

INDONESIA'S DEMOCRACY IN MEDIA PRIVATIZED AND LIBERALIZED

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia's Democracy in Media Privatized and Liberalized. Democracy and Media look like a coin that each other are linked. These cannot be separated because the democracy needs the freedom of media and vice versa. If the media freedom exists, the democracy can be implemented successfully. Therefore, it is not surprising referred as the fourth pillar of democracy. Furthermore, Indonesia's media ever got fully control by Suharto's regime. Suharto who led nearly 32 years was very powerful to take control any spread information by media. Therefore, when Suharto stepped down, everything is change. Media got a moment to re-build their freedom and re-utilize the media function. For instance, media can publish any government policy, criticize it and also articulate the society's voices. Because of liberalization, most of the media are owned by industries, tycoons and parties. So, can media still freedom and can media express the society's voice? Odes the media not rely on their owners' interest? This paper examines that media position and media freedom in Indonesia when the privatization and liberalization media happen in Indonesia. This paper suggests that in some cases media can still articulate the civil society's opinion. On the other hand, they are difficult to deal with their owners' need. This paper also concludes how to minimize conflict of interest between media and their owners' concern. Besides, this paper elaborates how the media communities can be a solution when the mainstream media co-opted by its owners. Clearly, this paper suggests how to preserve Indonesian media still exist as the fourth pillar of democracy.

Keywords: *liberalization of media, democracy, media ownership.*

INTRODUCTION

When the Suharto regime fell, political and economic power in Indonesia was changed, the first map of the political and economic power from only around of the Suharto family to other parties, including the economic map of the mass media ownership

For example, Harry Tanoesodibyo who took a control the shares of mass media industries that were once owned by Suharto's family, such as, RCTI, TPI, and Global TV. His company, called Bhakti Investama, also penetrated into the daily print media to publish *Regarding Indonesia* (Agus Sudibyo., 2004: 21-23) In addition to Bhakti Investama group, also appeared

the PARA group's Chairul who holds a majority stake in Trans TV and Trans 7, and the Mugi Rekso Abadi (MRA) which has the property Adiguna Soetowo 5 magazines and 9 radio stations (AJI Report, 2004:21).

Incumbent's media industry, also showed expansion of media ownership, data from the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) in the annual report at the end of 2004 showed that the media industry suggests that rapid business development, with the following data:

Table 1
Media Industry in Indonesia 1995, 1998, 2002, 2004

No	Media Group	Owner	1995	1998	2002	2004
1	Jawa Post	Dahlan Iskan	20 N 8 M	22 N 8 M	84 N 23 M	81 N 23 M 1 TV
2	Kompas Gramedia Group	Jakob Oetama	8 N 17 M 1 R 4 P	8 N 14 M/T 1 STR 5 P	14 N 35 M/T 6 P 1 R 1 TV	14 N 32 M/T 6 P 1 TV 1 TR
3	Media Indonesia Group	Surya Paloh	8 N 3 M	4 N	4 N 1 TV	4 N 1 TV
4	Femina Group	Pia Alisjahbana	5 M	5 M	6 M	12 M

(AJI: 2004)

Note:

N : Newspaper, *M* : Magazine, *T* : Tabloid, *P* : Publishing,

R: Radio Station, *TV*: TV Station

According to AJI, It is interesting to know some of the data below how the distribution of ownership of various media in Indonesia until 2010.

Television

In Indonesia according to the Law, No 32 Year 2002 about broadcasting law, television divided into four categories: 1. Public television which is a television is more intended for broadcast to public education. 2. A private television company founded by television commercial (private) in commercial television is allowed to display the contents of a commercial nature. 3. . Community television is a television that serves a particular region or a particular community, and 4. Subscription television, subscription television is where the television viewer is required to pay to the company subscribed television.

Table 2: Television

Free Broadcast Television	National	ANTV, Global TV, Indosiar, Metro TV, MNC TV, RCTI, SCTV, Trans TV, Trans 7, TVOne dan TVRI
	Local	Bali TV, JTV, JakTV, Riau TV dan sebagainya
	Content Provider	Kompas TV, Tempo TV, SINDOTV, Spacetown, JPMC, City TV Network, B-Channel, Top TV Network
Pay Television	Cable	First Media, IM2Pay TV, TelkomVision
	Satellite	Aora TV, Centrin TV, Indovision, Okevision, Skynindo, Telkomvision, Top TV, Yes TV
	Terrestrial	M2V Mobile TV, Nexmedia
	Internet Protocol	Groovia TV

(Eriyanto:2011)

According Eriyanto (2011) market share for television, currently in Indonesia dominated by 10 commercial television stations are: Global TV, IVM, quiz, MNC TV, Metro TV, RCTI, SCTV, Trans TV, TV One, and Trans 7. Moreover, the 10 television sets, dominated by four major media groups, only the Metro TV which does not join, the four network television ownership.

Table 3: Television Ownership

Television Group	Television Networking
Media Nusantara Cipta (MNC)	3 (RCTI, TPI, Global TV)
Kelompok Bakrie (Visi Media Asia)	2 (ANTV-TV One)
Kelompok PARA	2 (Trans TV-TV7)
Emtek	2 (SCTV, Indosiar Visual Mandiri)

(Eriyanto:2011)

Newspaper

In Indonesia after the Suharto regime, there were several major printed-media. In 2010, The Union of the newspaper publisher (SPS) counted that the printed-media in Indonesia reached 1076 pieces. It was included 349 pieces daily newspapers, Weekly newspaper as many as 240 pieces, tabloid 188 pieces, 294 magazine pieces and Bulletin 5 pieces. The numbers of copies printed according to the SPS (2010) was 21.5 million copies, for more details can be seen in the following table:

Table 4: Newspaper 2006-2010

Year	Daily Newspaper	Weekly Newspaper	Tabloid	Magazine	Bulletin	Total	Growth
2006	251	235	142	258	3	889	-
2007	269	247	167	297	3	983	10,6

2008	290	224	173	318	3	1008	2,5
2009	302	232	177	322	3	1036	2,8
2010	349	240	188	294	5	1076	3,9

(Eriyanto:2011)

It is clear that the printed-media in Indonesia is so huge. However, there are only few printed-media in Indonesia that have financially healthy. As a result, it cannot print on a regular basis. Since the time of Suharto has appeared in the print media conglomerates, such as Kompas Group, The Jawa Post Group, Bisnis Indonesia, and so on, for more details can be seen in the following table:

Table 5 : Newspaper Owner

Newspaper Group	Total
Kompas Gramedia (KKG)	81
Jawa Pos	122
Femina	11
Bali Post	7
Mugi Rekso Abadi (MRA)	8
PinPoint	14
Pikiran Rakyat	8
Sari	4
Bisnis Indonesia	7
Suara Merdeka	5
Pos Kota	3
Media Indoonesia	2
Subentra Cipta Media	4
Info Kelapa Gading	3
Gatra	3
Tempo Inti Media	3
Kedaulatan Rakyat	4
Mahaka Media	4
Media Nusantara Cipta (MNC)	3
Total	296 buah

(Eriyanto:2011)

Radio

In Indonesia, according to sources from the National Association of Private Broadcasting Radio Indonesia (PRSSNI) in 2010, there were 1368 radio stations in Indonesia, as many as 1305 radio stations are private. The phenomenon of the rise of radio is quite similar to the rise of Television and Newspaper. Only a few conglomerates also have a growing tendency, can be seen in the following table:

Table 6: Radio Ownership

Group Radio Network	Ownership Radio Network
Mugi Rekso Abadi (MRA)	10
Rajawali Media Group-Surabaya	3
Gajahmada Group	3
Rajawali Group-Lampung	4
Pentas Group	4
Mersi Group	4
Kartika Group	3
Masima Media Investama	14
Cipta Pariwara Prima (CPP) Radionet	40
Suzana Radionet	12
Arbes Network	9
Smart FM Network	6
Mayangkara Radionet	5
Ramako Group	5
Rajawali Citra Mandiri (RCM) Radio Network	9

Volare Group (Kalimantan Barat)	14
Bens Group	9
Nirwana Group	9
El Victor Group	2
Group Trijaya / Media Nusantara Citra (MNC)	6
Lita Sari Group	3
Bonsita Group	24
Kidung Indah Selaras Suara (KISS) Group	6
Kardopa Group	8
Alnaro Group	4
Smart FM Group	6
Total	222 buah

(Eriyanto:2011)

MEDIA CONGLOMERATION

From the map of the mass media ownership shows that the media conglomerate has holdings in the national media, and an area of broadcast media across Indonesia. This fact indicates the condition of contemporary mass media in Indonesia have not changed much. If at first the broadcast media industry in the design to support the new order regime, then post the new order emerging phenomenon of concentration of ownership of the media industry, media industry is an inevitable thing in the media business, the current media business in Indonesia looks increasingly focused on the consolidation and convergence of media, the phenomenon is concentrated media industry is an end stage of a cycle of evolution on modern industrial organization.

There are significant problem facing such as stiff competition, and the narrowing

of the market, so companies are required to have a competitive advantage. This happens not only in the media business, but also all businesses. The company also plans to address this by way of uniting ourselves (synergy), in the case media in Indonesia can be seen from the unification of Trans TV with a TV 7.

The consolidation of process led to the concentration of resources and a control unit of production by a large company. Concentration is the result of three separate processes, but mutually supportive: integration, diversification, and internationalization (Golding and Murdock, 1997:4). Golding and Murdock further, (1997:4) describes that there are three activities relating to the industry integration. The first process of integration can be run vertically and horizontally. The horizontal integration occurs when a business group acquired additional units within the same production level, while vertical integration occurs when a business group expanded its production stages different. Both this integration is through by common mechanisms, which are mergers and take-over.

Secondly, diversification occurs when a firm to expand to other business, such as media companies venturing into other business areas. For instance, Kompas Garmedia group (KKG) is the most expansive media company in the conduct of business diversification. The company is engaged in expansion media and carried out in the field hospitality with the presence of Hotel Santika. In addition, the Jawa Post Group that is the most media companies does business diversification. They do

business that not related with the media business such as electrical power industry. It builds a plant to supply electricity in East Java (AJI Report, 2004:24).

Thirdly, the internationalization, that occurs when the domestic enterprises to open up to foreign investment flows, in the globalization of the economy era, the capital flows can be in and out easily. It makes many companies make use of these funds to increase the flow of capital. The companies understand their limited domestic capital for expansion of a media industry, for example according to Sudiby (2004:55) to establish a Global TV requires a capital of the USD 500 billions, TV One were founded with less initial capital of the Rp 300 billion, while Metro TV and TV7 require an initial capital of the Rp 200 billion to start their business. With such a large fee as above, then the question arises to whom the role of mass media?

COMMERCIAL MEDIA HEGEMONY

The role of mass media in social life is important. Although, there are some debate about that, there is no denying the significant role in modern society. McQuai in his book *Mass Communication Theory* (2000:66), make a summary of the various opinions of experts about the role of mass media. At least six perspectives in terms of seeing an important role of media, namely:

1. Mass media as a window that allows the audience to see what was going on out there, or the media is a means to learn to know the various events.
2. Media as a mirror of events in the community and the world, which reflects what it is.

3. Media as a filter or gatekeeper that selects a variety of things to be broadcast to the audience or not.
4. The mass media is seen as guides is translated, and indicate the direction of the various uncertainties, or the alternative is different.
5. Mass media as a forum to represent the various formulations and ideas to the audience, allowing the responses and feedback.
6. Mass media as a communication partner that makes the interactive communication in society.

The role of Media in social life is not only as an entertainment or release tension, but also as informants of the social phenomena. It is clear that the media has a significant role in the social process. The content of the mass media is the consumption of the brain to the audience, so what's in the mass media will influence the subjective reality of actors (Berger, 1979:13), or by using a term from Walter Lippmann (1922) mass media capable of instilling "the picture in our heads".

Picture of reality that is "shaped" by the mass media is what the response and the underlying public attitudes toward various social objects will arise. Incorrect information from the mass media will show an incorrect portrait on the audiences, and will then bring the wrong response and attitude of the audiences. It can be wrong to look at the social phenomena. As a result, the media is required to convey information accurately and qualified. The quality of this information is a requirement of ethical, moral and presentation of media content.

The problems in real life such as, attitudes and behaviour of an object are more determined by the picture at the head of the object, rather than the real situation. This is where the importance of the role of mass media as a symbolic reality that is considered to represent an objective social reality, and the effect on the subjective reality that exist in the minds of the perpetrators of social interaction.

Referring to the above mention, it can be understood that the present of media properly loaded with the inequality that classed inequality, race, and gender. These imbalances appear explicitly or implicitly in a variety of media products such as advertising, soap operas, news, and a variety of information presented. This condition is actually a manifestation of the role of media in reducing the real meaning and reality

The managers of the media always argue that they are always present to the audience a portrait of social reality. They also reveal that the media information is actually happening in society. And with all the limitations of space, time, capacity of the managers and the various interests that exist behind the media manager, not all social reality can be and can be displayed, so actually. What is shown by the media is false or symbolic reality, these facts are inescapable fact?

Murdock and Golding (1997) urged that mass media would not be a neutral. The media will always be under tug and pull between the various interests that are all rooted in the political and economic. In capitalist society, the media gained a very high position and strategic, as well as

trying to create hegemony since obtaining full freedom. Because of the mass media will always be a contest of economic and political interests through the mechanism of industry and business media.

The managers of mass media always focus on the argument that they provide the desired media content market (audience). Even though, it was just a mere claim, because the content of the media is not always audiences needed. The actual media content is determined by the manager and media workers. Reality is what shows how the ideological hegemony of the market becomes inevitable, and ultimately controls various aspects of life aspects in the society through mass media.

Jurgen Habermas described the concept of media as a public space in his book entitled "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" (McQuail, 2000:181). Habermas traced the development of public space from ancient Greece to the present. According to him, in Europe from 17th century to 18 the public-sphere appeared to the public in a special kind of the bourgeois. This public space contains individuals who gather in public, to discuss key issues of the day.

This concept was developed as stimulated by the emergence of periodical press, which flourished in Britain and other parts of Europe. The concept of public space is an important reference for scholars who pay attention to the development of the forms of a public organization that is free from state power and the rule of capital. The concept of public space is emphasized on the importance of public (community) to be able to open debate and

argue in the egalitarian to solve the wide range of public issues.

The most important is that the mass media can be a healthy public space, where people can argue and share of his ideas, but unfortunately, the configuration of the mass media ownership in Indonesia at this moment, in which media conglomerate has been so strong, the ideal public sphere seems still to be fought.

CONCLUSION

The end of the New Order regime was marked by the resignation of Suharto power. It shows the shifting of economic power of ownership. The first step of economic power only revolves around the president's family, and then looks at the map of economic reform is more diffuse, appeared a few new players. In the Soeharto's regime, ownership of the media, controlled by no more than 10 people who have a media conglomerate media ownership nationwide, and an area of broadcast media throughout Indonesia. After the Soeharto's regime, this also the second step of the changing of economic contexts in Indonesia. It raised the phenomenon of media concentration also. The media cannot be avoided in the media business today, the modern media business looks increasingly focused on media consolidation and convergence.

Currently, the Mass Media does not act as a public space. They always influence by many conflict of interests. The conflict can be based on the economic and political needs. Commercialization has changed the character of this press or mass media. It is originally a good public space, where the public debate to seek the truth, but at

this time, media become more economic institutions that serve the pursuit of profit and capital owners.

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