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Understanding the Inequality of Center-periphery Information Flow from the Migration of Seven Youths from Bandar Lampung to Jakarta

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ABSTRACT. Media in Jakarta (core) has a socio-cultural influence on Bandar Lampung (periphery). The accumulation of information production in Jakarta creates an unbalanced flow of information in the national information circuit. Mainstream media and converging media continues to create an anti-diverse flow of information. This paper finds that the media play an essential role behind migration and socio-cultural change for youth in Bandar Lampung. The migration of peripheral youth to Jakarta results from media habituation and routine in cultivating the symbol of Jakarta. For peripheral youth, Jakarta is not only a place to find opportunities, but Jakarta is a place for self-actualization, increasing social status, and prestige. While demographers place the problem of job opportunities as the main problem of people's migration in Jakarta, this paper places the accumulation of media hub and the production of information all around Jakarta as the cause of the accumulation of people migrate to Jakarta. In addition, the gap in technology and facilities in Bandar Lampung and Jakarta causes research subjects to legitimize their migration to Jakarta. This paper uses an ethnographic narrative method with data collection techniques in the form of interviews and observations.

KEYWORDS: Jakarta; Bandar Lampung; Core-Periphery; Media; Migration

1. INTRODUCTION

Jakarta people feel happy to see skyscrapers in Jakarta? If you are never in that situation, people other than Jakarta will have a different experience. In their eyes, Jakarta is the capital city, but—at the same time—Jakarta is the center of Indonesia's socio-cultural and economic capital. Jakarta is not only a place to find employment, but Jakarta is a place to actualization, improve social status, and become a place to capitalize on various other opportunities.

Jakarta provides a variety of work that peripherals cannot be obtained. Celebrities, directors, singers, screenwriters, sound technicians, sound engineer, to motivators. Jakarta is an economic center that creates a multiplier effect (Graeber, n.d.). Jakarta provides an ecosystem that supports various artistic activities that are more sophisticated than those in the periphery. In Jakarta, young people have the facilities to empower themselves through arts and non-profit organizations. For example, they were studying at the Jakarta Art Institute (IKJ), becoming an environmental activist at WWF, being an art observer at the Jakarta Arts Council (DKJ), joining the Teater Salihara community (TS), becoming a film critic at CinemaPoetica, working at the production house of MD Entertainment, until becoming a film critic. Freelance writers who—achievements—can easily reach national publishers based in Jakarta. For the periphery, Jakarta gives hope for the lack of land and variety of work in the place of origin. One can achieve new status, class, and ideology in Jakarta.

As the center (core), Jakarta always has the opportunity to dominate the periphery (Wallerstein, 2010). The center-periphery concept describes connectedness; at the same time, it depicts imbalance (Barucca, Tantari, & Lillo, 2016; Hojman & Szeidl, 2008). For example, wealth imbalances, economic dependence, to power imbalances (Csermely, London, Wu, & Uzzi, 2013; Klink, 1990). According to Smith & Steel (1995), the center has the advantages of centrality and synergy. Therefore, the center tends to dominate the periphery.

Peripheral-centre can be problematic terminology. The dichotomization of the two can have multiple interpretations if it is combined with the term urban-rural. The center-periphery concept describes a world system with more power than the periphery. Spatially, the term center-periphery can

have multiple meanings considering that even at the edges, there is a center. Therefore, Galtung (2015) classifies the term center-periphery into four typologies, namely: center-centre (CC), centre-periphery (CP), periphery-center (PC), and periphery-periphery (PP) (p.184).

The Jakarta landscape forces people in Jakarta to become individuals who cannot live a life like in PC or PP. For example, Jakarta selects various people from Indonesia to become employees and students in its city. Universities and offices make standardization of behavior (requirements) such as non-technical skills (soft skills) and technical skills (hard skills). For example, in many offices in Jakarta, English language skills, ability to operate computers and technology, emotional intelligence, academic measurement, and other skills are requirements for members. So, for those from PC and PP, Jakarta represents the center of capitalization of progress, education, and civilization. It is as if Jakarta is a place for the best people with their non-technical and technical abilities.

Jakarta gives an impression of progress through infrastructure (Simone, 2013). According to Lange (2021), Jakarta is "Indonesia in small", Jakarta is a world-city and a world-city. Thus, Jakarta embraces both national and international cultures (Lange, 2021). As a result, Jakarta develops skills and employment sectors that force people to improve their skills. Jakarta naturally selects people to be more sophisticated (advanced) egos.

Technological and economic progress made civilization at the center "as if" more civilized (Flanagan, 1982). Usually, people in the center will refuse to live (back) on the city's outskirts. Socio-culturally, people who live in the center will tend to fulfill personal ego and self-actualization.

Jakarta builds relations with the periphery through the vernacular symbol of Jakarta. Property development by the Agung Sedayu Group, traffic jams on the inner-city toll road, Raffi Ahmad living in Andara, real estate advertisements in Pantai Indah Kapuk (PIK), music concert "Synconizefest," garment product exhibition "Jackcloth" are symbols that stick in people's heads. -people other than Jakarta. In addition, advertisements for international brands such as Zara, Uniqlo, H&M, Hermes, Prada, and Dior, even peripheral youth in Bandar Lampung, cannot be found in shopping centers in their area (Permanadeli, 2014; Stellarosa & Ikhsano, 2015). The symbol of Jakarta—which fills the peripheral information circuit—is present in the peripheral routine so that it becomes a mental process that influences the imagination of modern social life. Jakarta can become a means of social capitalization for youth (Lange, 2021). Thus, youth in Bandar Lampung City grow the image of Jakarta. Media through television, radio, magazines, convergent media is a channel that forms an ideology that is manifested in culture (Featherstone, 1990).

News agencies, media offices, and production houses are piling up in Jakarta. Where it causes inequality in the information circuit in the region (Armando, 2014). Every day, the media-based in Jakarta—portrays Jakarta through texts that Jakartans consume and peripherals. Therefore, the symbols of Jakarta, from luxury housing, street names, events to brands, broadcasts to the periphery every day.

Indonesia is already undergoing decentralization. However, to borrow Armando's (2014) term, the democratization of broadcasting has not yet been implemented. In line with that, the democratization of the flow of information is still far from expectations. In fact, with balanced input, the region will build its potential through its vernacular resources. The center needs to create an economic center, television stations, production houses, and new radios. The regions need to reduce inequality in the flow of information in Jakarta. For the researcher, the media plays an essential role behind youth migration in the periphery, including Bandar Lampung.

Jakarta does not prohibit the migration of people to its cities, but several regulations try to stop the rate of migration of people to Jakarta to reduce congestion. For example, during Governor Basuki Tjahaya Purnama (Ahok), residents who came to Jakarta after going home had to have skills. Migrants cannot become street vendors and people with social welfare problems (PMKS) (Aziza, 2015). The migration of people to Jakarta is a complex problem, but this paper looks at the disparity of discourse in the national information circuit to attract peripherals to come to Jakarta where it can be a concern for the government.

In 2007, Jakarta television broadcast Jakarta's 480th anniversary throughout Indonesia. In 2019, the media office in Jakarta reported on the inauguration of the Rintang Raya Integrated Moda (MRT) through national television and its converged media channels (read: social media) (Manurung, 2019). At the same time, people in Bandar Lampung began to compare birthday events and transportation in the area, which was not as sophisticated as Jakarta. Jakarta creates the imagination of establishment into people's heads at the periphery, including youth in Bandar Lampung City. This paper seeks to understand how peripheral youth construct reality with the Jakarta media's discourses broadcast in their daily lives.

Using the central-peripheral concept as a framework, this paper argues that the migration of peripheral youth results from the habituation and routine of mainstream media and convergent media that live in their daily discourses. This paper aims to provide knowledge that the centrality of information discourse influences the migration of people to Jakarta.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This paper uses a qualitative approach with an ethnonarrative method. Researchers used data collection techniques in the form of online interviews and observations. The researcher uses data triangulation to ensure the credibility of the information. Researchers used analytical techniques in the form of coding ranging from open coding, axial coding, and selective coding (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Haslett, 2012; Wenzel & Babbie, 1994; Williams & Moser, 2019).

Researchers determine the criteria for informants. The informants in this paper are young people who were born in Bandar Lampung City. Most informants decided to go to Jakarta after graduating from high school (Sekolah Tinggi) or after graduating with a bachelor's degree. The youth research criteria were taken based on the informant's age, who was not more than 27 years old. In addition, awareness of interaction with mainstream media to convergent media is a useful informant character in this study. Table 1 shows the relationship of the informants to the mainstream media and the convergent media.

This paper uses purposive sampling. Where researchers get input from other informants to get information (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). To collect data, researchers used online interviews with direct observations. The researcher observes the text and observes the culture contemporary youth in Bandar Lampung, such as places to eat, billboards, and other media texts.

Table 1. Relation to Media and Mainstream Media Discourse and Convergent Media

No.	Informan	Interaksi dengan Media				
		Tahun Lahir	Tahun Interaksi Pertama dengan Media Arus Utama	Umur Ketika Berinteraksi dengan Media Arus Utama	Tahun Interaksi Pertama dengan Media Konvergen	Umur ketika Berinteraksi dengan Media Konvergen
1.	Ambas	1995	2001	6 tahun	2010	15 tahun
2.	Citos	1994	2000	6 tahun	2010	16 tahun
3.	Gancit	1994	2000	6 tahun	2010	16 tahun
4.	Kokas	1994	2000	6 tahun	2010	16 tahun
5.	Moi	1995	2001	6 tahun	2010	15 tahun
6.	Pim	1994	2000	6 tahun	2010	16 tahun
7.	Sency	1995	2001	6 tahun	2010	15 tahun

Source: edited by researcher

After the data was collected through interviews and observations, the researchers conducted an analysis. Data analysis researchers did by first categorizing the information with specific codes (open coding). After the information has been collected, the researcher connects the codes with the same nuance (axial coding). In the end, the researcher compiles writing ideas based on codes that already have a plot (selective coding) (Holton, 2012). From there, the researchers obtained findings that support the significance of this study.

This paper limits the study by using informant criteria to avoid bias. Due to the purposive nature of the sampling, the researcher understands that the research subjects that the researcher chooses come from certain backgrounds and social classes. So, it is very likely that if a study with the same theme is carried out with different criteria for informants, the results and research findings will also be different. The researcher has disguised the informant's name to maintain privacy. The researcher gave seven informants the aliases Ambas, Citos, Gancit, Kokas, Moi, Pim, and Sency. The seven informants met the criteria for youth who had and are currently living in the city of Jakarta.

3. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Once, the researcher heard a lyric at the Universitas Indonesia in a march, "*Universitas Indonesia, Universitas kami, ibu kota negara, pusat ilmu budaya bangsa.*" The lyrics are becoming interesting to the researcher day by day. The word center (*pusat*) becomes interesting for the researcher as a framework for understanding the spread of Jakarta's values and ideologies to the periphery.

When the pandemic came, the researcher returned to the periphery (Bandar Lampung). The pandemic has given the researcher a time to reflect on the socio-cultural conditions in Bandar Lampung. Bandar Lampung is very close to the researcher, but the recent change in trends in this city raises various questions. One night, a friend invited the researcher to eat "Gultik" (*Gulai Tikungan*). In the researcher's understanding, *Gultik* is a night snack in Blok M (South Jakarta). However, the researcher's friend emphasized that *Gultik* is becoming a trend in Bandar Lampung. Along the way, the researcher also saw "Sate Taichan," typical of Senayan (a popular night snack in Senayan, Jakarta). The researcher thinks that the problem of social change does not occur without a cause. For the researcher, the symbol of Jakarta is too specific for the periphery to understand.



Figure 1: Sate Taichan, which is endemic in Bandar Lampung (Researcher Documentation)

Starting from that, the researcher explores and recalls the media map in Jakarta (from the dominance of mainstream media to media convergence). In addition, the researcher tries to understand the trend of media use among youth in Bandar Lampung from time to time. For the researcher, at the beginning of the study, the media played an essential role in the socio-cultural changes of youth in Bandar Lampung. One of them is the trend of youth migration from Bandar Lampung to Jakarta. Based on personal reflection, they are reluctant to return to their hometown.

The migration that Amba, Cito, Gancit, Kokas, Moi, Pim, and Sency did was based on a desire to find work unavailable in Bandar Lampung. Amba said that he dreamed of working at Pertamina, a company he considered very prestigious. Meanwhile, Cito and Pim feel that the job market in Bandar Lampung does not provide a place for their graduates. Even though they did not work according to their degree, now Cito and Pim work in a non-profit organization that deals with the environment. Pim hopes that she can work in a multinational company "class" Pertamina to improve her social status one day.

Meanwhile, Gancit and Kokas migrated to Jakarta because they wanted to explore the world. Gancit works as a State Civil Apparatus at a Ministry in Jakarta. Meanwhile, Kokas works for an international company based in Jakarta. Moi decided to study in Jakarta in 2018; he considered Jakarta to provide a more elegant thinking space than Bandar Lampung. He believes Jakarta to be national so that all the works he does can have a national impact. Sency has just graduated with his master's degree in 2020. In Jakarta he hopes to become a "big man" like his uncle. Currently, Sency works as a personal assistant for his uncle, a former "big man."

Jakarta is the economic and industrial center of Indonesia. Companies such as Pertamina, Gojek, Traveloka, Telkom provide a multiplier impact for thousands of other jobs. Coffee shops, clothing entrepreneurs, pizza delivery men continue to do business, accompanying the economy that continues to spin every second. The Regional Minimum Wage (UMR) in Jakarta is one of the highest in Indonesia. This negates the economic landscape of Bandar Lampung City, a city which is only 250 kilometers from kilometer 0 of the Jakarta Inner Ring Road.

Informants are millennials born in 1994-1995. They grew up with the mainstream media. They build images about Jakarta through various media texts such as television and apparatus in their daily lives. At the periphery, Jakarta meets the daily information circuit through the mainstream media. In addition, the intense power of television in the 2000s forced them to imagine Jakarta in a peripheral socio-cultural landscape. In other words, spatially, they understand Jakarta from a place that is administratively and geographically, not Jakarta.

Saya mengenal Jakarta itu dari Televisi (...) karena dulu saya itu di daerah ya saya mengetahui Jakarta itu dari TV (Citos, informan). TV sih pasti, dulu kan kita TV itu kan powernya gede banget ya dulu (...) Secara, kita cuma punya TV (selain itu) paling radio kali ya. Saya kayanya udah lupa deh kalo sebelum tahun 2000 (Moi, informan).

Schools as Apparatus have a role in creating geographic awareness. In everyday life, informants learn about Jakarta's geographical location, functions, symbols, and opportunities. For example, the book PKN (*Kewarganegaraan*) and Geography (*Geografi*) in Elementary School (SD)-Junior High School (SMP) in the 2000s. The books teach state symbols, the *Istana Merdeka* (Merdeka Palace), *Monas* (National Monument), *Stadion Senayan* (*Gelora Bung Karno's Stadium*), the *Patung Sudirman* (Sudirman Statue), and all national archetypes that indicate Jakarta is the center of culture and also the center of hope for the periphery. For Citos, such things are enough to build a feeling of patriotism, one day he aspires to fly the red and white flag at the *Istana Merdeka "rumah Presiden,"* he said. Citos felt that just imagining it gave him goosebumps. Therefore, in the past, he decided to become a member of Paskibraka (Flag-raising Troops). For Moi, his experience in Jakarta keeps him close to the center. According to Moi's experience, he had met "*orang DPR*" (people from DPR) while attending school in Jakarta. In addition, his close relationship with the lecturers at his campus often led him to get acquainted with people that he could only see on TV before.

Kalo dari kecil ya udah pasti kenal lah ya. Dari media itu pasti Jakarta ibukota. Dari bangku SD udah mulai ngerti kalo Jakarta itu Ibu Kota (Gancit, informan). Jakarta itu tempat rumahnya Presiden (...) Istana Negara (...) Saya ketriger gitu pengen ke Jakarta gitu. Itu alasan saya menjadi Paskibraka gitu kan. Pridenya ada gitu kapan saya bisa ngibarin bendera di sana gitu-kan (Citos, informan).

The diversity (kebinekaan) of broadcasts in mainstream media is minimal, thus reducing their interaction with the regional cultural landscape when migrating to Jakarta. For example, local community radio rarely creates awareness about regional issues. In addition, community radio has adapted to a contemporary culture where there is a shift from community information to entertainment media, such as listening to songs.

Radio bukan tempat untuk cari informasi. Yang didengnerin itu kan kayak isinya itu lagu, kirim kirim salam, karena saya gak memilih yang informatif gitu yang hiburan (...) Kayak misalnya bisa bangga aja kalo (...) apa (...) pesan itu dibacain sama ini (announcernya) nya (...) dia tuh (radio) ada jam-jam tertentu muterin lagu-lagu bahasa Lampung, lagu-lagunya Andi Achmad (Tokoh Politik di Lampung gitu hahaha aaa tapi kalo ngomong pake bahasa Lampung belum pernah denger sih. Kaya di D Radio gitu dia ada kayak segmen dia ada terus ada di setiap pergantian jam ada terus tapi sebentar-sebentar doang buat lucu lucuan. Apa ya itu namanya, Miss In dan Mister Im (Moi, informan).

Kalo dulu radio saya seneng sih waktu SMP, SMA iya (juga). SMP sih dengerin curhatan-curhatan orang. Bioli FM dengerin kisah-kisah. Pantun-pantun seneng saya dulu (Pim, informan).

Today's media ecology makes informants need more effort to obtain regional information. To find information with regional nuances, informants must select and sort information media according to their autonomy. Sometimes, if there is no bombastic news in the area, such as "riots" and "disasters" (which the media tend to inform), informants do not seek information in the increasingly dispersed media ecology.

Instagram and Twitter are the two social media that most informants use in the cultural landscape of Jakarta. Therefore, informants' social media forms an echo-space that increasingly alienates information about the periphery. This has an impact on the loss of regional information. Informants must follow local Instagram or Twitter accounts to find out the latest information. Kokas must monitor the latest news about his area through the family's Whatsapp (WA) group. Also, the news that appears is bombastic news, for example, news of chaos in the Covid-19 vaccination queue.

kecuali, kita follow akun yang benar-bener daerah. Instagram itu Lampung kan akun-akun yang kayak gitu. Ya gak sih kayanya masih mirip mirp media arus utama isinya. Isinya masih soal Jakarta dan sekitarnya (...) harus benar-bener ikutin media lokal gitu @lampuuung (Moi, informan). Sebenarnya (...) kalo mungkin yang bermain (akses) malah di media sosial. Mungkin yang paling banyak itu kayak akun @Lampuuung @lampunggeh (...) itu di Instagram itu cukup (terpenuhi) (...) di situ yang paling update ya paling cepet media sosial Lampung (tapi) masih kurang berita daerah gak maksimal (Pim, informan).

Informants are passive media users. In other words, they will receive what information is displayed on the screen of their smartphone. Informants will only access the news at an exceptional time and if there is a bombastic factor. In addition, the management of regional social media accounts that are less than optimal makes informants feel reluctant to specifically access regional information so that they still feel comfortable accessing information that Jakarta manages professionally. Gancit said that the graphic and display info on accounts created in Jakarta is more eye-catching. Thus, it raises skepticism about the credibility of information in Lampung. According to Kokas, regional news is also sometimes clickbait.

Saya tuh ini follow info-info daerah (...) pokoknya itu ya saya follow lah akun itu dulu di IG. Saya kan follow juga info Depok, info Jakarta juga, info Bekasi juga saya follow, nah dibandingin sama akun-akun yang Jabodetabek itu memang jauh info (akun) daerah ini. Entah adminnya yang gak update (...) tapi kalo ngepost juga ada sesuatu yang kalo dibandingin sama info Jakarta itu bukan sesuatu yang apa ya clickbait ya (Gancit, informan).

For the informants, Jakarta has more sophisticated technology, from Wifi to electric trains (Commuterline). Gancit recounted his experience after being in Jakarta for a long time and returning to Bandar Lampung, where there are still frequent power outages at his house. In addition, the fiber-glass cable network has not yet reached his place, which causes him to be unable to install super-fast internet facilities. This condition makes Gancit reluctant to do WFH (work from home) in Bandar Lampung. Kokas also felt the same experience. He was reluctant if one day the company asked him to work in Lampung. He said that from his experience in Bandar Lampung, there were still frequent power outages.

(...) apalagi udah lama di Jakarta, saya pake wifi ada, sinyal hp kuat-kuat semua gitu kan. Saya kayak kalo selama di Lampung gitu saya pernah mati lampu (...) kalo dari sisi kenyamanan memang jauh sih. Kalo saya disuruh pilih tinggal di lampung atau jakarta saya pilih di jakarta. Karena saya ngerasain infrastrukturnya ada sih di sini (Kokas, informan).

Karena mulai dari sinyal (...) di rumah saya itu aja (di Lampung) belum bisa pasang wifi loh hahaha, karena belum sampe gitu fasilitas Indihomenya belum sampe di komplek saya. Dari situ aja udah susah kan. Jadi, kalo saya ngebayangin di Lampung untuk WFH itu aja udah susah. Sinyal juga susah. Transportasi umum pasti udah beda (Gancit, informan).

Jakarta trains informants to become sophisticated individuals. According to Lange (2021), industrial society forces itself to hone its skills as part of adaptation. Jakarta forces the youth of Bandar Lampung to become individuals who are not quick to emotion (emotional intelligence) (Citos, informant, 2021), independent, accept differences (plural), work fast, and progress quickly. Due to the congested conditions of the city of Jakarta, Jakarta's traffic jams often train Citos and Kokas to become more patient individuals. Because they are far from the people closest to them, Ambas and Kokas feel more independent individuals. Because every day they meet with various identities, Citos and Gancit feel more accepting of differences. Because Pim is faced with people who need agility every day, Pim thinks she can't relax and has to keep moving forward (progressing).

Macet etc. (etcetra) (...) karena diafirmasi oleh orang tua juga, "kok udah beda ya? kok lebih bisa mengontrol diri gitu ya, gak cepet kesulut, marah, (padahal) hal receh aja (dulu bisa marah) gitu (Citos, informan)

Ngekos sendiri buat mandiri, terus mikirin ketemu orang-orang baru gitu kan. Adaptasi-adaptasi lagi. Terus, banyak ya ketemu orang baru (yang) budaya baru. Belajar bisa menerima

perbedaan gitu kan. Pasti pemikiran orang dari mana mana pasti beda-beda. Kemampuan adaptasi dan bertahan (Gancit, informan)

Yang berbeda mungkin dari segi softskill atau hard skill ya. Ini tuh kayanya harus, ya lo harus cepet bertumbuh berprogress, gak bisa gitu aja (...) itu harus lebh cepet, harus beradaptasi hal-hal baru yang bisa dilakukan itu sih (Pim, informan)

Pim sees the contrasting landscape differences between Jakarta and Bandar Lampung in terms of work ethic. According to him, Bandar Lampung is a place to relax. When Pim arrived in Jakarta for the first time (to work), Pim felt troubled by how to work in Jakarta. Although mentally, he feels that he is becoming a better person because that habit makes him adapt faster, allowing him to work more quickly to meet company targets.

Kalo saya ngeliatnya cuma untuk selo di Lampung itu (...) Hal-hal santai dan kreatif gitulah (...) lebih asik di Lampung sih kalo mau kejer kehidupan lebih santai karena kan keluarga di sana santaiiii, bisa nyeruit (prosesi makan khas Lampung) ketemu ibu udah akhirnya males hahaha semuanya enak (...) (Pim, informan)

For Moi, the cityscape of Jakarta taught him about punctuality. In everyday life, in Jakarta, for example, Commuterline departs at a relatively appropriate time. Thus, it trains him to travel according to the plan. The norms and habits that become routines have become “habitus” to borrow Bourdieu's (1991) term.

Jakarta selects people, for informants living in Jakarta are pursuing a career and empowering themselves. In Jakarta, there are a variety of multinational companies to start-up companies (Startup). Each company selects technical capabilities and non-technical capabilities for prospective workers. Academic ability, ability to speak English, ability to operate computer programs, to emotional intelligence. Informants consider it a challenge that will affect their quality as human beings.

Softskill mengenai leadership, manajemen manusia, organisasi, manajemen barang, memperluas networking, pokoknya hal hal yang mendukung sebagai company itu yang saya kejer (Citos, informan). Tapi kalo ada fasilitas yang lebih, mengeluarkan potensinya jadi jauh lebih bisa kan. Nah, kesempatan itu yang coba saya ambil di luar daerah lampung gitu (Gancit, informan).

Jakarta creates the image of an establishment. Tall buildings were the main attraction for some informants when they first arrived in Jakarta. In addition, Gancit said that he was amazed to see workers who wore neat clothes when working on borrowing the term: nice suit. Sency was stunned when he saw the skyscrapers in Jakarta. In the past, he assumed that Jakarta was a place that would provide him with a decent job. When he first went to Jakarta to visit relatives, Sency promised himself that he would conquer Jakarta.

(...) dulu tuh pengen kerja di Jakarta di gedung-gedung tinggi. Skyscarpper, model-model itu doang (waktu) jaman SMA. Cuma, jaman-jaman SMA ya mikirnya kayak gitu ya. Kayanya enak ya kerja di gedung-gedung tinggi gitu-gitu, nice suit, baju bagus, terus apa temennya asik gitu kan dalam bayangan saya (Gancit, informan).

(...) ada gedung gedung (tinggi). Oh ini kok bagus bener gitu kan (...) "enak nih kayanya di sini nyari kerja" 2015 (saya) kan udah pengen (kerja) (...) udah ngerti kan (kerja) "wah kayanya cocok ini" yaudah ke sini aja (Sency, informan).

"wah gede banget nih gedungnya." dulu tuh keren ngeliat gituan (pasalnya) di Lampung gak ada. Saya sih muncul lah mindset-mindset (...) ini kota bagus-lah gitu (pada waktu itu) anak kecil ngeliat gituan-gituan itu kan kayak pengen tinggal di sini (Jakarta) waktu itu saya itu gitulah pemikirannya. Saya excited lah sama Jakarta itu. Saya melihat Jakarta itu sebagai kota (...) itu harus orang yang berpendidikan yg survive, (tapi) banyak copetnya juga hahaha, dulu berpikir gitu hahaha (Kokas, informan)

Jakarta provides hope for increasing economic, career, and social status. The lack of job opportunities in the periphery, the image of Jakarta's success, and the presence of multinational companies as symbols of the establishment made Ambas and Pim want to become Pertamina's employees. For Pim, working in Pertamina and Jakarta (whatever her status) can improve the family's economy, but social status is more important to her.

Yang saya harapkan itu dulu kerja di Perusahaan multi-nasional kayak Pertamina. Saya sih hh hmmm lebih mikir ke status sosial sih (...) lebih ke prestis lebih pengen ke pembuktian gitu. Jadi saya selama ini gaji gak terlalu gede, ya gaji standar oke lah, agak di atas UMR (Upah Minimum Regional), cuma lebih ke prestis sih status sosial (Pim, informan).

After migrating to Jakarta, the informant had a different experience dealing with people in Jakarta than people in Bandar Lampung. For Pim, the people of Jakarta are very competitive. He saw the impression that Jakartans were all professional and fast-paced. Although, he considers that, at the same time, the people of Jakarta are also individualists. Citos feels that he has a more tolerant and pluralistic attitude. Citos is "Chinese," (Citos, informant) but in his job—which requires meeting many people—he never feels discriminated against. He considered Jakartans to be more manner because, according to him, people in Jakarta are more educated. After all, education is more accessible.

(...) di sini relatif semuanya ingin serba cepet sih, kehidupan masing-masing individualis kayanya di Jakarta ini mungkin karena kota metropolitan ya, namanya kota kan (...) ya professional gitu, semuanya serba cepet bersaing (Pim, informan).

Jadi ketemu berbagai sifat, gesture, dari beberapa daerah punya keunikan masing-masing. Kalo di Jakarta ini menurut saya lebih welcome. Saya kan bekerja sebagai, apa sih namanya, NGO gitu kan, rata-rata orang (menurut saya) Jakarta itu lebih welcome sama kita (...) gak skeptis lah (...) wajah saya kan mirip Cina hahaha gitu kan tapi mereka (orang Jakarta) tetep baik kok, dari yang jilbab sampe (ber) jenggot sekalipun. Tidak ada yang beda (sikapnya) bahkan (tidak ada) menyakiti hati saya sekalipun (orang Jakarta) punya kekhasan dan stylenya masing-masing gitu. Tapi kalo masalah manner menurut saya pribadi Jakarta itu lebih bermanner secara kepribadian. Karena orang Jakarta ini tingkat pendidikan lebih tinggi dibandingkan dengan daerah (Citos, informan).

Periphery and low quality of education, made the informants feel that Jakarta is a better place to develop themselves and become a better person. Gancit feels that the quality of education in Bandar Lampung is still far from Java and especially Jakarta. He assessed that the quality of education in State Universities (PTN) and Private Universities (PTS) is still far below the standard. According to Moi, since he was about to graduate from high school, he had never planned to study in Bandar Lampung.

Yang pasti, pendidikannya ini ya, kalo dalam perspektif saya gitu, ya gak bisa dipungkiri juga sorry to say gitu, kampus-kampus di Lampung gitu baik PTN maupun PTS nya masih di bawah Pulau Jawa. Dulu juga pilihan saya memang keluar dari Lampung. Kalaupun dulu gak diterima di kampus sekarang, kampus UI gitu ya, kayanya saya bakal tetep pilih PTS di luar Lampung deh kemaren (Gancit, informan).

gak pengen kuliah di Lampung dari lulus SMA juga. Terus, saya itu punya kebebasan yang terbatas dari orang tua (...) Jadi, boleh kuliah di luar Lampung tapi batesnya itu Jawa Barat. Jadi ya, berarti kan cuma bisa apply di UI di Unpad. Yaudah, yang lainnya kayanya gak pas (...) jadi itu sih alasannya pilih di UI (Moi, informan).

For Gancit, he views facilities as a pre-condition so that he can become a better person. He considered that with good facilities, he could develop his abilities much better. For him, the only way to get that opportunity was to get out of Lampung.

When returning to the area of origin, the informant felt a different comparison of behavior between Jakarta and Bandar Lampung. Gancit and Kokas felt that their close relatives did not compete,

so they were reluctant to come to Jakarta. In addition, Moi thinks that there is a stark difference between queuing in Jakarta and Bandar Lampung. He considered that the people of Jakarta were more discipline.

kalo di Jakarta ini termasuk ini kondisi sekarang ya, itu tuh lebih jelas lebih pasti gitu untuk hal-hal yang misalnya antrian lebih tertib gitu, ketimbang di Lampung, terus soal vaksin antrian di toilet misalnya itu lebih berbudaya. Terus, mmmmm transportasi kayanya (Moi, informan).

4. CONCLUSION

I will call this part as reflection. The media perpetuates the symbol of Jakarta in the heads of seven peripheral youths of Bandar Lampung who migrated to Jakarta. They grew up with the mainstream media. Every day the mainstream media perpetuates symbols and ideas about Jakarta. When media ecology changes, the information circuit reaching the periphery does little to influence the ideals of information diversity (broadcast democratization). Socially, it affects the way peripheral youth see the world. Peripheral youth not only make Jakarta a place to find work, but more than that, Jakarta provides a place for self-actualization, increasing social status and prestige. The attachment of peripheral youth in Jakarta creates new ideas and perspectives in viewing the cultural landscape in the periphery, where they were born. They see a civilization that is anti-sophisticated compared to Jakarta's cultural landscape, which is supported by differences in infrastructure and media quality in Jakarta.

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