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Submission date: 18-Sep-2020 07:11PM (UTC+0700)

Submission ID: 1390338980

File name: Bagi_131082_Anom_2020_E_R.pdf (203.29K)

Word count: 7665

Character count: 42306



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Media structure regulations and economic, democratic political media becoming business media in Indonesia. This study uses historical methods and approaches. This assessment technique can describe the activities of the process of the formation of the establishment of a business media regulatory basis in Indonesia and the factors that influence the development of business media regulation. This rule is used to systematically review the form of the foundation of the 1984-2018 media business regulation in Indonesia. The results of the study get the media in the 1984-2018 era by their responsibilities as a free media to be responsible together with the government and society to play an active role in enriching developments and finding solutions to overcome the difficulties faced by the state by its functions. The establishment of the 1984-2018 media system includes all forms of problems encountered, including those relating to socio-cultural, political, and economic issues. Therefore, the government gives weight and benchmarks regarding the actuality of media values. The media in its activities are based on the noble values of the nation; namely, Pancasila; the government formally established the Pancasila media in 1984. The Pancasila media must be free and accountable and harmonise its attitudes and behaviour to the noble values of the Indonesian nation, disseminate correct and objective information, become distributors of people's aspirations, and holding adequate social controls.

Key words: *Media Structure Regulation, Economic Democracy Media, Business Media.*



Introduction

Democracy is the spear tip of a new history in Indonesia in perceiving independence of all rights. Contrary to some perceptions, a healthy democratic society is not just an arena where individuals pursue their personal goals. Democracy thrives when it is guarded by citizens who are willing to use the freedom they have painstakingly gained to participate in people's lives. They added their voices to the public debate, chose representatives who could be held responsible for their actions, and accepted the need for tolerance and consensus in public.

Democracy citizens enjoy the right to individual freedom. Still, they also assume responsibility together with others to shape a future that will continue to maintain the fundamental values of freedom and self-government. Democracy is a set of ideas and principles about responsible freedom, but also includes a set of practices and procedures that are formed through a long and often tortuous history. In short, democracy is the institutionalisation of freedom of responsibility.

For a society to be considered genuinely democratic, there must be a high degree of protection for the expression of ideas in a publicised form: newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, films, television, or, most recently, the internet, Facebook and other social media.

Problem Identification

Ibrahim & Hasim (2005), state that each country has its press system and laws. It is because these countries have differences in goals, functions, and socio-political backgrounds that support them so that the rules applied are also different. The 19th Case of the 1984 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which was dedicated to freedom of speech and expression of opinion, also did not mention press freedom. However, the 19 UDHR case is the primary reference for those who fight for world press freedom. The most important recent document that was born with UDHR Case 19 policy is the Windhoek Declaration on May 3, 1991.

Before entering and discussing the media economy and regulation of media structures, what needs to be observed is the theoretical perspective that can help us understand the phenomenon of modern mass media economisation. The first perspective is an economic and industrial perspective that recognises the diversity and characteristics of media companies based on various media differences and contexts. Second, it is more of an alternative theory from the viewpoint above, which is a political media economy perspective that concentrates on the issue of media capitalisation and commercialisation. The third is a normative perspective in understanding media. This perspective focuses on the problem of media structure with the public interest. Fourth is the perspective of media institutions with the



point of view of a professional media. These four perspectives can be understood by putting mass media as the centre of the circle of three interconnected slices, which are politics, economics, and technology. The slices of power that surround the media raised questions and became a problem in this study: How are certain media differentiated in economic and political terms? How and why do national media systems differ in structure and control? How and why is the media economy different from other types of the industry? What are the causes and consequences of media concentration? What are the causes and consequences of media internalisation? Does the relative weight of technology affect media change? How do financial sources influence media performance?

In connection with the problems above, we must also understand what media structure and what its level of analysis is. Media structure is related to the media system. The media system refers to the actual set of mass media in a particular society. Media in this context is better understood as a system. The media system is a network of connections between elements in the mass media, regardless of their form. From the understanding above, we can now understand the level of analysis needed in understanding the media as a system. The media system component consists of the scope of the media, media systems, multimedia companies, media sectors, distribution areas, media channel units, and media product units.

Literature Review

Media system theory has been adopted to guide this study. Various systems theories have been developed and benchmarked since 1956 by Siebert et al. and McQuail (1983). These theories have been the inspiration for this study. Media theory thinking flow Siebert et al. cites four emerging forms of media theory: authoritarian media theory, libertarian, social responsibility, and communist media theory. In 1956, the concept of these four forms of the method emerged to explain the development and state of media in the world at that time, which briefly outlines four models of media theory presented by Siebert et al., as well as the media models presented by McQuail. These media models are authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, Soviet communist, development media, and democratic participation media. Democracy, however, should require and be marked by an independent media. The point is, the government cannot control what is written or broadcast, and it cannot send people to prison for their views. The most obvious sign of an undemocratic regime is a violation of these fundamental things.

If ideas flow freely but do not touch the lives of the people, if the media is independent of the government but filled with trivial matters, and if the public field is open but also empty, then democracy can flourish just as surely as it collapses when fundamental rights are prohibited. Habermas (2006) stated that there are some things that the government must follow to introduce democracy. First, the political environment must be accepted by all citizens.



Second, there must be access to information. Third, the guarantee of someone influencing the transfer of data. Fourth, there is institutional assurance (public environment). If the media is positioned as the agent of reform as the media of business and idealism, then this society deserves a position as the fourth estate. It means that the media ranks in line with legislative, judicial, and executive boards. Media today is just as important as the branches of government, and it has a direct impact on each of these branches: executive, legislative, and even judicial.

Research Method

In conducting the study, reviewers used the historical method approach. This assessment technique can describe the process of forming the realisation of the Indonesian media freedom foundation and the factors that influence the development of the final system. This study is used to systematically review the form of the foundation of Indonesian media freedom in 1984-2018.

This study method can provide an overview of social reality and can explain the processes that occurred in it and explain the various contexts that underlie the event (Geertz 73). In this case, McQuail (1987) calls this study approach as a community-centred or community perspective approach. Through this approach, the media in this study, the media system, are considered to be the creation and formation that apply in historical folds.

This study not only impresses the development of the grand system as a result of historical changes but also influences the development of the grand system rather than the perspective of the royal institution itself. This situation can be seen from the introduction and growth ratings so that it becomes one of several media institutions in larger community institutions.

The historical method is a method that may be used in all types of study discipline (Gottchalk, Kluckhohn and Anggel 1945; Gorrgham 1948; and Shafer 1974). This study is a historical study of Islamic development, which is one of the essential elements of communication science. Schudson (1993) has distributed the history of communication studies into three categories; macro history, proper history, and institutional history.

Studies on proper histories, according to Schudson, relate to the method of looking at media relations and their environment by emphasising how changes in communication affect the environment and vice versa. The study of macro history also highlights media relations with human evolution. In this context, he explains about what communication does to humans, in terms of progress and modesty. While the study of the type of institutional history also refers to research on development and media development. Schudson (1993) examined the categories of historical communication studies and the investigative approaches taken by this



study, and it was found that past research on the development of media and business media regulations was included in the first and third categories.

Document Analysis: In conducting this research, the author used a historical research approach through document analysis. This research technique is expected to be able to describe the development, activities, and regulation system of media business in Indonesia in 1984-2018.

In-depth Interview: In the approach to this research, the author uses in-depth interview methods. In conducting in-depth interviews, researchers conducted interviews with journalists, media owners, and the government.

Results And Discussion

Mass Media's Economy and Management

McQuail (1987) saw that the development of modern mass media caused the media to no longer be understood in the context of mere social and political institutions but must also be seen in the context of economic institutions. The facts showed that media has grown not only as a social, political, and cultural tool but also as a company that emphasises economic benefits. It means that the media has an integral character: the socio-cultural-political character and economic character.

Economic factors seem to be a determining factor in influencing all the behaviour of modern mass media. The coefficient of the free market in the whole process of mass communication contributes a lot in shaping the factors of competition and economic demands, which became the consideration of how contemporary mass media is formed and managed. In this section, McQuail (1987) discusses several keywords to understand the economic issues and management of modern mass media. Some keywords are as follows: the media economy and the types of media regulation.

Alfani (2014) said the media-political economy is a study that arises from the consideration that the existence of the media in various factors such as ownership, diversity of media and content, media management, media consumption, and others have an integral relationship with politics and economics. The term "media political economy" is a generic term that is widely used to combine the theoretical framework of communication with the political and economic conceptual framework. Attachment to the economic and political dimensions makes information a vulnerable place for both. As entities that are constructed by the media, what is referred to as 'information' often represents particular economic and political interests.



Economic Principles in Media Structure

Several main economic principles need to be seen if we want to see financial considerations in the structure of the mass media. There are at least ten principles that exist. First, the media differ based on whether the media has a fixed and variable cost structure. Second, the media market has a dual character: financed by consumers and or by advertisers. Third, the media that is funded by advertising revenue is more vulnerable to unwanted external influences. Fourth, media based on consumers' income are susceptible to short-term financial crises. Fifth, the main difference in media income will require different measures of media performance. Sixth, the performance of media in one market will affect performance in other places (other markets). Seventh, dependence on advertising in the mass media affects the problem of media program's homogeneity. Eighth, advertising in a particular media will encourage diversity of applications. Ninth, certain types of advertising will benefit the problem of market and audience concentration. Tenth, competition from the same source of income will lead to uniformity.

¹ Zulfiningrum (2014), in her study, aimed to determine the specialisation and practices of media conglomeration by the Kompas Gramedia group. This type of research is descriptive qualitative. In this research, data collection techniques used in-depth interviews, library research, and documentation. This study uses a method Interactive Analysis Model Miles and Huberman. Specialisation is a process for overcoming space and time, mapping out the extent to which the media were able to present their products to the front of the reader, viewer, or consumers with the limits of space and time. The results indicate that the practice of spatialisation conducted by the Kompas Gramedia Group is to follow the model of the industrial economy. It is characterised by the abundance of media and accelerates the results to get a low cost for production or efficiency. It indicates the growth spirit of capitalism in the media industry. The media industry, which was built in the spirit of capitalism, would produce media messages or product-oriented capital increase. The conglomeration of media makes the media do their efficiency and is reflected in the value chain of media products. As a result, the media also could not avoid the content that will be the same. With an equaliser for the content of these media, people in the audience do not have the freedom to select appropriate media content as what they want.

Ownership and Supervision Issues

² In the issue of ownership and supervision, there are three forms of ownership. The types of ownership are as follows: commercial companies, non-profit institutions, and institutions that are publicly controlled. These forms of ownership will usually lead to the problem of freedom. Freedom of the press itself supports ownership rights to decide the content of the media itself. Thus, ownership forms influence the formation and production of media



content. Therefore, duplication and diversity of ownership systems and free competition are ways or things that need to be used in the development of modern media. It is undoubtedly based on a system of checks and balances of the information to limit unwanted influence from media owners.

Yulianti (2016) said that the break-up of the new order, led to the waning of government control so that media democratisation became more wide open. The rapid mass media industry in Indonesia has caused intense competition in terms of controlling the market. Conglomerate figures also enter the media business that led to the conglomerate. Even politicians deliberately come to the media business for their political interests. In the end, the media is only used as a tool by the owner as a commodity that can be sold and generates profit and becomes a propaganda tool for its political interests.

The Competition Issue and Media Concentration

The media's economic process demands profit maximisation, so it is not surprising that the media also requires a system of competition and a means of capital concentration. Media economy concentration is the degree of differentiation and similarity of a product in a market and its obstacle in the market. The problem of capital concentration by the media is distinguished in several ways: level of concentration, the direction of concentration, the level of observation, and the degree of media concentration. Media concentration usually occurs between monopoly situations and perfect competition. Concentration is calculated when there are three or four companies that control 50% of the market reach. The competition triggers media concentration, to get maximum synergy and profit. Some things or degree of concentration benefit consumers. Unwanted effects with concentration problems are loss of diversity, more uneconomical prices, and limited access to the media. Thus it is also essential to make arrangements regarding media concentration by encouraging the presence of new players in the media market.

Hudaini (2012) said that the development of media conglomerates in Indonesia began at the beginning of the 1980s when the New Order government opened access to capitalism widely. The indication of media conglomerates grows as the changes like journalism from "Pers Perjuangan" in the Soekarno era to industrialist "Pers Pancasila" in the Soeharto era. This trend increased in the Reformasi era in 1998 and post-Reformasi in 2001. Two main things encourage the development of conglomerates of the Kompas Gramedia group, namely: technology and regulation. Technology is one of the key elements which facilitate the change of structure and the progress of the media industry. The diversification process of print media, broadcasting, and new media become possible by technological assistance. By remote printing technology, the development of broadcasting technology and extensive internet network make the development of a media giant with significant capital more widely spread.



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Various media regulations in Indonesia also play an essential role in the growth and expansion of businesses. The strict regulation of Antitrust, rule of media ownership, production, and distribution of media products affect the sector of industry development. Otherwise, weak regulations and pro-industry political atmosphere will contribute significantly to the development of media conglomerates. Besides, technology and regulation support the growth of the business.

Issues in Media Economics

Some of the issues that have been discussed above gave us some issues that are considered in understanding modern mass media more comprehensively. Media is recognised as an institution of public interest but is also understood as an economic entity. The media needs to be understood as a hybrid that values markets, products, and technology. The media business is difficult to enter because of capital intensive and a tight capital economy cycle. This pattern ultimately categorised the media as an industrial institution that has a high fixed cost. When the media has a high fixed cost, it requires creativity and continuous adjustment to uncertainty. It is not surprising that the media tends to concentrate. Media's products can be duplicated or recycled.

Ningtyas (2010) researched the conglomeration of the broadcast media industry in Indonesia. She analysed the political economy in the archipelago image of the media group. It was found out that the concentration of media ownership refers to the view that the majority of large media have a proportionately small number of company owners through a corporate conglomerate system. The concentration of media ownership refers to the relative proportion between two quantities: first, the number of people or parties who own, control, or influence certain media; and second, the number of people or parties affected by, or influenced by, the medium. Overall, size and wealth determine the market diversity of both media output and media ownership.

Main Principles of Media Management

The fact that mass media has a strategic function in society makes it necessary for mass media to have governance. Control and supervision are still needed even though it does not rule out the possibility of freedom of application on the issue of regulative control. Thus, a variety of forms in regulative management of media can also be applied to each type of media. Control can only be effective and acceptable in a truly massive media context. Control is more likely used to monitor media structure than media content. Therefore, a more positive understanding of media control is precisely needed.



Valerisha (2017) said the mass media as the fourth pillar of democracy has a vital role in the process of democratic consolidation. However, in Indonesia, the role of mass media as a tool in providing open, free, correct, and objective information and forming public opinion still faces challenges from the practice of media conglomerates or commonly called - "the monopoly of media ownership." It is further exacerbated by the characterisation of media owners who participate in the political sector even as leaders of political parties. The monopolistic practices that occur in the media sector have influenced the democratic process in this country, especially towards the achievement of "Democratic Consolidation". The media regulates what should be discussed and what should be avoided to be addressed by the public. The media has the power to elect the leaders of the State, and it has released the agenda of the political elite, made the news as a commodity, and benefited from these actions and gives media owners the ability to buy political influence.

Mass Media Regulation and Media Economy in Indonesia

There are at least three regulatory models that can be seen. First is the free press model. This model is a regulatory model in which the government minimally regulates the press. This model positively legitimises socio-economic and political guarantees of media. The second model is the broadcasting model. This latter model fairly and socially guarantees the nature of the use and benefits of broadcast media. In this model, the regulation of infrastructure and content is quite high. While sender access is limited, the recipient's entrance is very open. The third model is a standard carrier model. The main motive of this regulation is to develop and implement more efficiently and shows how consumers can use this common carrier to the fullest. This regulatory problem occurs when there is media convergence technology.

The mass media can be arranged indirectly. The existing political system very much influences it. The form of media governance varies from internal to external problems. Of course, these forms of regulation are related to the history of mass media's social and political system.

Whereas in an interview with Saifuddin (2019) who said what distinguishes the control system for the media of a country lies in the respective governments with their individual media regulations, which are sourced from the ideology of their respective countries. Further he said that in the period 1984-2018, the media economy was related to the function as a disseminator of information-oriented news. This is in the interests of readers, listeners, audiences, the benefits of advertising, and media companies governed by media laws based on the nation's noble values of Pancasila ideology. It is so that the duties and responsibilities of Java media as the media that carries out the function of idealism and business get legal certainty.



Media is an industry and can create jobs, goods, services, and turn on other related sectors. Media is a means of control, a source of strength, management, and innovation in society. With the existence of the media, the industry grows, which eventually can be a support for media people. Especially after being strengthened by the issuance of the Investment Law of 1969 and the peak of Law no.20 /1994. In the Law no. 20/1994, it is stated that to accelerate the increase and needs for economic activities and national development in general, it is necessary to expand the increasingly stable business climate and better ensure the continuity of foreign investment.

With the change of political and economic structures in various worlds and the widespread globalisation, many societies that were once very closed to foreign investment have now opened opportunities to foreign capital to increase employment opportunities, growth, and expand their economic activities. This situation has taken place together with the efforts of Indonesian people to further enhance and expand economic activities and renew their national development by providing a significant role in the community and business world in financing development. With the Law No.20 of 1994, mass media in Indonesia is growing and developing into a business industry that can support many people, especially media figures.

Balian (2019) said that the media should ideally stand for the truth. However, in reality, business media today are owned by financiers in the structure and control of the media that places certain people so that they influence the editorial policy for the benefit of the media business and Media Law No. 40 of 1999 the foundation of media idealism and business.

In the 1984-2018 leadership era, the policies taken by the government on the media were tightening government control and stimulating economic growth. These two aspects significantly affect the development of the media. Control has made the media work with caution and fragility in the amount of coverage, while the economic growth of media and business development is growing. This phenomenon began in the late 1980s, which then later became government policy in the development of business media by sticking to media idealism.

Anom (2016) stated in this era, that the aspect that the government develops in the media is that the media must have idealism and be encouraged to become a business media. McQuail (1987) argued that the media has a dependence on other forces in society, especially politics and money. The media can be a tool of specific political forces or economic forces, indirectly or informally (through individuals). The media is the determinant of political and economic power. Following Surya Paloh, idealism and commerce or business from the media are like two sides of the same coin. The struggle is necessary for idealism, but to achieve our goals, we must not ignore the aspect of commerce or business (Matra, April 1995).



A growing business or business media is a media that is oriented to the interests of readers and advertisements, prioritises commercial interests, is controlled by professional journalists, is neutral and has a large number of circulation. In this regard, media charts, media companies, advertising media, and journalist organisations must be included in media organisations.

Business media policy is realised by the government to facilitate the control of media publishing and to get the legal power to become a media publishing company. All media publishing companies must understand the truth of the media publishing business so that it is in line with the Ministry of Information Regulation No.01 / PER / MENPEN / 1984 concerning the Press Release Business License (SIUPP).

Media in 1984-2018 accepted the existence of the existing socio-political system. It is because the media is owned by large companies that have an interest in the socio-political system at that time, and authorities required all media to do this. So that media can keep developing by doing various kinds of self-control techniques, such as euphemism, avoiding, and covering the news. Fikri Jufri said that Tempo weekly news only contained 60 percent of the news material and kept 40 percent of the information on the base of the kingdom (off the record) as a self-control system. Fikri said this was done as a form of concern for the interests of national stability, which is always recommended by the government (Suara Pembaharuan, 3 February 1995).

To stabilise the increase in economic growth, the government issued a new regulation, which is Government Regulation No.20 /1994; this regulation aims to loosen control over the capital of foreign investors, in the most strategic fields in the Indonesian economy. These fields are seaports, commercial flights, railways, electricity, telecommunications, and mass media. The loosening of investment control by foreign investors is expected by the government to get 73 percent of the money from private and foreign investors.

Government Regulation No. 20/1994 confirms that foreign investors have a 95% share, as well as a license permit to operate strategic industries, including mass media. This regulation, however, has a catch. Foreign investors in the mass media sector contradict the Press Law Fasal 5, that is, the capital of a media company must all be the national capital. Some media publishers and editors object to Government Regulation No. 20/1994 because, in general, media companies in Indonesia are small businesses and must be protected by the government from foreign capital.

To answer the problems raised by Government Regulation No.21 /1994, the government made a decision, that both regulations, namely the Basic Press Law and PP No. 20/1994, are valid. It means that, theoretically, foreign investors can submit requests to do business in



mass media industries. Practically, however, following Basic Press law, the government will not accept those requests.

Here, it can be seen that whatever the government's decision is on the media, the government cannot avoid the interests of economic growth, so that the government can survive in the international economic competition. Despite being tightly controlled by the government, this government decision was seen by the mass media industry entrepreneurs as showing interest in adding investors and continued to move forward with business design and business media development.

The dynamics of the economy of the commercial media in 1984-2018 can be seen through changes that occurred in media ownership patterns. What happened at this time is not just the integration of media companies into an active and large mass media group, but also ownership takeover of shares by those close to power. Those who are close to power and authorities play a role in the ownership of media companies such as Bob Hasan's shares in Gatra. Abdul Latief's shares in Tiras, Harmoko has a stake in 31 mass media companies, Bambang Trihatmodjo shares in Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI). Hill (1994: 101) said that Bambang Trihatmodjo, who had established his position in the world of commerce through Bimantara Group, began running and operating RCTI in 1987. RCTI was the first private television station in Indonesia. Bimantara Group also extended assistance to Surya Persindo (owned by Surya Paloh), in 1989, when Surya took over Media Indonesia. Since then, Bambang Trihatmodjo and Surya Paloh are getting closer to their financial affairs and trading strategies.

Soeharto's daughter, Siti Hardijanti Rukmana, obtained a permit to control Indonesian Education Television (TPI) in 1990. Previously, she had received permission to publish Indonesian Women's weekly tabloid, in 1989. Siti Hardijanti Rukmana also wanted to help and establish relations with the 'Editor' and 'Suara Pembaruan' and promised to help arrange a new issuance permit as long as it promises to share ownership.

In line with Sudwikatmono's case, he began his involvement in the mass media trade by fostering Surya Citra Televisi Indonesia (SCTV) in 1990, and published the popular 'Bintang Indonesia' tabloid. The chronicles of other rulers who invested their capital in the mass media were Liem Sioe Liong in 'Bisnis Indonesia' daily media and 'Indosiar' television media in 1995.

Adam Schwarz (1994) and George Aditjondro (1994) wrote about the takeover of several mass media outlets by the Ministry of Information, Harmoko. In January 1995, the Independent magazine published by Indonesian Journalists Alliance outlined the whole story of Harmoko's shares in Indonesian mass media (Independent No.10, January 10, 1995: 3-4).



Based on the information found on credible sources (Independent No.10, January 10, 1995: 3-4), it was revealed that *Harmoko* had shares in 31 print and electronic mass media. Some of them registered by using family names, although the Independent announced that many people already knew and believed that the Ministry of Information, *Harmoko*, and his family members had shares in the media industry.

The development of mass media in Western capitalist countries has shown that "the economy is not the only determinant of media behaviour," but "control of material sources and changes to their distribution is the most powerful and influential task in making cultural products" (Murdock and Golding, 1977).

In the speech at the highlight of the national press day commemoration in Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi, February 8, 1990, President Soeharto said;

"... the life of our press has entered a new age that we have never experienced before, the new age is the inclusion of business calculations in the life of our national press ... In those important and decisive years, we should not lose our fighting spirit and idealism."

Authority figures, with control of the media, have influenced the atmosphere of the work of journalists while economic development caused by the government can encourage changes in media activity. The government encourages the media to grow into an industrial media that can benefit economic growth.

To achieve economic growth, the government issued a policy on foreign investment by issuing Government Regulation No. 20/1994. This policy can indirectly provide an opportunity for the media industry to invest their capital in international media so that it can become delinquent in their commercial development. Hill (1994) said that the Jawa Post Group made the design of investing capital in the media in Australia.

Through the media system created by the government, Indonesian media are experiencing demands for a change, which is economic growth that has pushed the media to become an industry, where the concentration of ownership of media companies is towards the people who are close to power. This will be a problem because it only leads to monopoly and thus can encourage information manipulation by particular social groups. This problem will not occur because the government media system in 1984-2018 is based on five media values that the media can become a commercialised one but must be managed amicably (*Kepmenpen* No.01 / 1984 Article 1 Paragraph C).

The role of the government in the development of business media has influenced the direction and process that took place in media industries. The development of media



industries in the 1984-2018 era, which led to a capital spin and ownership, was inseparable from government policy. The transition from the media struggles to become industrial media supported the media to become more market-oriented and commercially managed.

However, government intervention in commercial media is not directed at forming industries that have their merit. Despite various political controls, the government also applied economic controls and paper subsidies to media publishing (Press Council Decrees No. 41/1969, No. 50/1970 and No. 51/1971).

The media in 1984-2018, following their responsibilities as the *Pancasila* Media, together with the government and the community, played an active role in the success of development and looked for ways to overcome the difficulties faced by the state following their functions. Formation of the 1984-2018 media system covers all forms of problems encountered, including those related to social, cultural, political, and economic aspects. Therefore, the government gives weight and benchmarks regarding the actualisation of media values. The media in its activities are based on the nation's noble values, namely, Pancasila and the government formally formulated the *Pancasila* media in 1984.

The *Pancasila* media must be free and responsible, and adjust its attitudes and behaviour to the noble values of the Indonesian nation, disseminate accurate and objective information, channel the aspirations of the people and establish effective social control. Besides, carrying ¹² its professional duties with a warning that they need to develop positive interactions between the government, the media, and the public. The government can publish the media, social organisations, and political and private organisations, which are legal publishing companies, thus encouraging the media to develop as a business that prioritises idealistic, family-managed values with the obligation to give 20 percent of shares to journalists and employees.

Pancasila and the five media values are the main foundations of media activities that are idealistic and business oriented; *Pancasila* is only part of the policy that guides media activity, but what is more emphasised is the policy of the five great values. The five policies for the five media values are; The One Almighty God, People's Interest and State Safety, Continuation and Completion of the National Struggle until the realisation of national and moral objectives, and a national personality.

¹⁶ The five media values policy explains more about the function of the media, the function of the media to the public, and the function of the media towards the government in realising media idealism and business. In this context, the media is seen as the basis for expressing opinions and thoughts as the fundamental rights of the citizen. The media is also seen as an



instrument of national struggle, a means of social control, an educational tool, a means of channelling and forming public opinion, and a means of mobilising the masses.

Based on these five media values, the nature of idealism and business media from 1984 to 2018 is realised with the dominant characteristics of the *Takwa* in God, a tool of national struggle, all parties are free to publish media, self-selection/control and professionalism.

Conclusion

Two main issues developed by McQuail (1987) are very relevantly precise when the situation and development of mass media experience a dramatic increase. Strategic considerations in an economic and political context that also function as modern mass media are considerations that continue to be an exciting discourse in understanding contemporary media.

There are critical considerations that need to be put forward. The first relates to the problem of the mass media industry. The inevitable tendency of economic considerations erodes some useful social and cultural functions of mass media. The economic pragmatism factor is often the primary consideration of modern mass media managers. It is this pragmatic attitude that sometimes reduces the role of educational mass media construction. Although it can be understood that managers pursue profits and minimise losses, they do not necessarily mitigate positive social and cultural functions inherent in mass media. Functional and critical approaches to mass media are insufficient or even unable at least to move media actors (media industrialists). There is no holistic approach that considers economic and educational factors that can be synergistically done to enlighten media capitalists yet. That is, indeed, very troubling! Second is the problem of regulation. The question now is that many regulations exist but there is a lack of the implementation of positive law. The regulation has not yet arrived at a firm enforcement issue because market and state interests overlap it. The public is often sacrificed in the interest of a compromise regulation between the media market and the state. It is the economic and political conspiracy that often becomes a significant obstacle in making a good and balanced regulatory system between the market, the public, and the State or in other words, the interests of the government, the media, and the public.

The media has a dual role in the implementation of democracy. First, mass media carries out the reporting function. The point is that mass media acts as a medium for presenting important political activities and actions in the form of pictures and comments. Second, mass media functions as poll takers. The point is that mass media functions as a medium in conveying public responses to a problem. The function of the poll takers is sometimes



formally realised through reports on scientific opinion polls, but often generally through informal reasons for public reaction tendencies.

There are several things concerning democracy and media that should be reflected upon them. First, the failure in political education causes people to fail to understand the democratic process. Second, there is no choice, in the sense that because people do not understand the process; the community does not have a better opportunity than what the media and the government offer. Third, there is a problem in terms of media capitalism and power. Fourth, excessive permits sometimes make the media go too far and cannot measure themselves to what extent they are involved in the democratic and business processes. Fifth, unclear media objectivity limits.

In the study of media structure and media economic democracy regulations, the media found in their activities, are based on five values of the media, and the noble values of the nation, namely *Pancasila* and the government formally formulated the Pancasila media in 1984. The Pancasila media must be free and responsible, and harmonise their attitudes and behaviour in the noble values of the Indonesian people, disseminating accurate and objective information, channelling people's aspirations and establishing effective social control. Besides carrying ¹² its professional duties with a warning that they need to develop positive interactions between the government, the media, and the public. The government can publish the media, social organisations, and political and private organisations, which are publishing companies with legal status, thus encouraging the media to develop as a business that still prioritises their idealistic attributes.



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