legitimacy, it was stated that it was a truth that there was resistance and MNC Group's struggle through the editorial structure Okezone.com in reporting the Broadcasting Bill.

This is known from the results of in-depth interviews with 3 resource persons who are considered worthy of answering these questions, namely; Yadi Hendriana, MNC Group News Director, M Budi Santosa, Editor-in-

Chief of Okezone.com, and Emrus Sihombing, an expert, critic, and observer of mass media communication from Pelita Harapan University.

The results of the interviews with the speakers explained that there was an element of intentionality based on the results of the editorial meeting and the special editorial meeting, where the editor-in-chief Okezone.com included a news agenda related to the use of the Multi Mux model in the Draft Broadcasting Law. This is based on the statements of the speakers who stated that the procedure for determining news is based on a legitimacy structure that states that MNC Group is a media that has a wide network and will have a great impact if the Single Mux model is enforced. The editor-in-chief Okezone.com in the editorial meeting then included the agenda of the Multi Mux model in the news, at least if this is not realized, it is still the Hybrid Mux model as a second alternative that can be a bargaining price that benefits MNC Group.

This was justified by resource person Emrus Sihombing who said that Okezone.com had given signs or keywords that gave legitimacy that digital broadcasting must be able to provide resistance to the government so that the Multi Mux model is used and not the Single Mux model. Even if the target is not achieved, the most likely bargaining level is the use of the Hybrid Mux model.

The third analysis is the analysis of the social context, where this analysis looks at the strengthening of the discourse that develops in society. In order for this analysis to have the right target, the researcher uses the dimensions of adaptive structuring theory, namely: (1) Agency and Reflectivity; (2) Structural Duality and Social Integration. The results of the data display stated above show that the content of the news of the Indonesian Broadcasting Bill in the mass media Okezone.com, does not show any ambiguity displayed, but instead there is a construction of a message about how the practice of structural duality occurs, especially in interpreting business interests and public interests that occur in the MNC Group.

For example, in the first news dated October 23, 2017 with the title Private Television Association asked the House of Representatives to involve the Press Council to discuss the Broadcasting Bill. In the article, it is stated that there is an attempt to force the use of Single Mux by the government. Meanwhile, private TV actors who are members of ATVSI are making efforts to encourage the use of the Multi Mux model in the Broadcasting Bill. This is done through the broadcasting media owned by ATVSI members so that the opinion that is built in the public will exert strong pressure on the government, in this case the DPR.

If the government continues to insist on its opinion, then this is called structural duality as in several studies including the Helle Sjoavaag (2020) study which linked the issue of media ownership can have an impact on news content, journalistic autonomy, freedom of expression, and organizational and professional practices.

According to Helle Sjoavaag (2020) in a journal entitled *Media Ownership and Journalism*, the form of media ownership can affect the content or content of media reporting and journalism practices. Sjoavaag (2020) explained that media owners generally try to influence political developments through the use of media to encourage society in a certain direction in order to achieve the interests of parties who have agendas and interests. He is of the view that the motivation for media ownership generally lies in the potential for financial and political gains.

Jamhur Poti (2019) in *Political Economy, Media and Public Space* explained that the conception of public space or public sphere is the creation of social space between the state and civil society. In it, every citizen can engage in the exchange of ideas and discuss together to discuss public affairs without having to be under the control and intervention of the state or economic forces. The impression of creating this space can then be played by the mass media which functions as an institution as well as a medium of information circulation for the state and society to discuss public problems. The realization of public space through mass media is realized as an important part that can be used as a basis in upholding democracy and strengthening civil society.

Manasvi Maheshwar (2015) in *The Role of Ownership in Creation and Delivery of News Content: Case Study of Two English News Channels* explains that the practice of pressure, power and authority on the mass media comes from the owner of the media organization who has the highest power over the content or content of the media news. Maheshwar explained that the content of mass media reporting is directly correlated with the interests of the parties who finance the media or the owners of the media.

Political Economy Motive The content of the Broadcasting Bill in Okezone.com as a form of struggle for MNC Group

Dennis Mcquail (2011) in *Mass Communication Theory* explains that there is a power of capital ownership and power that controls media ideology. Every content production and any type of media must be analyzed more

deeply and criticized, because it is very likely to be related to an ideology based on the power of capital ownership and power. Helle Sjøvaag (2020) in *Media Ownership and Journalism* emphasizes that media ownership can have an impact on news content intervention, journalistic autonomy, freedom of expression, and organizational and professional practices. Quoting Schlosberg (2016), Helle Sjøvaag explained that media ownership is closely related to various forms of governance related to certain ownership structures. Helle Sjøvaag explained Noam's (2016) concern about media ownership and the form of media ownership can affect the content or content of media coverage and journalism practices. Sjøvaag explained that mass media owners generally try to influence political developments through the use of media to push society in a certain direction, for the benefit of certain parties who have agendas. Sjøvaag added that in order to maintain their power, the owners of the mass media try to become the dominant group and tend to voice their interests and try to get other classes to participate voluntarily or without their knowledge and that is what is called hegemony. According to Sjøvaag, the owners of the Massa media intervene to protect various interests including economic, political and certain ideologies.

Media conglomerates in Indonesia themselves are centered on a handful of people. It is recorded that Trans7 and Trans TV are under the same business umbrella, namely Trans Corp which is controlled by Chairul Tanjung; Global TV, RCTI and MNC TV join the MNC Group owned by Hary Tanoesoedibyo; TV One and ANTV are under the banner of the Bakrie Group owned by Aburizal Bakrie; SCTV and Indosiar are controlled by Emtek Group and owned by Eddy Sariatmadja, and Metro TV is controlled by Surya Paloh. The media owners are the ones who built their business empires and tried to stay close to power. Some of them sit as important people in the government and are important figures in several political parties. It is possible that they build mass media to smooth out their interests in the political field and the spread of certain ideologies, through their media.

By paying attention to the 12 (twelve) news articles of the Broadcasting Bill, it becomes clear how the motive of the duality of the structure is practiced. The first news article gave an overview of the Indonesian Private Television Association asking the House of Representatives to involve the Press Council, as the Press Council was deemed to have known about the dangers of the Single Mux model. This is an emphasis, although if an analysis of the super structure of Teun A. van Dijk is carried out, it can be clearly seen that the news about the DPR's proposal related to the Single Mux model gets a smaller portion when compared to the Press Council's suggestion to use the Multi Mux or Hybrid Mux model which gets a larger portion.

Not to mention the intervention of the editor-in-chief of Okezone.com media at the time of the editorial session which has a high level of formality, so that there is not a single opportunity to change the news after the editorial session is held. Even if there is a desire to change the decision of the Editorial Meeting, it must go through a long process. News intervention can only be carried out through the editorial board, so that the legitimacy of the news becomes even stronger.

The results of the study state that when discussing the structure of Anthony Giddens, there are 3 things that affect him, namely: (1) Agency and Reflectivity; (2) Structural Dualism; (3) Social integration, but because it answers the research problem, only the duality of structure is discussed in this study.

The results of the study explain that structure 1 is the government; and structure 2 is the private sector. In terms of macro and micro social analysis, it is stated that there are parties involved as a structured agency and influence the agendas of the Bill. Likewise, there is a social analysis of the messo, where agencies that are also external structures participate in bridging the news production process, so that it is not limited to the leadership of the MNC Group and the leadership of the Okezone.com who carry out structural duality.

This study also explains the existence of structural duality analysis in which there are (1) Significance; (2) Domination; and (3) Legitimacy which as a whole is the external structure of the agency that also affects the phenomenon of the production of news content. The practical implications that are the answer of this study are the strength of the elements of Allocative Resources and Authority Resources.

Because it is realized that these resources are needed so that the duality of this structure becomes something that has the value of justice towards a welfare, through the receipt of healthy and correct information.

CONCLUSION

This research reveals the duality of the structure that colors the practice of reporting the Broadcasting Bill in Okezone.com, a media owned by MNC Group. This duality reflects the interest of the media to pursue profits through the dominance of discourse as well as its public function as an objective and educational information provider. In this study, it can be seen that MNC Group uses the media to fight for the Multi Mux broadcasting model which is more economically beneficial to them than the Single Mux model which gives greater control to the

government. Through 12 published articles, MNC Group shows the dominance of its discourse in marginalizing the Single Mux system while affirming its position as a media conglomerate.

The economic-political motive is seen strongly, where MNC Group avoids government intervention that is considered threatening their revenue from advertising and broadcasting businesses. This conflict shows a shift in power between the private sector and the government, with the public being the most disadvantaged party. Instead of receiving the informative and educational benefits of the news, audiences simply watch a battle of interests that puts their well-being aside. This research also shows that the duality of structures not only affirms the synergistic relationship between agencies (actors) and structures (systems), but also shows how public interests are degraded in political and economic games controlled by media elites.

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