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**Some Implications Of Television-Exposure
Among Traditional Peasants :
A Case From South Sulawesi Island**

By

Abdul Muis

SOME IMPLICATION OF TELEVISION-EXPOSURE
AMONG TRADITIONAL PEASANTS.

A Case from South Sulawesi island *)

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Abdul Muis.

Since this seminar is about mass media, tradition and change, I am of the opinion that studies dealing with media exposure in traditional or less modern societies will be of great relevance to discuss in this seminar.

The following study I would like to present is concerned with the impact of television on the process of modernization among peasants in the south of the island of Sulawesi, Indonesia. This study was carried out during 1977 - 1981 in 43 villages in that region.

As yet Indonesian peasants, particularly peasants in South Sulawesi island, are still classified as traditional ones. But actually they have been accepting various kinds of new technology or new methods like modern fertilizers, tractors, hybrid plants, new medicines, IUD and so forth. This means that they are in modernization stage.

Essentially, modernization could be defined or conceived of as a process of social transformation involving the entire aspects of human life where application of modern technology and science is one of its most important features (Schjorl, 1980 : 1-4). The life style of peasants or villagers who are experiencing modernization is becoming complex due to the application of new technology to their daily life. In this sense modernization can also be seen as one form of a social change. As modernization process has the nature of a social change then it is always dynamic in that it constantly changes and increases when there is a new influence. This new influence could exist as the members of a social system adopt or apply new technology or new methods. Through adoption or application of new methods the members of a social system are in substance changing their old values which they traditionally should follow 2).

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- 1) Everett M. Rogers, et al (1969 : 48) has defined modernization as the process by which individuals change from a traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced and rapidly changing style of life.
- 2) According to Francis E. Merrill (1950 : 20) social change means that much behaviour is not in accord with traditional values. A dynamic society is thus one in which behaviour changes more rapidly than the values that define it (p.10).

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and off the shore. Usually, physical environment exerts a significant influence upon communication behavior as well as upon livelihood of individuals who live in the environment. The individuals are obliged to adapt to the physical environment or ecosystem unconditionally (R.M. MacIver et al, 1954; Krech et al 1962).

Thus, in wading the road of modernization the peasants in the south of the island of Sulawesi must face both cultural and ecological constraints. In other words, the traditional peasants, on one hand, have been exposed to the mass media which seem to have "a tremendous power" in promoting change given its potential to reach large audience and to transmit information. But on the other hand, this seemingly "hypodermic needle power" should be inevitably confronted with a lot of barriers set by tradition, culture and indigenous communication system as well as physical environments.

This research problem could be simplified in the following model.

OTHER ASPECTS OF TV-EXPOSURE.

Other aspects of TV-exposure of the peasants need also to be studied which can be described in outline as follows :

1. Possible increase of "free communication behavior" coupled with "freedom of criticism". According to the traditional communication system of South Sulawesi communication between ordinary people and those in leading position or in power is usually one-way communication in that there is no

THE OLD VALUES AND TELEVISION EXPOSURE.

Peasants in South Sulawesi have been exposed to television, a mass medium of which is novelty to them --- and the exposure of which only just occurred ---. Thus, it could be assumed that there has been an increase of modernization processes among the peasants in that area, even though they are still labelled as traditional peasants (Mattulada, 1978). It is therefore felt necessary to carry out an empirical research in order to know the role of television in modernization.

Quite often people think that TV has a much greater impact upon cognition change and attitude as well in comparison with the other media of mass communication. This is among other things because TV has the nature of an audio-visual communication medium and at the same time it is able to reach the heterogeneous, almost unlimited audience immediately. TV is almost like a face-to-face communication. Because of immediacy and also having some of the values of the cinema and radio -- and even that of written communication --- TV becomes the most potent vehicle of dissemination of information to the rural people. It can give the illusion of transmitting reality among the peasants who watch it. TV represents analogical code and -- given its analogical code -- creates what is called optical as well as psychological identification for the viewers (see also Wilbur Schramm, 1971 ; Randall P. Harrison et al, 1975; Iqbal 1978 ; Monaco, 1977).

But to be sure, question would remain to raise : How far is TV able to change cognition as well as behaviour of its viewers more than what the other media could do? According to Iqbal (1978) studies have shown that TV has direct impact on audience "Direct impact" could mean that TV has the nature of a "hypodermic needle model of communication" or, at least, one-step flow model of communication. In this connection it may be useful to take into consideration two different postulates. The first postulate is as follows : "It was the pressure of communications that brought about the downfall of traditional societies" (Lucian W. Pye, 1969 : 3). The second one is : "Media influences are subordinated to other social influences". This is also often called "the law of minimal media effect" (Maxwell McCombs et al, 1980 : 16).

The first postulate indicates that the impact of communication media is very powerful in creating modern society. But on the other hand the second postulate shows the limit of media effects on society change. Thus, while TV is likely to assume a powerful role in changing traditional societies it is not likely to escape from the law of minimal media effect.

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"SIRIK". A TYPICAL VALUE SYSTEM IN THE SOUTH OF THE ISLAND OF SULAWESI.

Usually, traditional societies, like the Buginese and Makassarese tribes in South Sulawesi island is still very fervent in keeping their old values. There is a value system typical to those tribes called "sirik", which literally means "shame" or "human dignity". This is often regarded as the "core" of the Buginese and Makassarese culture. Any value of new kind or innovation will be rejected unless it is not in conflict with the "sirik" (Mattulada, 1978). Foreexample, when in 1980, the TVRI (the TV of the Republic of Indonesia) exhibit a circus play where women wore very short pants all the viewers in a remote village in South Sulawesi -- as we happened to observe -- expressed their discontent, because they regarded it as contemptible to the dignity of woman or "shameful". However, in recent times many indications have shown a large number of deviations from the cultural norms of "sirik". This could be readily seen in social relations particularly among young people, even in the villages. Surely, many people have come to a conclusion that this phenomenon has been engendered by the overwhelming mass media exposure accompanied by "world information and entertainment explosion" today.

In relation to the TV exposure among the peasants in that region the present study had tried to discover some events indicating its "effects" on the change of the "sirik" of the rural society.

5 MODERNIZATION INDICATORS.

In order to understand a sophisticated modernization concept one needs a good number of indicators. There are 5 modernization indicators which have been defined for the present study. They are (1) knowledge, (2) cosmopoliteness, (3) aspirations, (4) time consumption and (5) innovativeness.

All of the 5 indicators are often used to distinguish modern peasants from traditional or less modern ones through observation on their level of advancement and their relationship with application of new technology (see also Rogers, 1969 and Inkeles without year of publication by the VOA Forum Lecture). All of the modernization indicators will be using symbols : Y1, Y2, Y3, Y4, Y5.

MODEL.

Most of the peasants in the South of the island of Sulawesi live in two different environments, i.e. on the shore

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freedom for the ordinary people to fairly criticize whatever the leaders say. According to the tradition in social communication in South Sulawesi any criticism should be expressed "symbolically"; any argument should be forwarded "non verbally". Foreexample, if an ordinary man is against the opinion or the will of his village head he should do it simply by silent....He may not even shake his head. If he does it he will be labelled as opposing the tribal custom. This is particularly not allowed in open talk or mass meetings. But media exposure, particularly TV-exposure, may have possibly actualized the potential "freedom of communication and criticism" of the villagers.

2. Widening of knowledge gap as well as socio-economic gap among the peasants and the existence of a new elite group in the villages who are in control of a lot of information and knowledge thanks to their good command of the Indonesian language and foreign terminologies. This information rich will be the earlier purchasers or earlier adopters of new commodities if they are at the same time well-to-do. In short, economic poverty line seems to have been accompanied by information poverty line (N.Katzman, 1975 ; Dahlan, 1980).

3. The increase of the role of opinion leaders as well as the role of village intellectuals or educated persons in social information. TV may lead to the increase of social communication due to the increase of the number of persons in the village who seek further information upon watching TV programmes. This means, that the role of interpersonal channels will increase which in turn may lead to the increase of the role of opinion leaders as well as the role of educated individuals in the village.

4. Possible increase of the use of Indonesian language, or, at least, Indonesian terms and foreign terms too, because TV programmes are broadcast in Indonesian language.

5. Because of the striking role of the optical and psychological identification of television, and also because of its immediacy in reaching the almost unlimited number of audience TV exposure among peasants may also lead to the increase of the uniformity of experience and knowledge of peasants on Indonesia cultural aspects. Furthermore, a similarity of insight on "global culture" between peasants and other group of people in foreign countries may also exist.

6. The involvement of communication models. It is obvious that without the involvement of communication models it will be difficult to find out the impact of TV-exposure among the peasants. In other words, how does the information flow from TV broadcast produce an impact on cognition change as well as attitude change of the peasants? Does it do through one step flow model, hypodermic needle model, two step flow model or other available models?

METHOD.

The present study seeks to examine a proposition of two social phenomena, e.g. the relation of modernization among peasants to TV-exposure. This research therefore could be classified as "testing research", and the method being used is "quasi experiment" (not really experimental), because no pre-test was conducted to the control groups.

The main hypothesis reads as follows : Peasants who have watched TV at a relatively long time have^a higher level of modernization compared with those who never watched TV programmes. Or, this hypothesis could be simplified that modernization among peasants in post-TV era is more advanced than that in pre-TV era.

The sub-hypothesis reads as follows : Peasants on post-TV era have a higher level of knowledge, cosmopolitaness, aspirations, time consumption and innovativeness, compared to those on pre-TV era.

Each of the modernization indicators has been defined and operationalized respectively as follows :

1. Knowledge is the degree to which an individual is acquainted with, or aware of, something new to him including "technical know-how". Knowledge is measured with respondent's knowledge of new goods, names of well-known people in various fields, public figures, or of new methods and so forth.

2. Cosmopolitaness is the degree to which an individual is oriented outside his social system (Rogers, et al, 1969). It is measured with respondent's frequency of talking about events in big cities (Jakarta), and the number of trips to the Capital of South Sulawesi Province (Ujung Pandang) per six months.

3. Aspirations are desired future state of being (Rogers, op cit). It is measured with respondent's statements about what kind of job he wishes for his sons and daughters, and also the level of education he wishes for his children.

4. Time consumption is the degree to which an individual's daily activities increase. It is measured with respondent's time to wake up in the morning as well as time to go to bed. It is also measured by asking respondents at what time they usually come back from their rice fields and plantations. Through observation, it was also tried to know at what time they went down to the sea. Or, whether they have ceased going for fishing. Usually, peasants who serve concurrently as fishermen put to sea in the evening.

5. Innovativeness is the degree to which an individual adopts new ideas relatively sooner than others (compare : Rogers.

op cit). It is measured by asking respondent about utilization of new methods or new practices and when he started to use them. For instance, tractors, new fertilizers, medicines and so forth.

SAMPLING.

The following symbols have been used to represent two kinds of ecosystem or physical environment, e.g. off shore and sea shore, as well as group of respondents, e.g. on pre-TV era and on post-TV era.

A1 = Respondents (peasants) who lived off the sea shore, on pre-TV era.

A2 = Respondents (peasants) who lived near the sea shore on pre-TV era.

B1 = Respondents (peasants) who lived off the sea shore on post-TV era.

B2 = Respondents (peasants) who lived near the sea shore on post-TV era.

A was the control group and B was the experimental one.

A1 consists of 709 respondents and 47 key informants.

A2 consists of 587 respondents and 88 key informants.

B1 consists of 629 respondents and 37 key informants.

B2 consists of 426 respondents and 88 key informants.

The selection of samples was determined randomly except for the key informants. In addition, this research involved 43 villages.

Data collection was held since November 1977 which lasted until June 1981. Observation was also conducted along with "depth interview" with the key informants in order to minimize possible "biases" which could happen in the respondents' responses. Questionnaire was arranged in accord with the operationalization of the 5 modernization indicators. Operationally ✓ this questionnaire coupled with observation was also intended to measure other aspects of TV-exposure as stated above.

THE RESULT OF THE PRESENT STUDY.

The present research indicates that the peasants on post-TV era have a higher characteristic of modernization compared with those on pre-TV era. This difference is acceptable between 1% - 5% reliance (significant).

It appeared, however, that some peasants who never watched TV programmes were more modern than those who had watched TV at a relatively long period of time (in most cases it was between 6 months and one year) and who lived in different environment. Stated in the form of symbol "A1, A2, B1, B2" as previously mentioned then the case will be : "A1" is greater than "B2" in connection with symbol "Y" (modernization). In other words, peasants who lived off the sea shore on pre-TV era were more modern than those who lived near the sea shore on post-TV era.

Apparently this evidence as it turned out is significantly connected with the difference in ecosystem and livelihood of individuals as well as the degree of exposure to other channels of communication such as newspaper, magazine, radio, film (movies) and interpersonal channels. Likewise those cases in terms of the modernization indicators as stated in the form of symbol Y1, Y2, Y3, Y4, Y5. Thus, for example, there were peasants who lived off the sea shore on pre-TV era were more innovative (Y5) rather than those who lived near the sea shore on post-TV era. "A1" is greater than "B2" in terms of Y5. Or, we found that there were peasants who lived off the sea shore on pre-TV era had higher aspirations (Y3) than did those who lived near the sea shore on post-TV era and so on.

Apparently, those differences in modernization as well as in the five indicators of modernization (stated respectively in the form of symbol Y, Y1, Y2, Y3, Y4, Y5) are always connected with the following evidence.

In terms of modernization (Y) it appeared that $A1 > B2$. In other words, peasants who lived off the sea shore on pre-TV era were more modern than those who lived near the sea shore on post-TV era. How does it happen? The key answer lies on the fact that peasants who lived near the sea shore, usually -- as was the case with our respondents -- work concurrently as fishermen. Moreover, they always go to the sea in the evening at which time the Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) is carrying out its broadcasting. So, their absence of viewing TV is the corollary of doing their job for maintaining their life -- struggle for survival. And their "less modern characteristic" is the corollary of having little chance to watch TV programmes. Obviously, the peasant's living is determined by the nature of physical environment, and hence the degree of mass media exposure is significantly influenced by the nature of livelihood.

In addition to that evidence, it turned out, that peasants who lived off the sea shore had more chance to have other media exposure and interpersonal channels compared with those who lived near the sea shore. But concerning radio listening the two group of peasants turned out to be equal. All these evidences were in fact caused by the nature of ecosystem as well as the nature of livelihood of the peasants. Peasants who do not have to go into the sea for fishing have more spare time to read newspaper, to go to movie and to chatter with others than do the fishermen-peasants who stay near the sea shore. But why their shared the same frequency of radio listening? Simply because the fishermen could also

listen to radio -- in most cases only songs and music -- while they are fishing, and their transistor receivers can easily be put everywhere on the "perahu" -- vessel --.

Another example will be relating to Y3 -- the degree of cosmopolitanism -- where again A1 > B2. As is previously mentioned in this paper "A1" is the group of sample (respondents) on pre-TV era who lived far from the sea shore, whereas "B2" represents the sample (respondents) on post-TV era and were dwellers of the sea shore. But why "A1" were more cosmopolitan rather than "B2" although "B2" had been watching TV? It appeared that "A1" had more newspaper-exposure, magazine exposure and had more exposure to interpersonal channels than "B2" did. Surely, question would raise on why this was the case? The answer will be again : Owing to the differences in ecosystem and livelihood.

In fact, still many cases of similar nature are provided by the present research. But for the purpose of discussion taking some examples may be enough.

Further, we found that some fishermen living on post-TV era ("B2") were reluctant to put to the sea when there were pleasant displays on TV, such as boxing, soccer, badminton match or interesting performances (sandiwara -- Indonesia). "Fortunately", many villagers who happen to own TV set only turned on "the magic thing" -- as was often called by some villagers -- when there were such exhibition. Likewise what I would like to call "village head - owned public TV". Due to the lack of electric device in the villages many TV sets were selectively turned on including the "public TV". Besides, many villagers particularly young men, seemed to prefer entertainment to news. And only few people seemed to like watching news programmes on TV. The rest of the villagers seemed to be rather fond of rural programme and "sandiwara" (performance), Indonesian movie, advertisement -- since April 1981 the TVRI has abolished its ads programme -- and urban daily life.

Out of those evidences another conclusion might be drawn, e.g. villagers are most likely to abandon their work when there are crucial programmes on television.

In terms of the other impacts of TV exposure among the peasants as previously outlined in this paper, we found as follows:

In all the villages in the era of post-TV there were peasants who sought to get advices as well as further information from teachers, village heads, extension agents in various fields, university students who were doing practices in the villages, the religious leaders (ulama-ulama desa) and kinship elders upon watching television. But in most of the non-television villages, or villages which were being in the stage of pre-TV era, there were lesser evidences which showed similar activities.

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This means that the role of opinion leaders and village intellectuals will considerably increase when there is television exposure in the village. This also means that TV-exposure -- and apparently media exposure in general -- in rural areas may lead to the widening of knowledge gap among the villagers. While on one hand there were also peasants who did not seek to get further information upon watching TV, many opinion leaders and educated persons, on the other hand, acted as information filters.

It turned out that well-informed villagers who were at the same time well-to-do had acquired large amount of modern goods, more properties of new kind such as TV sets, modern furnitures, expensive cloths, and even motor cars which they naturally could not utilize in rural environment. This further means, that TV-exposure in rural areas may lead to the widening of socio-economic gap among villagers.

It appeared as our findings showed that the effects of TV on peasants had existed both through one-step flow as well as two-step flow model of communication. However, the two step flow hypothesis was the most to accure. The one step flow hypothesis occurred only in very limited evidence in that it dealt most with knowledge change, but much less with attitude change. An interesting question may be raised as to how does the two step flow model of communication work to exert an effect on knowledge and attitude of the peasant? As I have pointed out earlier in this paper, most of the peasants were unable to understand information they watched on TV. This very limited processing ability of the peasants made it difficult for them to utilize valuable information from the TV programmes. As a result, they had to go to educated villagers and opinion leaders for further explanation -- and to ask for their opinion too --.

But we also found that quite often opinion leaders and village intellectuals initiated to pass on certain information from TV to their acquaintances or peers and subsequently influenced their opinion.

An interesting example about such a practice may be needed. In 1981, in a remote village in South Sulawesi, an educated land owner was explaining by choice to several poor peasants -- whose labours had been used "effectively" by him for rice cultivation and livestock breeding -- about a transmigration project in Sumatra. The night before it had been broadcast by TV and many peasants were very interested in

✓ the news. Probably because land allotment and housing for the transmigrants and their family were also displayed. Being afraid of possible influence of the news on his peers, then the opinion leader persuaded them by telling that there were many tigers, olifants and other beasts as well as culprits in the vicinity of the location of the transmigrants -- in the province of Lampung --. He told them that many transmigrants had been killed by the beasts and robbers. The outcome of his tale can be readily known. He managed to persuade his peers. The poor peasants preferred their stay in the village to transmigration.

✓ Thus, the impact of TV on the villagers which involved the two step flow hypothesis was obviously a corollary of the ignorance of the peasants who could not apprehend TV programmes in most cases.

✓ Out^{of} the above noted evidences a significant generalization could be made, that the impact of the media should rest at the initial stages of awareness and knowledge of the audience. The media will exert an influence on the prior stages of awareness and knowledge rather than on attitude of the audience directly. In contrast to the hypodermic needle model or the one step flow model of communication which implies immediate influence on attitude of the audience we found that the impact of TV -- apparently all the media of mass communication -- in most cases dealt firstly with the perception of the audience and consequently arose or stimulated learning process about the messages. Learning here is meant an incidental learning in which the audience seeks further explanation. Upon watching TV the members of the audience need for orientation and frequency of talking with others. So, frequency of talking with others and need for orientation upon watching TV programmes may also mean information digesting or processing. Messages from TV which were considered or perceived to be important by the members of the audience quite often required further elaboration. This need for further elaboration of the news necessitated the members of the audience -- the peasants -- to get in touch with others, friends, teachers, village heads or opinion leaders. In other words, in order that the TV and all the other media of mass communication can exert an impact on attitude of the audience a considerable span of time will be needed. After being apprehended, a message or information may bring about attitude change, or otherwise will be rejected by the members of the audience. We found, however, that in such "a critical situation" the role of opinion leaders and other influential persons in

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the villages were of great significance ³⁾. But in the meantime we found no real evidence about the application of the classical theory of five stages in the process of adoption of innovation.

As far as the previously noted "sirik culture" is concerned, we found that TV exposure has brought about rather significant change. That is there were young villagers who like watching TV programmes which were in fact considered to be against "sirik" or "shameful". However, many young villagers were at the same time raising "feeble" protests.

SOME IMPLICATION.

In many cases as we have found, cultural barriers were still in operation to select information and entertainment from TV programmes. Remarkable endurance of poor peasants and traditional villagers were dominant characteristics in facing what in recent times is called "information and entertainment flood" from film, radio, magazine, TV and video cassette -- the latter has started to get acquainted with villagers in South Sulawesi --. There were traditional villagers, or, often called "the non-adopters"; who had remarkable intransigence on their traditional values.

Nevertheless, the Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) seems to have managed to create a uniformity of experience and horizon on national as well as on "international" value system for the peasants in South Sulawesi. In other words, those peasants seem to have shared notion as well as experience with other people living in separate countries or different places about the Indonesian cultural system as well as the "global culture". Thanks to TV exposure, the villagers in the area have been well-informed of the life-style of other communities in big towns. They also have been well-informed of the world affairs, economic woes, mental deterioration, political quarrels, poverty, miserable nations and life convenience around the world. That is why aspirations, as have previously noted are very high among the peasants who have watched TV programmes. But, being dwellers of an underdeveloped environment they are not likely to follow the life-style and the convenience of foreign industrial countries.

The point here is whether the indirect satellite TV -- SKSD "Palapa" -- which has gone into orbit for approximately 5 years

3) Compare with the theory of agenda-setting function of mass communication along with audience-agenda by Maxwell McCombs et al (1980). This rather new theory seems to ignore the role of opinion leaders or personal influence in the process of mass communication. Instead, it argues, that the impact will occur when media agenda "meets" audience agenda.

in Indonesia has managed to achieve what it formerly intended to. Undoubtedly, there have been changes in rural areas in this country. But what changes have been promoted by this marvelous and very expensive Satellite TV? Certainly, unpredictable impacts -- and perhaps undesirable too -- could not be eliminated all the way. This is because this modern communication technology should get in touch with a heterogeneous, pluralistic cultural system and most of which are very traditional.

We found that the most striking feature of the impact of TV under investigation was the substantial increase of knowledge of the peasants. But, is the wide horizon useful to them? Do they need the information flood derived from TV programmes? Especially, what does it mean to the poor peasants? Does it fit in with their daily needs in minimizing their misery? In most cases, it seems, that most of the information are but advantageous to the elite group or to the highest income brackets in the villages. These people have taken advantage of TV messages -- coupled with other available information channels in the villages -- in such a way that they have become "primary audience" and information rich, have acquired more properties and gimmicks of new kind. Anyhow, TV programmes have a very strong ability to seduce its audience to sample many things it displays, despite the abolishment of ads. It is not surprising when all of our key informants revealed that there were many peasants who had changed their ways of housekeeping, caring for health, and had new furnitures. But, it is also not surprising when they told us, that there were more peasants who did not have anything but their old and obsolete gimmicks, obsolete clothes and slums.

Moreover, in recent times, most of the TVRI's news have been highranking officials, both local and national level. It is preoccupied with broadcasting their daily activities, such as doing opening seremonies of various meeting, visits to the regions, acceptance of foreign visitors, making political speeches and so forth. It also broadcasts big town life as well as the life style of society news -- high society -- in high frequency rather than imparts information which are really needed by the common people and the poor peasants. In short, our TV network system is still urban-oriented and elite-oriented as well. Its primary audience is the elite, and it has resulted in a wider gap between the already-privileged and the masses.

With that network system it is rather difficult to talk about "development support communication" and "information balance" between urban and rural society. What can be achieved

through such a system of TV network -- which is extremely urban-oriented -- is almost nothing else but enhancing the roles of social information networks that are traditionally in fervent control of information flow in the villages. Besides, the common villagers particularly those on poverty line are still out of touch of relevant messages from TV programmes. Admittedly, that the TVRI keeps them in touch with large amount of events, or "widens" their horizon, but they can not make use of "the wide horizon" to achieve better life.

Finally, it could be summarized, that in most instance, this satellite TV of Indonesia still does not touch the sub-conscious mind of the common peasants -- and common people as well -- who constitute the bulk of the nation. So, what could be done -- and should be done -- ? The answer is simple : The Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) should increase and improve its rural broadcasting in the real sense. Viewed from the point of communication theory, the TVRI should make use of the theory of agenda-setting function of mass communication which postulates among other things that media-agenda should be constantly in accord with public or audience-agenda.

This theory -- or, also called model -- is adapted from or modification for the original model of agenda-setting function of mass communication by Maxwell McCombs (op cit). The classical theory of media agenda viz-a-viz audience-agenda implies, in essence, that issues which are regarded to be important by the media will also be regarded as such by the audience, which I think in contrast to reality. According to this theory a televised issue may be regarded as important by the audience if it is featured frequently and prominently, if it takes a relatively large amount of broadcast time, if it is enriched with visual and graphic elements and so on. Thus, according to this theory the agenda setting function of the Televisi Republik Indonesia which broadcast so frequently and prominently high society's daily achievements as well as big cities' life convenience, will be regarded to be important by the peasants living in the remote village in South Sulawesi and most of whom are still poor and illiterates. This is really in contrast to or not endorsed all the way by our empirical finding. What is regarded to be very important message by the communicator does not necessarily mean important for the members of the audience because they may perceive the message differently from what is really intended by the mass communicator. According to Ro-

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✓ rogers (1973 : 292) the audience of mass communication has a tendency to perceive messages selectively. Rogers postulated, that the tendency of the members of the audience to interpret communication messages is always in terms of their existing attitudes and beliefs. And the mass media channels do not have high ability to overcome the selective processes of the audience as interpersonal channels do . We found that the peasants in the villages in South Sulawesi regarded most of the news programmes of the TVRI as beyond their apprehension and their need. It appeared in most cases that they did not understand the news , and were not much interested in them too.

✓ As a matter of fact many of our key informants in May 1981 suggested to carry out educational TV programmes for the peasants and their family members. Besides, they also suggested to increase rural programmes on TV.

✓ In closing of this paper another interesting case may be necessary to present. This is concerning the potential of TV and the other media of mass communication for the actualization of what is previously called "communication freedom" and "criticism" that is potentially implied by the cultural system of South Sulawesi . We found, however, no real evidence that indicated actual change in the traditional communication system among the villagers in South Sulawesi. Except that they dared to express openly disagreement with TV programmes that they considered to be indecent. But it does not in substance change the traditional one-way communication system which deeply embedded in the Buginese-Makassarese culture since time immemorial. Social communication still indicates a model of "from top-down flow" as well as a model of vertical one-way flow of communication. In other words, the communication custom has not changed and less likely to change, or otherwise all the customs should change.

✓ (What is meant by "komunikasi timbal balik" (reciprocal communication) is really none other than a "disguised one-way communication". That is dialogue or argument between opinion leaders or high society and common people is allowed by the traditional system in the sense that the common people ("the communicators at the bottom") should all the way understand messages from "the communicators at the top" for subsequent application. This typical "two-way traffic of communication" calls for the dependence or non-freedom of the receivers at the bottom. In case of necessity, arguments and criticisms should be expressed non-verbally or by using euphemism. This "feudal communication system" in South Sulawesi seems to have been very useful to traditional institutions as well bureaucratic agencies in the area where paternalistic managements constitute the most striking feature in public affairs.

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It seems to me, that while the downfall of traditional societies was brought about by the pressure of communications (as Pye has postulated) mass communication system is not able to bring about the "downfall" of the traditional social communication system. Instead, the mass media are most likely to become a "modern tool" to enhance the values or qualities of the traditional one-way communication system.

Finally, the concept of a development communication as well as a development journalism for Indonesia may be formulated that way, or otherwise the traditional communication system will vanish.

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