

9. Democratised/Corporatised: Contesting Media in the Post-Authoritarian Indonesia¹

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Two main elements that have influenced media in Indonesia since the *reformasi*³ in May 1998 are the return of freedom of expression to Indonesian society and the infringement of the market economy on media development. The rejection of the former authoritarian rule of the Suharto regime by Indonesian society was profound. It led to mass support for the concept of political and economic reform, minimising the roles of the state and allowing free market forces to preside over society and the media. This was the socio-political climate in which the privatisation of entire industries, including media, took place. As a consequence, in the last decade since the end of Suharto's centralised media regime, the media sector has not only undergone a “democratisation” process, but has expanded rapidly and has given way to increasing corporatisation. Meanwhile, digital technologies and converged platforms are making media more ubiquitous. They also offer tremendous opportunities to re-shape the media landscape, especially in the political and cultural spheres. Any discussion on media access and rights in Indonesia needs to be viewed against this backdrop.

9.1. Access/Accessibility

Like most countries, in Indonesia, a country with a population of around 238 million, citizens access the information mostly through the media—including print, television, radio, and, more recently, the internet. In general, television still dominates the media landscape in Indonesia. Over 90 per cent of Indonesians count watching television as one of their main social and cultural activities. Listening to the radio, however, is a waning practice in Indonesia.⁴ Only 23.5 per cent of the population listen to the radio; a decline from over 50 per cent in 2003. Meanwhile, only 18.9 per cent of the population are newspaper readers and this is also in decline. But at the same time, accessing the internet, a relatively new activity, has grown popular among the urban middle class population.

¹ A longer version of this chapter is published as: Lim, M. (2011), @crossroads: Democratization and Corporatization of Media in Indonesia, published jointly by: Participatory Media Lab at Arizona State University and Ford Foundation.

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³ Indonesian, translated as *reformation*. It refers to a period of transition (to democracy) that began with the fall of Suharto in 1998.

⁴ InterMedia, 2010. Indonesia Media Market, [online] <http://www.audiencescapes.org/country-profiles/indonesia/communication-habits-demographic-groups/urban-rural/urban-rural-138> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

Table 6: Percentage of population and media related activities⁵

| | 2003 (%) | 2006 (%) | 2009 (%) |
|----------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Listening to Radio | 50.29 | 40.26 | 23.50 |
| Watching Television | 84.94 | 85.86 | 90.27 |
| Reading Newspapers | 23.70 | 23.46 | 18.94 |

Table 7: Percentage weekly media use frequency for news (2009)⁶

| Media | 2006 (%) | 2007 (%) | 2009 (%) |
|------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Television | 95 | 97 | 97 |
| Radio | 50 | 44 | 35 |
| Newspaper | 22 | 17 | 16 |
| Internet/Online | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| SMS | 6 | 5 | 9 |

Table 8: Main sources of political information (2009)⁷

| Media | % |
|-------------------|----|
| Television | 82 |
| Radio | 26 |
| Newspaper | 23 |
| Internet | 4 |

Television: closing the urban-rural divide

The number of households with a television set has increased from 54 per cent, in 2000, to 65 per cent in 2007.⁸ In 2010, 91 per cent of the total population had access to television.⁹ While there is a slight disparity of access between urban (96 per cent) and rural (88 per cent) populations,¹⁰ television has successfully made its way to almost every Indonesian living room. Television also maintains its position as the most important source of news, as shown in Table 8. A comparable survey, focusing on political information, also yields similar results.

Generally, accessing television is no longer a problem for regular Indonesians. But that does not imply that television serves various populations equally. Despite the 88 per cent coverage of rural access areas, most of these viewers can only watch the state owned television - Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) - as other stations do not reach these areas.

⁵ BPS (Badan Pusat Statistik), 2010. Indikator Sosial Budaya, [online] http://www.bps.go.id/tab_sub/view.php?tabel=1&daftar=1&id_subyek=27¬ab=36 [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁶ InterMedia, 2010. Base: n=3000, April 2009; n=3012, December 2007; n=3013, November 2006.

⁷ IRI, 2009 cited in Wagstaff, 2010, p.38

http://www.soros.org/initiatives/media/articles_publications/publications/production-consumption-20100126/production-consumption-20100212.pdf. [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁸ World Bank, 2009. Development Indicators database, [online] <http://devdata.worldbank.org> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁹ InterMedia, 2010.

¹⁰ Ibid

Subscription-based cable and satellite television services are growing very slowly. In 2009 almost 15 per cent of Indonesian households had satellite television. In the same year, overall household cable access was at three per cent and it only experienced very modest growth in rural areas with less than one per cent.¹¹

Radio: urban decline, rural rise

Although radio broadcasts themselves are highly accessible from most places in Indonesia, household radio ownership has been in decline since 2006. In December 2006, two thirds of households had at least one radio. In April 2009, this had reduced to half of households.¹² The most severe drop in radio ownership in the past year has occurred in urban areas, from 72 per cent in late 2007 to 58 per cent in early 2009.¹³ In spite of its obvious down-turn, radio still comes second after television as a source of news (Table 8), as well as for information about day-to-day politics. But only one per cent of Indonesians mentioned a radio station when asked about their most important source of news.¹⁴

Despite this trend, some segments of society still view radio as an attractive alternative compared to the poor quality of television news reporting which occurs in Indonesia.¹⁵ Indeed, in contrast to those living in urban areas, Indonesians in remote and/or border areas state that radio is their only source of information and entertainment. The availability of the state-owned radio station - Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) - in those areas contributes to this. As an example, in Ende, Nusa Tenggara Timur, 85 per cent of the population listens to RRI. And in Bangka-Belitung islands, this is 90 per cent of over 1.2 million residents.¹⁶ While 85 per cent of Indonesian areas reachable by radio broadcast seems to be a high percentage, more than 40,000 villages are actually left without access to radio.¹⁷ Over 700 community radio stations have emerged across archipelago to fill the gaps in access and content disparities.¹⁸

Print: limited reach and Jakarta oriented

Only 20 per cent of Indonesians read newspapers (Table 6 and Table 7), making them the third most popular medium after television and radio. Only 2 per cent of respondents, however, referred to newspaper as their most important source of news. Compared to television and radio, print media has a far more limited reach. The number of print media organisations has grown significantly since the 1998 *reformasi*, but overall circulation and readership has not increased at the same rate. In 1997, with only 289 print media, circulation reached 14.4 million copies. Meanwhile in 2010, when the number of print media outlets had quadrupled to 1,076, circulation only increased to 21.5

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Santoso cited in Wagstaff, 2010, p.39

¹⁶ Marsono, G., 2009. RRI, (R)evitalisasi (R)asa Ke (I)ndonesiaan?, [online] 11 September <http://www.disperindagkop.pemda-diy.go.id/index.php/direktori/210-rri-revitalisasi-rasa-ke-indonesiaan> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

¹⁷ Birowo, M., 2006. Community radio movement in Indonesia: a case study of Jaringan Radio Komunitas Yogyakarta (Yogyakarta Community Radio Networks), [online] <http://mediaasiaconference.humanities.curtin.edu.au/pdf/Mario%20Antonius%20Birowo.pdf> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

¹⁸ Usodo, 2006 in Birowo, 2006, p.10.

million copies.¹⁹ Of these, over 60 per cent were circulated in Jakarta. Print media is accessible all over the country, but numbers of available prints and their circulations are highly unequal. The numbers are exceptionally low in Eastern part of Indonesia. For instances, Papua has only 45,000 copies daily, West Sulawesi 15,500, and Gorontalo 10,800.²⁰

Internet: urban middle class consumption

Table 9: ICT profile (2008-2010)²¹

| | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 |
|--|--------------|------------|--------------|
| No. of internet users ('000) | 25,000 | 30,000 | 45,000 |
| No. of broadband internet subscribers ('000) | 1,457 (0.6%) | 2,263 (1%) | 3,447 (1.5%) |
| Percentage mobile broadband subscribers | 3.48 | 6.4 | - |
| Percentage of fixed telephone subscribers | 13.36 | 14.76 | - |
| Percentage of prepaid mobile phone | 90 | - | 91.1 |
| Percentage of regular mobile phone subscribers | 61.83 | 69.24 | - |
| No. of mobile phone penetration ('000) | 140,578 | 163,676 | 211,145 |

In June 2010, the number of Indonesian internet users had reached 45 million. This is approximately 18.5 per cent of the total population,²² and is a dramatic increase from only 0.26 per cent in 1998.²³ The number of broadband internet connections has more than doubled since 2008,²⁴ but remains prohibitively expensive or otherwise unavailable to many Indonesians. Given Indonesia's archipelagic geography, cable infrastructure has been costly and is mostly confined to urban areas, particularly in Java and Bali. Another factor contributing to the low use of ICTs is the limited knowledge and use of English. Indonesians use Indonesian, the national language, at work and school as well as in daily conversations, while other local dialects and languages are still very important in certain areas. As such the ability to use the internet is limited.

Since most Indonesians have no access to fixed telephones, computers or the internet, and because they cannot afford to own these facilities or pay to use these services (even when access is available), internet cafés, or *warnets*, have become extremely successful. *Warnets* provide relatively affordable access, ranging from as low as USD 0.1-2 (depending on the location) per hour any time of day. Currently, there are about 5,000 *warnets* in Indonesia and 64 per cent of internet users (65 per cent in urban and 63 per cent in rural) gain their internet access from these outfits.²⁵ In addition to *warnet*, there is also RT/RW-Net. RT/RW-Net is a neighbourhood internet network using wireless

¹⁹ AJI, 2010. *Ancaman Itu Datang dari Dalam*, annual report of Alliance of Independent Journalist, Jakarta, p 51

²⁰ AJI, 2010. *Ancaman Itu Datang dari Dalam*, annual report of Alliance of Independent Journalist, Jakarta, p 52

²¹ Compiled by Lim from various sources: ITU, APJII, BMI, ConsumerLab Infocom, Postel.

²² SuSuryadhi, A., 2010. *Pengguna Internet Indonesia Capai 45 Juta*. Detikinet, [online]

<http://us.detikinet.com/read/2010/06/09/121652/1374756/398/pengguna-Internet-indonesia-capai-45-juta>

[Accessed 28 July 2011]

²³ ITU, 2000.

²⁴ BuddeComm, 2007. *Asia—Telecoms, Mobile and Broadband in Indonesia and Timor Leste*, [online]

<http://www.budde.com.au/Research/2007-Asia-Telecoms-Mobile-and-Broadband-in-Indonesia-and-Timor-Leste.html> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

²⁵ InterMedia, 2010.

technology, an initiative proposed and started by Onno Purbo and his groups in 2004.²⁶ The monthly subscription fee is approximately USD 35-40 plus a start-up fee of USD 50. While there is no data on definite numbers of RT/RW networks neighbourhood networks are likely to continue growing, considering the limited progress government and big corporations have made in providing affordable internet, especially in semi-urban and rural areas.

- **Online media:** With the relatively small internet population, online media is still a minor source of information (Table 7). Accessing online news, however, has become one of the most dominant online activities of Indonesian users. The most popular local news sites are Detik.com, followed by Kompas.com, Vivanews.com and Okezone.com. The most popular websites among Indonesians, however, are global rather than local sites such as Facebook, Google, and Blogger.com.²⁷ Among the top 50 sites, only 19 are local and 31 are global.²⁸
- **Blogging:** The number of people blogging has exploded in recent years. In 2007, the estimated number of bloggers in Indonesia was around 150,000.²⁹ The most recent source records over five millions blogs in 2011.³⁰
- **Social media—Facebook and Twitter:** Despite its reasonably low number of internet subscribers, Indonesia has witnessed a rapid growth in social media usage. Facebook is tremendously popular among Indonesian internet users. In June 2011, the total number of Facebook users in Indonesia reached over 38 million making it the second largest nation on Facebook in the world, exceeded only by the United States.³¹ Twitter is also increasingly popular. In August 2010, 20 per cent of the 93 million people who visited Twitter came from Indonesia.³² Social media users are concentrated in urban areas with over 60 per cent of traffic coming from big cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Medan, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and Semarang.³³ This is reflective of the broader pattern of technological dependency in Indonesia.

Gender and age disparities

²⁶ Interview with Onno Purbo, November 2006.

²⁷ Alexa, 2011. Top Sites in Indonesia, [online] <http://www.alexa.com/topsites/countries/ID> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Junaidi, A., 2008. Jakarta to host blogger bash in October, The Jakarta Post, [online] <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2007/10/01/jakarta-host-blogger-bash-october.html> [Accessed 28 July 2011].

³⁰ SalingSilang.com, 2011. Indonesia Social Media Landscape, 2nd report, [online] <http://www.slideshare.net/salingsilang/indonesia-social-media-landscape-q1-2011-2nd-salingsilangcom-report> [Accessed 28 July 2011].

³¹ Socialbakers.com, 2011. [online] <http://www.socialbakers.com/facebook-statistics/indonesia> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

³² ComScore, 2010. Indonesia, Brazil and Venezuela Lead Global Surge in Twitter Usage, [online] [http://www.comscore.com/Press Events/Press Releases/2010/8/Indonesia Brazil and Venezuela Lead Global Surge in Twitter Usage](http://www.comscore.com/Press%20Events/Press%20Releases/2010/8/Indonesia%20Brazil%20and%20Venezuela%20Lead%20Global%20Surge%20in%20Twitter%20Usage) [Accessed 28 July 2011]

³³ SalingSilang, 2011

Figure 21: Male-female ratio of Facebook users³⁴

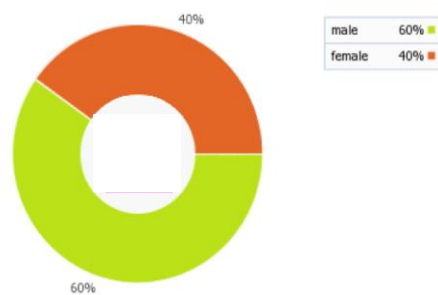
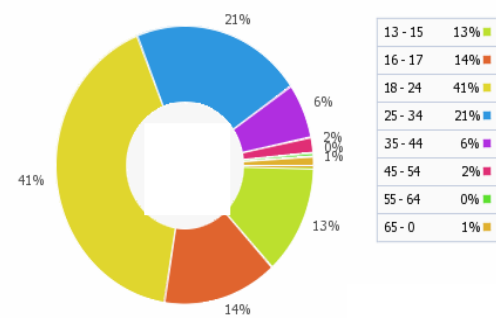


Figure 22: Age distribution of Facebook users³⁵



Despite the growth of internet and social media users, gender and age disparities persist. These are reflected in the demographic of Indonesian Facebook users, where in 2011, 60 per cent of the users are male and 40 per cent female (Figure 21). Users are predominantly 18-34 years old (62 per cent) with only 2 per cent over the age of 55 (Figure 22). These statistics reflect gender/age disparities in access to the internet more generally. Similar disparities are found with mobile web users: 53 per cent are 18-27 years and 82 per cent are male.³⁶

Mobile phone as a platform of convergence

Mobile telephony continues to be the most popular new technology in Indonesia. In 2010, there were approximately 211 million mobile phone users (over 88 per cent) (Table 9). “Mobile telephone ownership is much more widespread and is expanding more rapidly than computer ownership and internet subscriptions”.³⁷ Encouraging is the fact that “the urban-rural divide in mobile telephone ownership is slowly closing”.³⁸ In 2009, “mobile phone ownership at the household level in rural areas grew from 24 per cent to 45 per cent in roughly one year”.³⁹ “69 per cent of urban households have at least one mobile phone”.⁴⁰ The growth of internet access via mobile phones has been a positive development, and is down to the relatively affordable prices as well as the lower infrastructure costs compared to cable broadband. The boom in mobile phones as a means of social networking has been apparent. In 2011, 87 per cent of the users accessed Twitter from mobile devices.⁴¹

Telecom infrastructure: rural neglect, non-transparent spectrum allocation

The telecom sector has been one of the fastest growing sectors in the country, with over 200 million wireless subscribers. However, certain aspects of spectrum allocation, vertical integration, and neglect of marginalised communities by telecom service providers, especially in rural locations, remain areas of concern.

³⁴ Socialbakers.com, 2011

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ InMobi, 2009. Blackberry Beating iPhone in Indonesia by Mobile Ad Requests, 7 October [online]

<http://www.inmobi.com/press-releases/2009/10/07/blackberry-beating-iphone-in-indonesia-by-mobile-ad-requests/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

³⁷ Intermedia, 2010

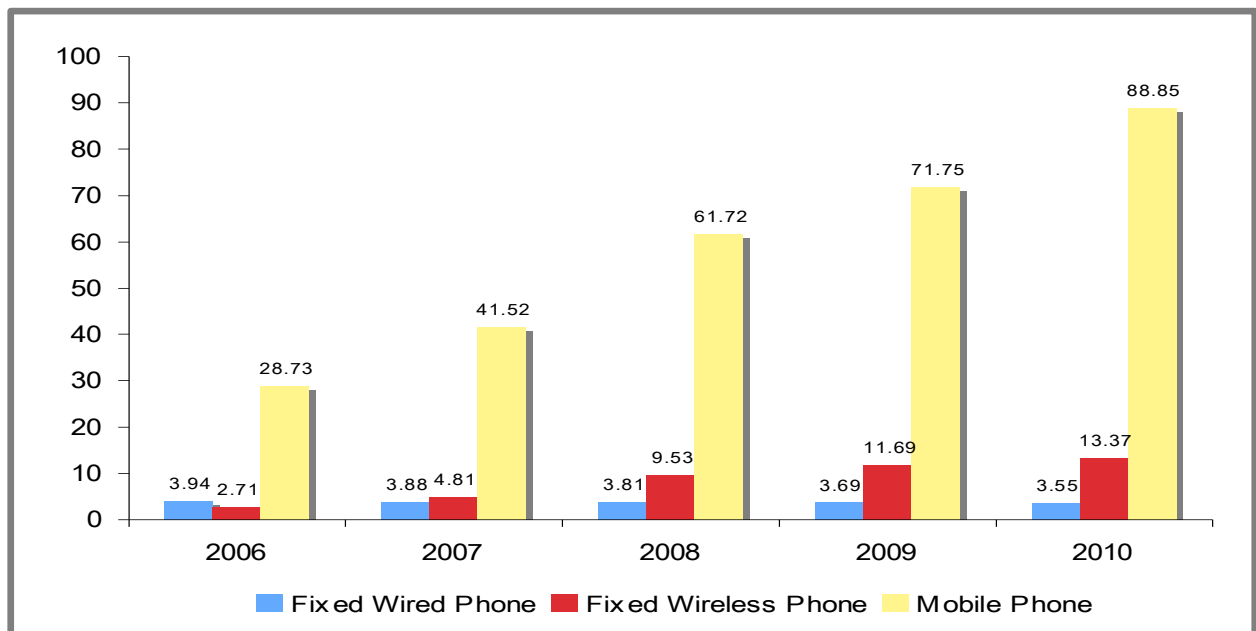
³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ SalingSilang, 2011

Figure 23: Percentage teledensity of the telephony system (2006-2010)⁴²



Rural areas lack access to even the most basic telecom infrastructure. Of the nearly 67,000 villages across Indonesia, almost 65 per cent remain unwired⁴³ and 19 million households (40 per cent of the population) have no electricity service.⁴⁴ Telecom penetration shows a significant gap between urban and rural areas (Figure 24).

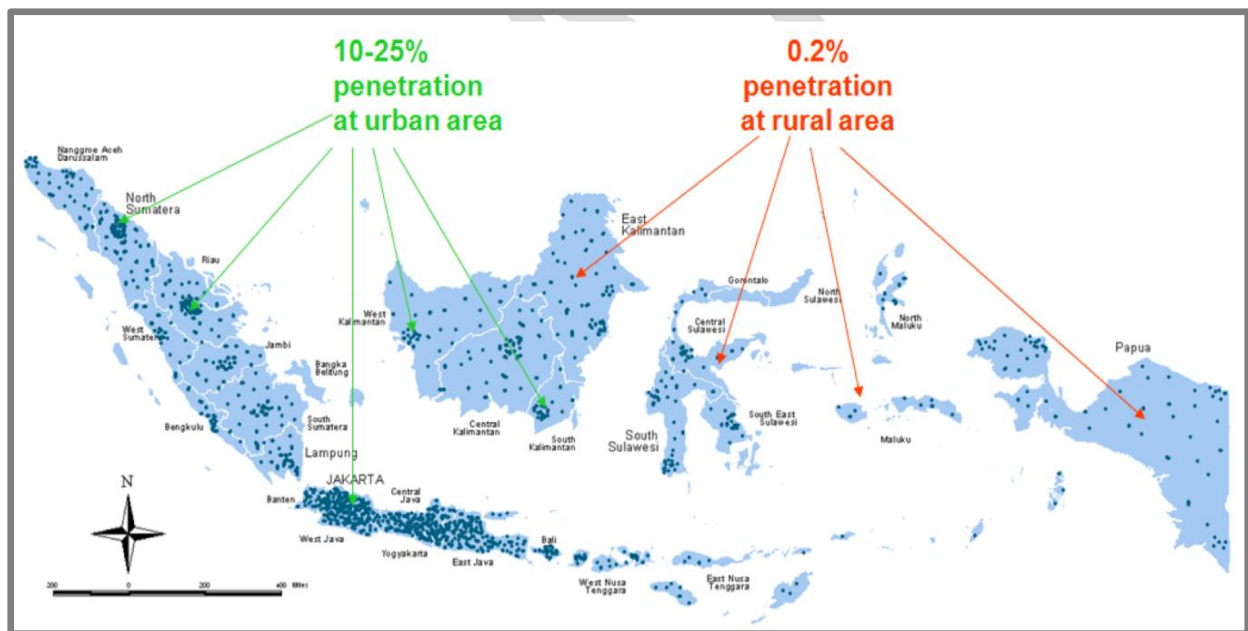
Figure 24: Penetration map of telecom in rural and urban area of Indonesia (2010)⁴⁵

⁴² Source: Ditjen Postel, 2010.

⁴³ Iqbal, T. and Purbo, O.W., 2009. Geektivism. In R. Samarajiva and A. Zainudeen. ICT Infrastructure in Emerging Asia: Policy and Regulatory Roadblocks. Sage India & IDRC, pp.103-115, [online] http://www.idrc.org/en/ev-118605-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html#ch4en13 [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁴⁴ AntaraNews, 2010. 19 million households have no electricity: President, [online] 17 July <http://www.antaranews.com/en/news/1280239905/19-million-households-have-no-electricity-president> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁴⁵ Wismadi, A. and Townsend, D.N., 2009. Project on Rural ICT Policy Advocacy, Knowledge and Capacity Building: Country Case Study Indonesia, 9 September [online] http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/asp/CMS/Events/2011/ITU-ADB/Indonesia/ITU-ADB_Interrim_Indonesia_Country_Report.pdf [Accessed 28 July 2011]



“To develop access communication in remote and isolated areas”, operators are “obliged to pay an USO distribution of 0.75% of their annual revenues”. But “this contribution is considered too small” and “there is a concern over government transparency in managing this USO fund”.⁴⁶ The existing regulations regarding telecom access provision allows for vertical integration (e.g. PTSN - long distance and international calls - duopoly) and makes it hard to control anti-competition practices.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, the current licensing process for spectrum allocation lacks clarity and transparency and is suspected to be “corrupt, involving collusion and nepotism”.⁴⁸

9.2. Media and Public Interest Communication

The demise of the Suharto era in 1998 produced several positive developments in media democratisation. The Department of Information—led by infamous Minister Harmoko—was abandoned, followed by several major deregulations that changed the media landscape dramatically. From 1998 to 2002, over 1,200 new print media, more than 900 new commercial radio and 5 new commercial television licenses were issued. Over the years, however, Indonesian media has been “back to business”. Corporate interests have taken over and dominate the current Indonesian media landscape.

9.2.1. Media Ownership

As the media environment is dominated by a small number of large corporations—some of which have obvious political connections—the Indonesian public does not receive an adequate quality or quantity of news and is exposed to the viewpoints and opinions of only a few. This concentration of

⁴⁶ Rasyid, A., 2005. Indonesia: Liberalization at the Crossroad Impact on Sector Performance, Teledensity and Productivity, Communications and Strategies, 58(2), pp.61-80 [online] <http://mpira.ub.uni-muenchen.de/2452/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁴⁷ Rasyid, 2005, p.74

⁴⁸ Rasyid, 2005, p.72

ownership also leads to a disproportional political control by the media,⁴⁹ the public's decreasing access to important information, and the under-representation of certain groups in the media.⁵⁰

The map of media ownership in Indonesia (Table 10: 10) shows that 12 media groups have control over 100 per cent of national commercial television shares; five out of six most circulated newspapers; three out of four most popular online news media; a majority of Jakarta-flagship entertainment radio networks; and a significant portion of the major local television networks. Additionally, some of these groups also control of digital pay-television services and media related businesses, such as telecommunications, information technology, and content production and distribution.

Television: the concentration of ownership

Currently six groups own ten private national television networks that operate in competition with the state-owned TVRI. This concentration of ownership of television in Indonesia is a result of several mergers (Table 11).

On a regional/local level, ownership is less concentrated. The last five years have seen the growth of local television stations. However, the audience share of local television is very modest compared to national television. It increased from an average of 2.1 per cent in 2005 to 3.2 per cent of the total audience share in 2008. The trend, however, went down to 2.5 per cent in 2010.⁵¹ Of more than 100 local television stations, TVRI still has 27 stations spread in 27 provinces. The rest are owned by at least ten other local television networks.

⁴⁹ Bagdikian, B.H., 1997. *The Media Monopoly*, Boston, pp.11,90-99, Beacon Press

⁵⁰ Bagdikian, B.H. 1997, pp.44-47

⁵¹ AGB Nielsen, 2011. Nielsen Newsletter, Edition 13, 31 January. [online]

http://www.agbnielsen.com/Uploads/Indonesia/Nielsen_Newsletter_Jan_2011-Eng.pdf [Accessed 28 July 2011]

Table 10: Indonesian media conglomerates⁵²

| Media Group | Group Leader | Television stations | | Radio stations | Print | | Online media | Other businesses |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|--|--|--|--------------------------|--|
| | | National | Other | | Newspapers | Magazines/ Tabloids | | |
| Media Nusantara Citra (MNC) Group | Hary Tanoesoedibjo | RCTI, Global TV, MNCTV (ex TPI) | Indovision, Sky Vision, SunTV Network (13 local stations) | Trijaya FM, Radio Dangdut, ARH Global Radio | <i>Seputar Indonesia</i> (Koran Sindo) | <i>High End magz, Genie, Mom & Kiddie</i> tabloids | Okezone | IT, content production and distributions, talent management, automobile |
| Mahaka Media Group | Erick Tohir | TVOne | Jak TV, Alif TV | Radio JakFM | <i>Republika, Harian Indonesia</i> (in Mandarin) | <i>Parents Indonesia, A+, Golf Digest, Area</i> , magazines | Republika Online | Entertainment, outdoor advertisement |
| Kompas Gramedia Group | Jakob Oetama, Agung Adiprasetyo | — | Currently build Kompas TV network | Sonora Radio & Otomotion Radio | <i>Kompas, Jakarta Post, Warta Kota</i> , + other 11 local papers | <i>Intisari</i> + 43 magazines & tabloids, 5 book publishers | Kompas Cyber Media | Hotels, public relation agencies, university & telecommunication tower (in plan) |
| Jawa Pos Group | Dahlan Iskan | — | JTV, BatamTV, RiauTV, FajarTV + others (total: 12) | Fajar FM (Makassar) | <i>Jawa Pos, Indo Pos Rakyat Merdeka, Radar</i> + others (total: 151) | <i>Mentari, Liberty</i> magazines + 11 tabloids | Jawa Pos Digital Edition | Travel bureau, power plant |
| Media Bali Post Group (KMB) | Satria Narada | — | Bali TV + other local stations (total: 9) | Global Kini Jani, Genta FM + others (total: 7) | <i>Bali Post, Bisnis Bali, Suluh Indonesia, Harian Denpasar, & Suara NTB</i> | <i>Tokoh, Lintang, & Wiyata Mandala</i> tabloids | Bali Post, Bisnis Bali | — |
| Elang Mahkota | Eddy Kusnadi Sariaatmadja | SCTV, Indosiar | O'Channel, ElShinta TV | Elshinta FM | — | <i>Elshinta, Gaul, Story, Kort</i> , | — | Wireless broadband, pay-television, |

⁵² Data is compiled from various sources, including: informant based data, Tifa (2010, p.4), Haryanto (2010, p.107), <http://id.wikipedia.org>, <http://www.mnccgroup.com/>, <http://www.feminagroup.com/>, <http://www.transcorp.co.id/>, <http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/private/snapshot.asp?privcapId=22353221>, <http://www.bakrie-brothers.com/> [All Accessed 28 July 2011]

| | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|---|--|---|---|---|
| Teknologi (EMTEK) Group | Mamamia | | | | | | | telecommunications, banking, IT solutions, production house |
| Lippo Group | James Riady | — | First Media | — | Jakarta Globe, Investor Daily, Suara Pembaruan | Investor, Globe Asia, & Campus Asia magazines | Jakarta Globe Online | Property, hospital, education, insurance |
| Bakrie & Brothers | Anindya Bakrie | antv, TVOne | Channel [V] | — | — | — | VIVAnews | Telecommunications, property, metal, oil & gas, agribusiness, coal, physical infrastructure |
| Femina Group | Pia Alisyahbana, Mirta Kartohadiprodo | — | — | U-FM Jakarta & Bandung | — | Femina, Gadis, Dewi, Ayahbunda + others (total: 15) | Femina, GitaCinta, Ayahbunda, Gadis, Parenting Online | Production house, event management, boutique, education, printing |
| Media Group | Surya Paloh | Metro TV | — | — | Media Indonesia, Lampung Post, BorneoNews | — | Media Indonesia | — |
| Mugi Reka Aditama (MRA) Group | Dian Muljani Soedarjo | — | — | Cosmopolitan FM, Hard Rock FM, I-Radio, Trax FM | — | Cosmopolitan, Cosmogirl, Fitness + others (total: 16) | — | Holder of several international boutique brands |
| Trans Corpora (Para Group) | Chairul Tanjung | Trans TV, Trans 7 | — | — | — | — | — | Banking, venture capital, insurance, theme parks, resort, retail, cinema |

Table 11: Television landscape: main national players⁵³

| Television channels | First on air | Current status | Market share (%) | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|------|
| TVRI | 1962 | State/Independent | 1.4 | 1.4 |
| RCTI | 1987 | Merged (MNC) | 19 | 36.7 |
| Global TV | 2001 | Merged (MNC) | 5.1 | |
| MNCTV (formerly TPI)+ | 1990 | Merged (MNC) | 12.6 | |
| SCTV | 1989 | Merged (EMTEK)+ | 17.3 | 31.5 |
| Indosiar | 1995 | Merged (EMTEK)+ | 14.2 | |
| Trans TV | 2001 | Merged (TransCorp) | 12.1 | 18.5 |
| Trans 7 | 2001, <i>re-launched</i> in 2006 | Merged (TransCorp) | 6.4 | |
| TVOne (formerly Lativi) | 2001 | Merged (Bakrie/MM Group)+ | 4.5 | 8.7 |
| antv | 1993 | Merged (Bakrie/MM Group)+ | 4.2 | |
| Metro TV | 2000 | Media Group/Independent | 1.9 | 1.9 |

Radio: growing independent/community radios

In general, radio ownership is more diverse compared to television. Of the estimated 2,800 radio stations in the country around 700 are community radio stations. Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), the state radio network, has 64 stations.⁵⁴

The country's largest radio network is KBR68H, a quality citizen journalism radio. Founded as a news agency in 1999, KBR68H was created as part of the civil society response to the "transition to democracy". In one decade, the radio news agency has expanded rapidly, becoming a network that reaches 625 stations⁵⁵ with an estimated 18 million listeners, and is available in ten countries in Asia and Australia.

Commercial radio networks are on the rise with the expansion of Jakarta-based and out-of-Jakarta regional networks. There are also an increasing number of commercial networks owned by conglomerates. Yet the investment of big media players tends to be concentrated in big cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, and Surabaya, leaving the rest of the country to smaller independent stations, including hundreds of community radios that populate small towns and rural areas.

Print media: domination of two players

The post-Suharto euphoria and an easing of press restrictions catapulted the number of print media from 289 in early 1999 to 1,881 in 2001.⁵⁶ The euphoria, however, did not last long. Market realities

⁵³ Modified from an original source (AGB Nielsen, 2007) using data from Lim's research (+ reflected changes)

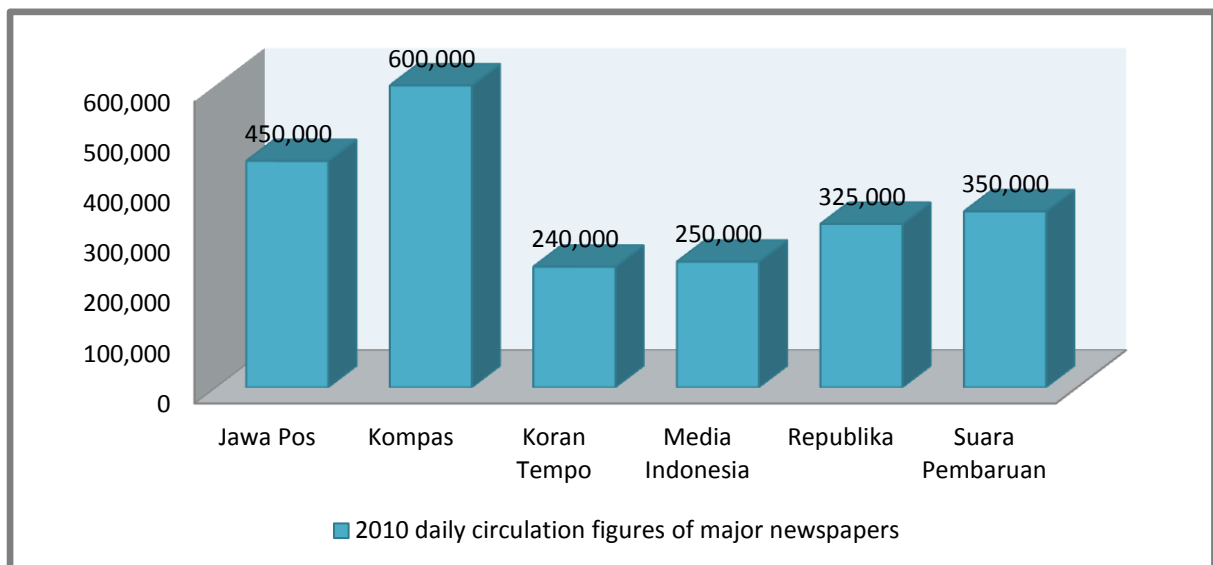
⁵⁴ Marsono, 2009

⁵⁵ KBR68H, 2011

⁵⁶ Piper, T., 2009. Don't Shoot the Messenger: Policy Challenges Facing the Indonesian Media p.3

pushed some to go out of business soon after they were established. At the end of 2010, there were just 1,076 print media in operation.⁵⁷

Figure 25: 2010 daily circulation of major newspapers in Indonesia⁵⁸



Currently, there are two dominant players in the sector. First, is the largest media conglomerate in Indonesia, Kompas Gramedia Group. Its chief outlet, the morning newspaper *Kompas* is Indonesia's most prestigious daily and the largest "quality" newspaper in Southeast Asia. This newspaper consistently earns more than a quarter of the nation's newspaper advertising revenue. Second is Jawa Pos Group, well known for its *Jawa Pos* daily. *Jawa Pos* is the nation's second most read daily. Jawa Pos Group concentrates almost exclusively on provincial markets, with 151 newspapers distributed in more than 20 provinces. The rest of the newspaper market is divided between other media conglomerates, small companies, and *Koran Tempo*. With a daily circulation of 240,000 copies, *Koran Tempo* is the only non-conglomerate-owned newspaper surviving the competition against big players.

Online media: diverse with high concentration of global media

The web has become the largest information source with most of the content provided by millions of Indonesian citizens. One might expect online media to have less concentrated ownership. In reality, the vast plethora of web content has not translated into diversity in terms of what users see or access. On the contrary, despite the vast amount of content, the structure of the web leads to a staggering and unexpected degree of concentration.

Global companies, such as Facebook and Google, dominate as the most visited websites.⁵⁹ The outliers are Kaskus.us, Indonesia's very own community forum and Detik.com, the largest local online content provider.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ SPS, 2011.

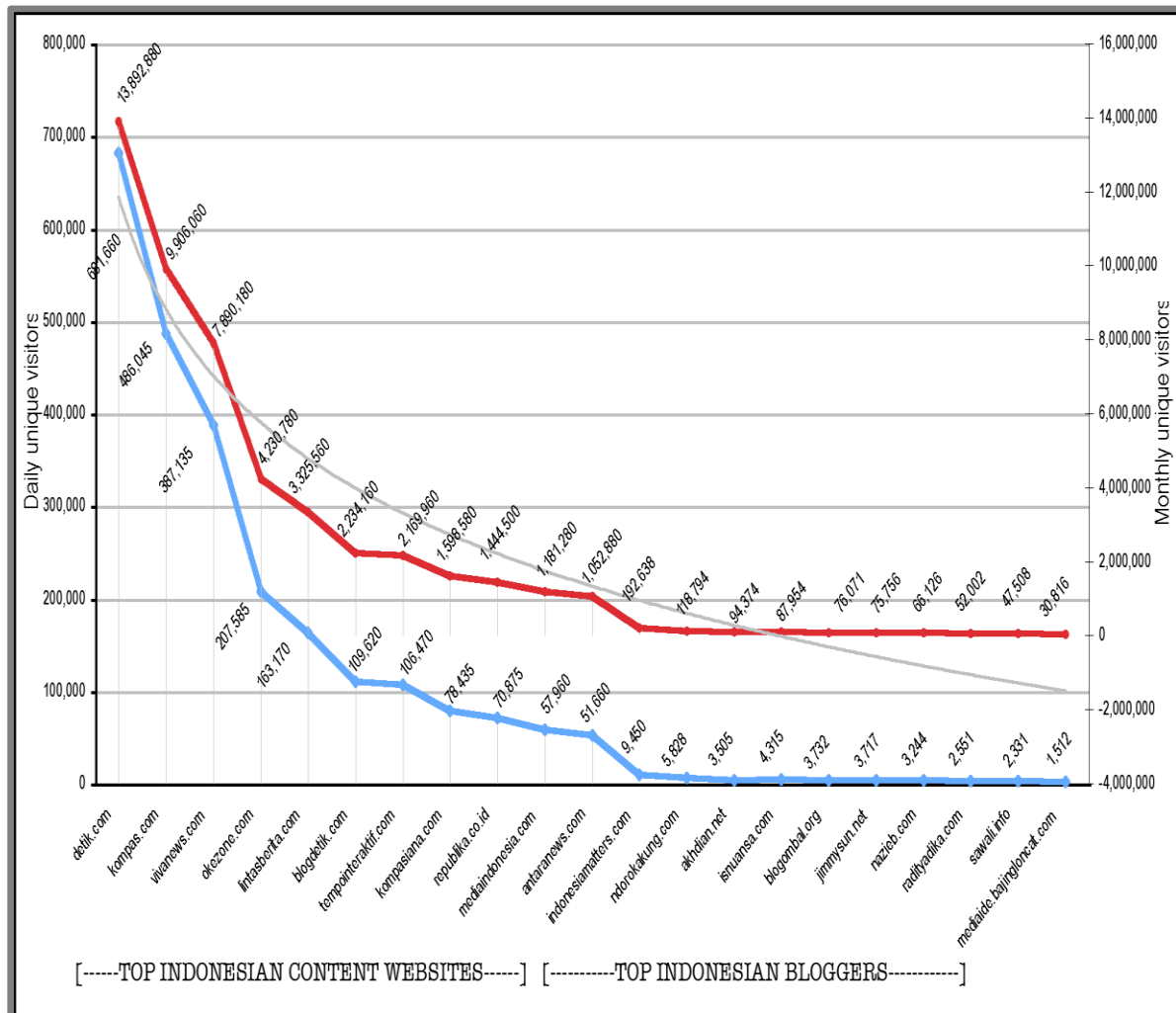
⁵⁸ Compiled from various sources, including: <http://kompas.co.id>, <http://id.wikipedia.org>.

⁵⁹ Alexa, 2011.

⁶⁰ Alexa, 2011.

Although no one disputes the lengthening of “the tail”—clearly more blogs are being created every day—“the tail” is extremely flat and is populated by content that originates from, is driven by, or communicates with those in “the head”. Even the number one blogger site IndonesiaMatters.com shares only less than 1.5 per cent of Detik.com’s daily and monthly visitors.

Figure 26: Distribution of Indonesian online media audiences (visitors)⁶¹



9.2.2. Production and Content

The concentration of media ownership and the networked media business model (i.e. a small number of production houses supply most of the programmes) lead to a homogeneity of available content. Various alternative media have emerged—community radios and televisions, independent online content providers, individual blogs, but they are still a long way from being far-reaching.

Television: the domination of urban entertainment

The majority of the content (60 – 80 percent) on national commercial televisions stations is entertainment, in the forms of soap operas, movies, infotainment and reality shows. The goal of

⁶¹ Source: Lim’s research (data from 8 July 2011). The figure includes top 10 Indonesian content websites/portals (excluding subsidiaries of detik.com such as detikhot.com, detiknews.com, and detiksport.com) and 10 top Indonesian bloggers (excluding those who use blogspot.com and wordpress.com)

commercial stations is generally to set the benchmarks for the industry and, thus, frame their programmes for the entertainment-seeking, urban, lower-upper and upper-middle classes. In January 2011, three out of the ten most watched programmes were soap operas.⁶² These programmes counted for only ten per cent of the total broadcast time (6,072 hours).⁶³ However, viewers spent nearly a third of their watching time (29 per cent of the 73 hours) watching them.⁶⁴

Several national television stations devoted to news deliver well-packaged and up-to-data news programmes. However, news programmes are mostly tailored with an inclination to sensationalise the events rather than to provide accurate information. Narratives of the poor, the marginalised, and the lower class are often ignored. When they appear on the screen, they are treated merely as objects.

Radio: promise of diversity

Due to its diverse ownership, the radio sector carries more diversity in content and targets more varied audiences than television. Commercial radio stations populating urban areas are commonly focused on entertainment programmes, particularly music. Of non-entertainment content, there are a number of news and public journalism radio stations in Indonesia, including the network of Radio KBR68H news agency. Community radio is at the forefront, challenging the lack of content diversity by producing and delivering content close to the realities of the communities that they serve, using participatory models of production.

Print: varied but not plural

Print media is at the very heart of the Indonesian content landscape, especially in terms of news production. As a rule of thumb, newspaper readers are far more critical and more active politically than their electronic counterparts. The combination of this and the domination of the newspaper industry by veteran publishers such as Kompas, Jawa Pos, and Tempo make newspaper content in Indonesia much higher quality than other media. While recognising the negative elements of their domination, these three publishers together produce adequate information at the national and provincial levels, as well as with investigative journalism. These print media together also provide “balance” (Kompas), and “aggressive” (Jawa Pos) and “investigative” (Tempo) reporting in Indonesia.⁶⁵

Post-authoritarian development has also witnessed a variety of viewpoints, something that did not exist prior to 1998. Islamic publishing alone represents a wide spectrum of viewpoints. While the Jakarta newspaper *Republika* is assertively modernist, Media Dakwah makes clear its campaign for an Islamic state.⁶⁶ However, viewpoints of marginalised groups are not represented. These groups only appear when they are involved in conflicts, scandals, or other “sensational” events, often with inaccurate portrayals. The Ahmadis (Ahmadiyah), for example, were never covered until they were violently attacked by the radicals. Even then they still did not receive fair coverage. Media also rarely

⁶² AGB Nielsen, 2011

⁶³ AGB Nielsen, 2011

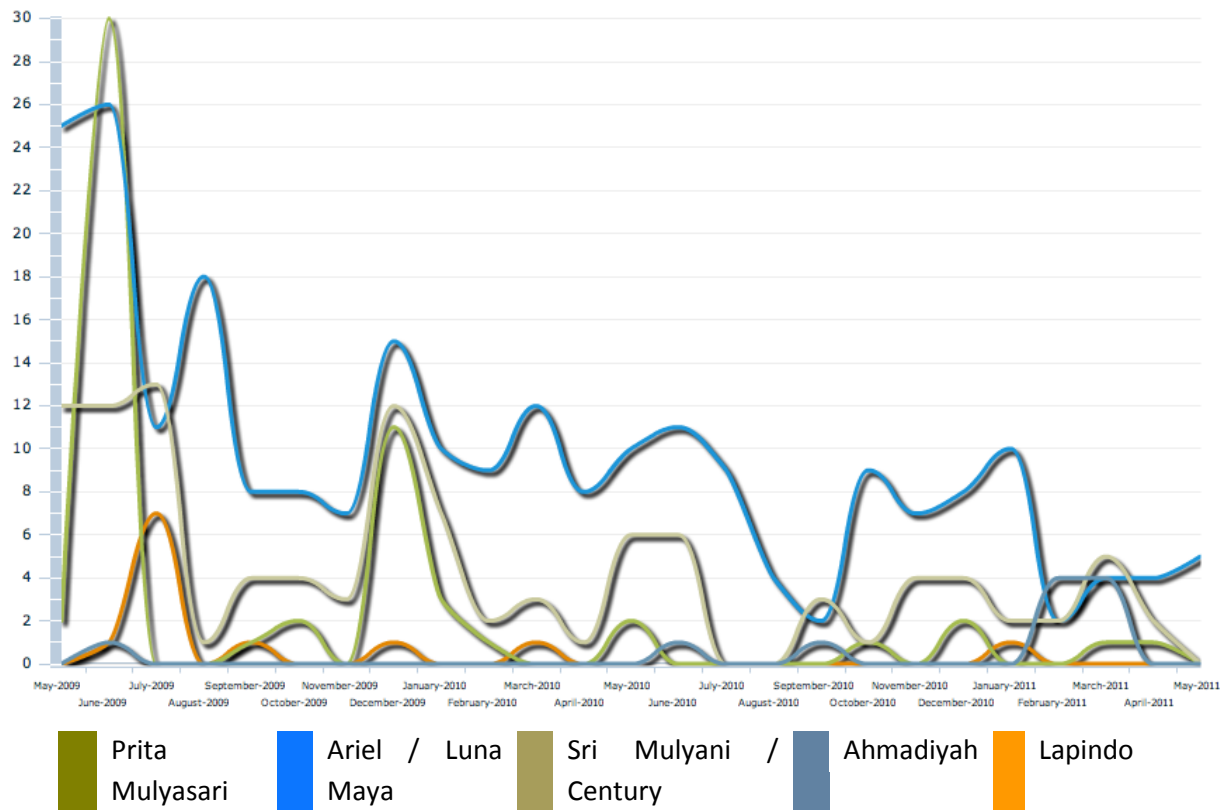
⁶⁴ AGB Nielsen, 2011

⁶⁵ Yoder, L. 2009. Indonesia, 17 September [online] <http://www.pressreference.com/Gu-Ku/Indonesia.html> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁶⁶ Yoder, 2009

issues on marginalised communities - such as Lapindo⁷¹ and Ahmadiyah⁷² - get minimum coverage. Issues closer to the middle-upper class interests— highly propagated by mainstream media—receive much higher coverage. The porn scandal of Indonesian artists Ariel and Luna Maya was picked up in discussions from July 2009 to March 2011, while a deadly attack on Ahmadiyah members was hardly discussed.

Figure 28: Popularity of issues in the top 80 Indonesian blogs⁷³



Apart from these problems, social media does provide space for Indonesians to communicate and express themselves in a way unimaginable before. In the last couple years, there has been an emergence of community blogs focusing on important issues and concerns in Indonesian society such as politikana.com, obrolanlangsar.com, savejkt.org, and akademiberbagi.org. Despite their inherent middle-class oriented tendency, the formation of these communities and other initiatives can be seen as a step towards diversity and pluralism of content in the online Indonesia.

9.3. Advancing Human Rights and Social Justice through Digital Communications

In the midst of the commercialisation of media, digital media and communications provide a novel sphere where alternative content and information can be created and disseminated. The availability of communication technologies has presented Indonesian society with new ways of becoming more conscious about human rights and related issues, particularly the right to freedom of expression.

⁷¹ See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sidoarjo_mud_flow for more description on the Lapindo case.

⁷² See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadiyya_in_Indonesia for more explanation on the Ahmadiyah and its persecution in Indonesia.

⁷³ Lim's Blogtrackers research

Digital media also has provided human rights activists with new tools for monitoring, defending, and advancing human rights and social justice.

Web 1.0 mobilisation

Past events in the history of Indonesia provide ample evidence that the internet is indeed a “convivial medium”⁷⁴ not only for Indonesians to express themselves, communicate and exchange ideas,⁷⁵ but also to provide a socio-political affordance for human agency to flourish. It can go even further to act as “cyber-civic space”⁷⁶ in which civil society generates collective actions online, and translate these online actions into real-world movements.⁷⁷ During the authoritarian era under Suharto, the internet provided a much more democratic media environment compared to traditional media such. The political history of the 1990s shows how the substantially unregulated internet contributed to the civil society movements that led to the downfall of Suharto’s authoritarian regime.⁷⁸

Web 2.0 mobilisation

In today’s more open political climate, the internet, particularly social media, continues to be the popular medium and tool for Indonesian urbanites to exercise their freedom of expression and their rights to participate in political decision-making. It is also a medium for them to mobilise themselves around rights, challenging perceived injustices, and to support the “weak” members of society. This is exemplified by the use of blogs, Facebook, and Twitter to mobilise mass movements, such as:

- **Coin for Prita:** In 2009, through an online campaign using blogs and Facebook, hundreds of thousands of Indonesians were mobilised to collect 500 Rupiah coins (equivalent to 6 US cents) to help Prita Mulyasari. In this way they paid the RP 204 million (USD 22,000) fine applied by the court fine for a defamation suit. This suit was a reaction to an e-mail complaint sent by Prita Mulyasari, 32-year-old mother of two, to her friends and relatives about the bad service she received at the hospital. The hospital sued her and she was held to have violated the Information and Electronic Transaction Law (dealt with in more detail in the following section).⁷⁹
- **One Million Support for Bibit-Chandra:** In 2009, Facebook was used to mobilise public protests against the perceived injustice done by the government towards Bibit and Chandra, members of the Corruption Eradication Committee.⁸⁰
- **“Coin Love for Bilqis”:** Modelled on Coin for Prita, this movement was designed to help a 17-month old Bilqis Pasya who suffered from a life-threatening liver problem. Using social media, the movement successfully collected nearly RP 900 million (USD 96,300) to finance Bilqis’ liver transplant.

⁷⁴ Lim, M., 2003. The Internet, Social Network and Reform in Indonesia. In N. Couldry and J. Curran (eds.), *Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in A Networked World*, Rowan & Littlefield, pp.273-288

⁷⁵ Lim, M., 2004. The Polarization of Identity through the Internet and the Struggle for Democracy in Indonesia, *Electronic Journal of Communication*, 14(3-4)

⁷⁶ Lim, M., 2002. CyberCivic Space in Indonesia: From Panopticon to Pandemonium, *International Development and Planning Review*, 24(4), pp.383-400

⁷⁷ Lim, M., 2006. Cyber-Urban Activism and Political Change in Indonesia, *Eastbound Journal*, 1, pp.1-19

⁷⁸ Lim, 2002

⁷⁹ See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prita_Mulyasari for the detailed story of Prit [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁸⁰ See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corruption_Eradication_Commission for the story of Bibit-Chandra [Accessed 28 July 2011]

The limits of online mobilisation

To a certain degree, the emergence of citizen journalism and reporting through social media has provided a mechanism to uncover social and political injustices that otherwise would not be revealed. But the success of such mobilisations is biased on certain types of narratives and issues. While these movements started online, they only became very popular after being publicised by the mainstream media, especially television. The cases of Bibit-Chandra and Prita are exemplary. There are many other cases that failed to reach critical mobilisation. These include:

- **The Lapindo case⁸¹ (2006-present):** The Sidoarjo mudflow incident has been ongoing since May 2006 and has affected more than 10,000 people. The biggest mud volcano in the world was created by the blowout of a natural gas-well drilled by PT Lapindo Brantas, a large company owned by a Bakrie conglomerate. Although this case represents larger issues and has impacted more victims than the case of Prita, the attempts to mobilise the Lapindo issue in social media has resulted in only modest participation.
- **Ahmadiyah⁸² assault:** The assault of Ahmadiyah members by a militant Islamist group in January 2011 was made public by the availability and dissemination of amateurish videos through social media. However, there has been no further action as a result of this footage.
- **Many other “Coin” movements have been initiated online** – such as Coin for Minah and Coin for Sumiyati - that never became popular.

Online video activism

The more organised attempts to make use of digital media to communicate human rights and social justice related issues come from media-human rights activists. In response to the need for better, relevant content, media activists have developed various media channels. Some examples include:

- **Kampung Halaman,⁸³** a non-profit organisation based in Yogyakarta, whose goal is to foster the use of popular audio-visual media in community-based programming. It is hoped that this will help the marginalised youth understand their role in improving the conditions of their communities.⁸⁴
- **EngageMedia,** a media activist organisation based in Jakarta and Melbourne, uses “the power of video, the internet and free software technologies” and works with independent filmmakers and video activists “to create social and environmental change”.⁸⁵
- **Kalyana Shira Foundation** is a non-profit organisation, established in 2006 by a group of independent film professionals who are concerned with the lack of films advocating women’s rights issues. This organisation produces quality documentary films to spread awareness on women rights and other social issues that have been neglected in Indonesia.⁸⁶ Kalyana Shira draws on public screenings in both physical and virtual spaces to disseminate its films.

⁸¹ See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sidoarjo_mud_flow for the story of Lapindo mud [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁸² See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadiyya_in_Indonesia for the story about Ahmadiyya in Indonesia [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁸³ <http://www.kampunghalaman.org>. [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁸⁴ Interview with Zamzam Zaunafi, director of Kampung Halaman, 20 July 2010

⁸⁵ <http://www.engagemedia.org/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁸⁶ <http://www.kalyanashira.com/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

Channelling sensitive, inaccessible, filtered information

While the number is very small, there are few independent organisations that utilise digital media to open a channel of information for politically sensitive issues. Some examples include:

- **West Papua Media Alerts** is a non-profit initiative providing independent news from West Papua. Through its online portal, this initiative states that “Papuan campaigns to end human rights abuses and bringing these unreported Papuan issues to the front page”⁸⁷.
- **Kontras**, is the Commission for “the Disappeared” and victims of violence and provides information on, and support for, victims of human rights violence through its online portal.⁸⁸
- **Imparsial** - the Indonesian Human Rights Monitor - makes use of digital networks to monitor and investigate human rights violations in Indonesia.⁸⁹
- **Kalyanamitra**, Women’s Communication and Information Centre, utilises digital networks to promote awareness about women’s rights, to fight for oppressed women, and to provide information and knowledge network on women related issues.⁹⁰

It is important to note that many human right activist organisations make use not only of digital media technology, but also of other media such as local television and radio networks, and paper-based media - newsletters, bulletins, pamphlets, and magazines - in their content production, development, and distribution.

9.4. Controlling Media and Communications

Reformasi has forced Indonesian society to encounter, experience, and experiment with the notion of freedom. Freedom House classifies Indonesia as a “free” country with good scores on both political rights and civil liberties.⁹¹ When it comes to press freedom and internet freedom, though, Indonesia’s status is classified as “partly free”⁹² signalling the ongoing struggle of the Indonesian media to remain independent and credible vis-à-vis the increasingly corporatised environment, the more outspoken public, and government’s desire to regain control over the media.

Post Suharto’s early democratisation and the set back

Claiming the right to information and communications, freedom of expression and press freedom takes many forms. The first step taken by civil society organisations in 1998 was a legal reform of the press and the broadcasting law. They formed a media coalition and held a successful campaign to endorse new Press Law No. 40 in 1999 and Broadcasting Act No. 32 in 2002. The principle of press freedom is enshrined in the new Press Law. The Broadcasting Act of 2002 - stressing media decentralisation and emphasising accountability and transparency in licensing procedures for public service and commercial broadcasting licenses - was created to democratise the landscape of

⁸⁷ <http://westpauamedia.info/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁸⁸ <http://www.kontras.org/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁸⁹ <http://www.imparsial.org/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁹⁰ <http://kalyanamitra.or.id/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁹¹ Freedom House, 2011. Freedom of the Net 2011 – Indonesia, [online]

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/images/File/FotN/Indonesia2011.pdf> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁹² Freedom House, 2010. Freedom of the press – Indonesia, [online]

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=251&year=2010&country=7841> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

broadcast media. Central to this is the establishment and inclusion of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, an independent regulatory body representing the public interest in the licensing processes. These two legal products are the symbol of civil society's victory in promoting a free and independent media as well as advancing the public interest.

In the following decade, however, other legal products created set-backs in the same area. Just three years after issuing the Broadcasting Act, the government passed a series of administrative regulations for private and community broadcastings that ignore the spirit of the 2002 Act. Under the 2002 Act, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission has the right to issue and revoke the licenses of broadcasters. The 2005 newer regulations on foreign, private, community, and subscription-based broadcasters, however, grant this power back to the state, giving the government the right to intervene.

The abuse of criminal defamation codes and the Indonesian cyber-law

While official censorship has become rare, criminal defamation codes continue to raise concerns about media freedom and freedom of expression in general. Although in the past few years the Constitutional Court has overturned some clauses in the criminal code that were created under Suharto's regime - such as two that criminalised defamation of the government through public media - public officials continue to use other articles of the criminal codes in their interest. The Alliance of Independent Journalists⁹³ in Indonesia reported that "most charges levelled against journalists and media are related to defamation".⁹⁴

In 2008, the government passed a cyberlaw in the form of the Electronic Information and Transactions (ITE) Law that was originally designed to protect electronic business transactions. Its vague definition of defamation lends itself to be used against individuals and groups who express opinions on the internet and through social media. There were six individuals prosecuted in 2009, including the already mentioned Prita Mulyasari.⁹⁵ Under Article 27 (3) on the transmission of electronic information with libellous content, she faced up to six years in prison and a penalty of RP 1 billion (USD 85,000).⁹⁶ The final verdict handed her a RP 204 million (USD 22,000) fine. At the same time, Prita Mulyasari was also charged under Article 310 of the Criminal Code on defamation and Article 211 of the Criminal Code on defamation in libellous writing. Later the hospital dropped the lawsuit on Article 27 (3) and Prita won a parallel case in the court. But two years after her acquittal, in July 2011, the panel of judges at the Supreme Court sentence Prita to one year of probation for being guilty of defamation charge.⁹⁷ In May 2009, the Press Legal Aid Institute (LBH Pers) and the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) petitioned for a judicial review of the Article 27 (3) of the ITE Law.⁹⁸ The Constitutional Court, however, rejected the petition.

⁹³ <http://www.ajiindonesia.org/>

⁹⁴ Article 19 and AJI, 2005

⁹⁵ Freedom House, 2010

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ The Jakarta Post, 2011. Lawmakers drum up support for Prita, 12 July [online]

<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/07/12/lawmakers-drum-support-prita.html> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

⁹⁸ Freedom House, 2010

The return of the control: ruling the press, public access to information and public morality

Along with the ITE Law, three other new laws have posed new threats to media freedom and freedom of expression:

- The 2008 Election Law included articles stating that “print mass media must provide fair and balanced space and time for election coverage, interviews, and campaign ads for election candidates” and holds the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) and the Press Council (Dewan Pers) accountable for this issue. Critics said that these articles undermine the press and broadcasting laws of 1999 and 2002 and place an unnecessary burden on KPI and the Press Council.⁹⁹
- The 2008 Transparency of Public Information Law is Indonesia’s freedom of information law. On the one hand, this law offers new legal guarantees for public access to information.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, this law also provides a one-year jail term for anyone who “misuses” that information. The vague definition of “misuse” opens possibilities for abuse of this law.¹⁰¹
- The controversial 2008 Pornography Law criminalises any sex-related material deemed to violate public morality. The law also embodies public discourses on content in the “Asian” and/or even “Muslim” country contexts, where most of the debates around content regulation are framed around public morality and the regulation of the “excesses” of the information/networked environment. Relying on a vague definition of pornography, the law is perceived as discriminating against some populations - for instance the predominantly Hindu Bali, where some cultural traditions could now be deemed pornographic - and as limiting the freedom of expressions of journalists, media, and public in general, especially those that deal with creative visual work, such as filmmakers and video artists and journalists.

Future crime and convergence bills

In the coming years, there will be two media related bills to monitor:

- Informational Technology Crime (TIPITI) bill is considered by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) as even more repressive and vague than the controversial 2008 ITE Law. Media observers are concerned that the TIPITI bill is as “overly aggressive and not emphasising the investigation of digital evidence enough”¹⁰² and carrying heavier penalties for online offenses.
- The Media Convergence bill is meant to consolidate and organise Indonesia’s Broadcasting Act, ITE and Telecommunications law. It will also merge the Broadcasting Commission, the Information Commission, and the Indonesian Telecommunications Regulatory Body into a single commission. The merging of various institutions into a single body might lead to the creation of “a super-body armed with penal provisions that will have the mandate of

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Lutfia, I., 2010. Journalist, Bloggers Weigh In on Role of New Media. Jakarta Globe, [online] 6 August <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/home/journalists-bloggers-weigh-in-on-role-of-new-media/389727> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

regulating and monitoring the press, broadcast and new media, and various telecommunications platforms.”¹⁰³

Corruption, intimidation, and self-censorship

In addition to problems around control over media and information originating from the regulatory framework, there are some other problems that are more political and cultural.

- Corruption and bribery in journalism still persist.
- State-violence is no longer practiced, but journalists and the media continue to suffer attacks of violence and intimidation when they cover corruption or other sensitive topics. In 2010 alone, AJI recorded 63 cases of violence against journalists and media.¹⁰⁴
- Journalism practices have been influenced by the political and commercial interests of the media owners, thus unhealthy, new forms of self-censorship from media owners has become the norm.¹⁰⁵

9.5. The Way Forward

Current situation

- Access to media in Indonesia has generally increased. There are some persistent, negative issues, however: uneven distribution of the infrastructure, an urban-rural divide, Java-centric development, and gender imbalance.
- Concentration of media ownership and the networked media business model have led to a lack of diversity in production and subsequent content. Online alternative production is on the rise, but still suffers from the domination of urban middle class issue, dependency on mainstream media, and the supremacy of online global players.
- Indonesian media operates in a relatively free environment. But newly created regulations have hindered Indonesian media in the continuing process of democratisation. Meanwhile, criminal defamation codes continue to raise concern with persisting violence and intimidation against journalists and media, bribery, and self-censorship that serves the vested interests of media owners.

Civil society engagement—opportunities

- *The Indonesian media landscape is vibrant and dynamic. Historically, Indonesia’s media has always been rife with innovative technologies that have provided easy and affordable access solutions.*
- *Various small, independent initiatives that address the internal digital divide are present and, seemingly, will continue to grow.*
- *Indonesia is witnessing the expansion of independent media and the soaring potential of the production of rich alternative content.*

¹⁰³ SEAPA, 2010. Indonesian journalists prepare for more legislative battles, 22 January. [online] <http://www.seapabkk.org/alerts/6-news-a-features/16-indonesian-journalists-prepare-for-more-legislative-battles.html> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

¹⁰⁴ AJI, 2010. Ancaman Itu Datang dari Dalam, annual report of Alliance of Independent Journalist, Jakarta: AJI

¹⁰⁵ Haryanto, I. 2010. Media Ownership and Its Implication for Journalists and Journalism in Indonesia. In K. Sen and D. Hill (eds.), Politics and the New Media in 21st Century Indonesia, London: Routledge, pp.104-118

- *Community radio in Indonesia, in particular, demonstrates promising prospects in local content production.*
- *Digital media, particularly social media and online video, has become an effective medium for activists in mobilising social movements and advancing human rights and social justice.*

Regulatory and policy issues

- *Telecom policies and regulatory frameworks in general need reform. The PSTN (international and long distance calls) duopoly must be terminated, a conducive and more competitive investment policy is needed, and the licensing body needs greater independence and professionalism.*
- *The spectrum licensing environment needs to be more transparent. The government should make information on spectrum allocation accessible to and comprehensible by public.*
- *Recent developments in the digital communications-related regulatory framework have raised the possibility of increased censorship. Laws tend to be “vague” lending themselves to abuse and misuse. Future regulation should be made in accordance with the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression and Opinion in the Human Rights Council.*
- *Discourse around the content regulatory framework has been hijacked by the “public morality” and “excesses” debates, with a disproportionate emphasis on “negative content”. There is an urgent need to shift the debate from “morality” and “excess” to one about “access” and “diversity”.*

Mapping sympathetic stakeholders and allies

- *Many independent Indonesian organisations, especially media activists, are apparent partners, sympathetic stakeholders and allies to work in addressing a range of media challenges and problems. Very few civil society organisations (CSOs), however, work specifically on media rights in terms of pressuring and/or lobbying for a more open regulatory sector.*
- *Among CSOs, there is an apparent lack of systematic effort to actively monitor the development of media related draft laws and a lack of technical expertise to offer viable policy alternatives vis-à-vis the government’s push for the proposed new laws.*
- *The corporate sector, particularly internet service providers, could be “won over” to protect public interest by employing strategies that emphasise consumers’ interests.*
- *An Indonesian Internet Governance Forum (ID-IGF) can be a future partner for the advancement of media access and rights. In its establishment, ID-IGF has involved representatives from the private sector and civil society, as well as some governmental low ranking officials from the Ministry of Communication and Information. It is crucial to ensure that ID-IGF is responsive to public interests and allows for citizen participation.*
- *The Indonesian public is energetic and embraces a participatory culture, especially through social media. How to take advantage of this popular, participatory culture and transform its energy into meaningful, civic engagement is a future task.*

Mapping strategies for intervention and changes

- *Indonesian CSOs can benefit hugely from the insights and experiences of open regulation lobby initiatives elsewhere in the world and; international organisations that focus on related issues.*

- *As well as the “lobby” approach, the “back-door” approach to regulation is worth consideration. This strategy refers to the collective effort to put local, national and international pressure on the government to change or amend regulations.*¹⁰⁶
- *The public and communities need to be engaged in media access and rights initiatives through various activities such as grant competitions, workshops and trainings. The Cipta Media Bersama (CMB) project - launched by the Ford Foundation Indonesia in collaboration with ICT Watch,¹⁰⁷ AJI, and Wikipedia Indonesia - is a good example of this.*¹⁰⁸
- *For Indonesians to participate and be engaged in the global dialogues and initiatives around the internet and media governance, local capacity needs to be developed immediately. Local and international institutions can provide meaningful support. They can do this not only by influencing discourse, assisting with resources and skills development, and supporting infrastructure expansion at the local level, but also by influencing global discourses and initiatives towards the needs of the people and the conditions of media environments in the countries of the Global South such as Indonesia.*

¹⁰⁶ One of the glaring examples is Onno Purbo’s (and his group’s) struggle to liberate the 2.4GHz broadband. As part of his strategy, Purbo spread the knowledge and access (of 2.4 GHz band) all over Indonesia reaching the point where it was impossible to regulate. Purbo also brought the international partners, such as IDRC and CERN, into play to put pressure on the Indonesian government. This approach was a success, resulting in the signing of the Ministry Act liberating 2.4GHz in Indonesia on 5 January 2005 (Purbo, 2011).

¹⁰⁷ <http://ictwatch.com/id/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

¹⁰⁸ CMB is the grant competition to engage communities in pursuing (a) equal and just media access, (b) media pluralism and content diversity, (c) open, free, and ethical media practices, and (d) fair and democratic media. For further information on Cipta Media Bersama, see: <http://www.ciptamedia.org/> [Accessed 28 July 2011]

Indonesia

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