Abstract – A campaign called #TumpukDiTengah Movement is an encouragement for people to stack their plates and cutleries after they have done eating their meals. It went viral when Ceritera, a storytelling agency based in Jakarta, posted a video entitled Memperkenalkan “Gerakan Tumpuk Di Tengah” on their YouTube channel, Ceriteranya, on November 10, 2017. The video was shared through social media platforms such as YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter; The methodology used in this research are literature review, video analysis, and an in-depth interview. This research seeks answers on how #TumpukDiTengah Movement campaign was created, distributed, and accepted by the audience discussed by using the framework of Circuit of Culture. Interestingly, this research found the campaign was initiated and promoted by the creative director himself, Edward Suhadi as he was taught by his mother to do so. Edward Suhadi and team aimed to influence and change the public's behavior by one simple act. The video itself was distributed through several platforms mentioned before, accepted by the audience in three different responses: preferred readings audience, negotiated readings audience, and oppositional readings audience. The gap of this research is there is no research about #TumpukDiTengah Movement using Circuit of Culture framework was found and few people relate the theory with campaign process.

Keywords: #TumpukDiTengah, audience theory, campaign, circuit of culture

INTRODUCTION

Ceritera is a Creative Storytelling Agency based in Jakarta, Indonesia. Edward Suhadi, Creative Director at the agency initiated a campaign called #TumpukDiTengah Movement. November 10, 2017, through its YouTube channel, Ceritera Storytelling Agency posted a 2 minutes video entitled Memperkenalkan #TumpukDiTengah. Ceritera explicitly encourages people to be useful and helpful by doing one simple act—stacking plates and cutleries after done finishing meals to help the waiter and waitress with their job. They would like to encourage Indonesian to change their behaviour after done eating and give a contribution to society by doing simple activity because Indonesian tend to leave their tables untidy in restaurants.

Currently, there are no studies related to #TumpukDiTengah Movement and its correlation with Circuit of Culture. Furthermore, this movement is a controversy among Indonesian. After the video went viral, opposing ideas came to the surface. Some social networking services users commented that it is not necessary to do so because the waiter and waitress are being paid for it. Some agree, have started doing the movement, and share to their social networking services to show support and agreement. Limitation of this research is that writers analyse reactions only from three social networking services (SNS) users which are: YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter.

This research aims to find out how #TumpukDiTengah Movement campaign was created, distributed, and accepted by audience based on Circuit of Culture framework. In this paper, the Circuit of Culture framework explains about five moments which are: regulations, production, identity, representation, and consumption. Moreover, the research found there are three different reactions on how audience accept the message: preferred readings, negotiated readings, and oppositional readings.
The first section of this paper presents a theoretical framework and analyses from books, journals and articles continued by the methodology of research. The next part is the result and discussion. Lastly, this research ends with a conclusion.

Campaign, Audience, And Circuit Of Culture

Campaign
To begin with, besides humanity as one of the campaign purposes, #TumpukDiTengah Movement is an encouragement related to environmental health, especially after people have done consuming their food. There are several theories used to support this research, such as Campaign theory, Audience theory, and Circuit of Culture theory.

Devito (2015) in his book states our way to communicate has been changed since the existence of social media. People used to communicate in traditional forms such as face-to-face interactions and letters. As technology developed, people communicate by using telephone, television, radio, newspaper, magazines and today, it is the era of social networking services. The existence of social media brings impact and changes to all forms of communication. Television and radio are being replaced by YouTube, the news is being reported on Twitter, promoting events or companies are conducted on Instagram and Facebook, spreading campaign is as simple as clicking likes and share button. Ardha (2014) on his paper states Barack Obama campaign in 2008 was perceived as the first campaign that used social networking services and had a wide impact. According to APJII (AsosiasiPenyelenggaraJasaInternetIndonesia), Indonesia social networking services users in 2012 were 63 million users, 24.23 percent from this country's population (Ardha, 2014). This shows spreading information through social networking services has been used by many parties with various interests.

A campaign is planned actions aim to achieve particular goals. In this new media era, as mentioned before, the way of campaigning and spreading campaign has developed. People used to spread their campaign through television, newspaper, and radio, back then. Today, the most effective way is through the internet, specifically, social media. The result can be seen immediately as well through numbers of positive and negative comments, numbers of likes and shares from social media users. Bishop et al. (2012) did research on the usage of the internet campaign to raise public awareness of Language Learning Impairments. Aiming to reach three categories of audiences, in 2012 they launched a YouTube channel. In order to achieve their goals, they planned to upload a short film once a month. As the result, they were amazed by the power of the internet on spreading information and reaching a huge number of audience.

An audience is a group of people targeted to receive particular messages. Michael & Jane (2012) explain three categories of an audience, which are: preferred readings, oppositional readings, and negotiated readings. Preferred readings are audience whom fully accept messages without questioning the messages and criticizing. Messages are being adsorbed and applied. The audience are categorized as oppositional readings if they completely oppose and against messages sent. Their opposition is being expressed. Lastly, negotiated readings refer to the audience who accept messages partially and/or questioning or opposing messages partially.

Circuit of Culture
Leve (2012) in her paper presented in AARE APERA International Conference, Sydney, states Members of the British Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies created The Circuit of Culture as a structured mechanism to analyze culture. Williams (1961, 1981) and Hall (1980) as cited in Curtin & Gaither (2007) state the process of meanings being produced, distributed, consumed, and being reproduced and renegotiated endlessly is the definition of culture. As an example, women campaign. Nowadays there are many campaigns aim to promote women rights and justice for women. Women, today, are having the same occupation, doing the same jobs, as what men do. Perception related to women were being renegotiated by society because back then, women did not have the chance to explore their talent and passion. In 1997, the theory was developed to Culture, Media, and Identities series by Sage & Open University (Leve, 2012).

Representation, production, consumption, identity, and regulation are five points consisted in the process of Circuit of Culture and there are meanings on each point (Curtin & Gaither, 2005). Scherer & Jackson (2008) state this theory focuses on each point along with its correlated moments between them. They state moments resulted have the opportunity and are possible to be analysed deeply and
critically. Du Gay et al. (1997, as cited in Curtin & Gaither, 2005), states in complex ways, those five points often overlap and interlace with one another. The phenomenon is called articulations. When articulations happen, meanings are renegotiated. The idea of articulations makes the model moves from its classic-cultural approaches to be able to recognize and adjust with the situation.

METHOD

The data used for this research was collected by doing literature studies, video analysis, and an in-depth interview. To understand people and their behavior, an in-depth interview is a right method (Fontana and Frey, 2005, as cited in Tirumala, 2009). Tirumala (2009) states this method is excellent in digging and investigating information. Writers did an interview with Billy Yuriko, Sales and Marketing Director of Ceritera Creative Storytelling Agency who was also involved directly in the video making process. Writers analyse audience reactions on three social networking services which are: YouTube, Instagram, and Twitter.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This section explains the result and discusses based on Circuit of Culture framework. The Circuit of Culture is known by its five moments which are: regulation, production, representation, identity, and consumption.

Regulation

Both formal and informal rules that affect a situation is known as regulation. Regulation talks about rules, laws, guidelines, agreements and how they affect and control the situation. According to Government Regulations of The Republic of Indonesia Number 66 the Year 2014 about Environmental Health Chapter 1 Article 1 Number 4, healthcare is an attempt to prevent the decrease of environmental media quality and attempt to increase environmental media quality. Moreover, Government Regulations of The Republic of Indonesia Number 66 Year 2014 about Environmental Health Chapter 1 Article 1 Number 10 states Communication, Information, and Education which abbreviated to CIE is several activities aim to change the behaviour in maintaining and increasing community hygiene and sanitation with empowerment, participation, activation, and approach adjusted to community culture.

Reflecting on the current situation based on the writer's observation and interview result, Indonesian tend to ignore the act of healthcare and activities that maintain and increase community hygiene, as we refer to the law mentioned. Most people in Indonesia leave their tables in the restaurant or public area after they finish their meals untidily. Litters such as tissues and plastic straws are everywhere and they do not even bother to clean their own table they have used, at least, picking up litters. Billy Yuriko on the interview mentioned this behaviour is what they aim to change by campaigning #TumpukDiTengah Movement.

Production

Curtin and Gaither (2005, p.96, as cited in Panol and Sison, 2002) state meanings linked to products, services, experience, public relations messages which crafted for the targeted audience is defined as production. In this case, the product is a video entitled Memperkenalkan #TumpukDiTengah, 2-minute video posted by Ceriteranya, Ceritera Storytelling Agency YouTube account, which went viral and triggered society’s reactions. Based on the interview, Edward Suhadi and team's reason in creating the video is to give a contribution to the public in form of spreading movement that could encourage and change public's behaviour. The idea of #TumpukDiTengah Movement is originally Edward Suhadi’s. In his childhood, he was taught by his mother to clean plates and cutleries after finishing a meal. Later, he applied this behaviour at his office. Today, all employees in the office where he is working are doing the same habit. The video making process involved all members of Ceritera Story Telling Agency. Edward Suhadi himself took part as the creative director on this project.

Several videos created by the audience was found on YouTube as responses towards Memperkenalkan #TumpukDiTengah video uploaded by Ceriteranya. When you type Tumpuk di Tengah on YouTube search engine, there are 13 total videos found uploaded by other YouTube account, original video not included. Thus, this reaction is related to the moment of consumption: when and how
Before #TumpukDiTengah hashtag went viral because of its video, the idea was first published on Edward Suhadi’s personal Twitter account @edwardsuhadi. He initiated the movement by posting pictures and telling people to stack their plates and cutleries. After seeing positive responses from his followers, he spread the movement through Facebook and YouTube by uploading video his team created. The team went through several steps in creating the video. First, they did brainstorming and analysing people’s consuming behaviour. Then, the creative team did the scriptwriting, turning ideas into scripts. Working with the production team, they determined the visuals. Next, the execution was done by the team guided by Edward Suhardi as the creative director. Production steps continued by distributing the video through social media (Youtube, Instagram, and Twitter) and cooperate with social media influencers who have the same vision to promote the campaign.

**Representation**

Memperkenalkan #TumpukDiTengah video explicitly represents an encouragement movement of people stacking their plates and cutleries after done having their meals. The video explicitly tells stories and contains several frames of people doing #TumpukDiTengah act. Shown below are the descriptions of video subtitle and scene details, related to what they represent.

- **(0:15)** "Hi everyone, we always dream to be useful and helpful, lighten up people in our surroundings' burden. Isn't it?"
  
  This opening line explicitly communicates the aim of this act, which is to be useful and helpful to others.

- **(0:26)** "We have a simple idea that hopefully could be a good behavior and be helpful for people around us."
  
  The next line explains that the action is simple and hopefully could bring big impact.

- **(0:38)** "This is how it works: Every time after you have done finishing your meals in restaurants, we ask you to stack your plates and cutleries in the middle of the table. That's all. It's easy, isn't it?"
  
  The scene shows five people stack their plates and cutleries in the middle of the table after they have done eating in a cafe. The next sentences supported by visuals explain about how the action can be done, by doing #TumpukDiTengah or stacking plates and cutleries in the middle of the table.

- **(0:51)** "You might be questioning, "Why would we?" The only reason is through a simple act from us as customers, we can help the waiter or waitress who has served us."
  
  The scene shows a family after done eating in a restaurant, stacking their plates and cutleries in the middle of the table, followed by a scene of three people as co-workers done eating in a food truck, yet they also do the same action. These lines and scenes are an encouragement for the audience to follow the movement as some people have done it as examples.

- **(1:03)** "Service could be done faster and more efficient because the table will be cleaned by waiter or waitress easily."
  
  Scene showing waiter and waitress clean up the tables easier. The next line and scene explain the purpose of doing #TumpukDiTengah Movement, has been proven that it helps waiter and waitress with their job.

- **(1:10)** "Working in the service industry is not easy. A job with so many interactions with many kinds of customers could be so tiring, physically and emotionally. By doing #TumpukDiTengah Movement, plus a smile and saying 'thank you', waiter or waitress would feel that they are appreciated and empathy."
  
  Scene showing waiter and waitress with happy faces. This part explains the reason why this movement has a big impact on people.

- **(1:29)** "An easy act could be done anywhere and everywhere, have a powerful impact for others. Want to try?"
  
  The last line is an encouragement line yet a challenge audience to start doing #TumpukDiTengah Movement.

The whole Memperkenalkan #TumpukDiTengah video represents the movement itself, an idea initiated by Edward Suhani. Every scene has its own purpose such as opening scene, purposes of the
campaign, how to do the campaign, impacts of the campaign, and why should people do the movement. The video is supported by great visuals, background music, and it sends a clear message.

Identity

Production and consumption process blended with socially developed forms such as class, gender, ethnicity, and others create identity (Panol and Sison, 2012). Identity discusses shared ideas and shared symbols in a culture. #TumpukDiTengahMovement proposes the main idea which is to give a contribution to society with one simple and small act. From writer's own observation, Indonesian tend to leave their tables without cleaning them after done eating meals in a public area or restaurant. Ceritera team aims to change society's consuming perception and behaviour. By creating a video and sharing the idea, they hope it would encourage people to stack their plates and cutleries in the middle of the table.

Based on writer’s observation when writer went to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia for holiday on May 2018, most of the restaurants and food courts in Malaysia is applying this behaviour which is cleaning our own tables. One of the places is Malaysian Food Street food courts located at Sky Avenue Mall, Genting Highlands. Consumers are obligated to clean up plates and their own cutleries, then carry and place them at the disposal area provided by the food courts.

Another restaurants that are applying this method is McDonald’s. McDonald's is a fast food restaurant founded by RacKroy in 1955. He bought the restaurant from Maurice (Mac) and Richard McDonald in San Bernardino, California. Six years later in 1961, he bought the right of McDonald's Corporation name. First McDonald's restaurant in Indonesia was opened in 1991, located in Sarinah, Jakarta. In every McDonald's store in Indonesia, customers can find the disposal box. Usually next to the table where the sauce and straws are placed. There are also signs of throwing the rubbish to the disposal box and place the tray in the upper side of the box. Based on observation and opinion, writers conclude that customers are supposed to clean their own table, throw their own rubbish to the box and put trays on their places. However, in Indonesia, customers are not doing it. People tend to leave their tables uncleansed, untidy, leaving their rubbish behind and let the waiter or waitress clean it for them. Only few people realize and clean their own table. It shows Indonesian post-consuming behaviour. Indonesia consumers leave their plates behind because they perceive it is part of waiter and waitress job to clean them up, that waiter and waitress got paid for it. This is supported by statements from consumers stating that

• "Cleaning up the table and tidying plates up is part of waiter's and waitress' job. It may sound rude but if every consumer cleans up their own table, it means they have less job. People say "waiter's and waitress’ job is not only cleaning up tables so we could help", thus, if they have less job, they deserve less payment as well." (Consumer 1).
• "I believe tidying plates up is waiter's and waitess' job because if we eat in a restaurant we do not only pay for the food and the service too. Therefore there is a service charge charged to consumers. One of the reasons my family and I eat at the restaurant is because we avoid to clean things up.” (Consumer 2).
• “You pay service charge definitely for a reason.” (Consumer 3).
• “Depends on the restaurant. If it is a self-service restaurant then we must clean plates up by ourselves. If it is not, then why would we?” (Consumer 4).

These statements are made without any intention to generalize Indonesian post-consuming behaviour.

Consumption

As responses toward uploaded video, audience reacted with three different reactions that writers can categorize them into preferred readings audienceoppositional readingsaudience, and negotiated readingsaudience. Firstly, preferred readings audience accept the audience who accept messages sent without any further questions and critiques. Some social media users who agree with this movement clicked share button without any questions or commented agreement without any additional contra points. On this research, there are preferred readings audience who agree to join the movement and do it. If we search for “#TumpukDiTengah” on Instagram, up to 29 August 2018, there are 3481 posts and 115 posts with “#TumpukDiTengahChallenge” hashtag. These posts are posted by preferred readings
audience. They agree with this movement, apply it when they are eating in restaurants, and share it to their Instagram as a symbol to support.

Secondly, the oppositional readings audience. There are also oppositional readings audience, in this case, the audience completely against the campaign. They refuse to do the movement because they argue that the waiter and waitress have been paid to do their job. Moreover, there are audience whom while eating they do not produce litter such as tissue or straws, they eat tidily and keep their tables clean. Therefore, in their opinion, they do not need to stack their plates and cutleries to tidy up their tables.

Lastly, negotiated readings audience. Negotiated readings is a theory which described audience only accept some meanings from the messages presented to them. In this case, some audience is negotiating between messages sent and their beliefs. They believe that the waiter and waitress are being paid for their job but it does not cost them anything to help them too. This type of audience are people who agree with this movement, not against it, but never do it because it is not necessary for them to do so. In this type of audience, there are also people whom sometimes do the movement and sometimes do not. They do not do it continuously, only when they think they need to, and want to.

CONCLUSION

The Circuit of Culture contains five moments that are related to one another. Regulation in Indonesia that is related to #TumpukDiTengah movement are Government Regulations of The Republic of Indonesia Number 66 the Year 2014 about Environmental Health Chapter 1 Article 1 Number 4 and Government Regulations of The Republic of Indonesia Number 66 the Year 2014 about Environmental Health Chapter 1 Article 1 Number 10 about community and environmental hygiene. On the production moment, Ceritera team created Memperkenalkan #TumpukDiTengah video and uploaded it on YouTube to reach a wide number of audience. They are turning Edward Suhadi, the creative director's idea into campaign movement. This video represents the culture of stacking our own plates and cutleries in the middle of the table to make waiter and waitress easier in finishing one of their jobs. Identity moment explains the culture of Indonesian after consuming meals that Ceritera team aims to change, which people are leaving their tables dirty and untidy. If we do this one simple act, we can help the waiter and waitress to finish their job easier because people say it costs nothing to help. There are three different types of audience explained at the moment of consumption. They are preferred readings audience who agree fully and apply this movement, oppositional readings audience who are against the movement, and negotiated readings audience who are negotiating with the new information they get from the movement and their own beliefs, between doing the movement or not. Limitations of this research is writers only analyse audience reactions on three social networking services which are Youtube, Instagram, and Twitter.

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