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Facing the Indonesian Media Conglomeration: Action of Preservation on Political Interest

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ABSTRACT

After 1999, Indonesia's Media became grown up. It is the implication of the fallen of the authoritarian regime, Suharto. The growth has another side effect about trends of media conglomeration. Indonesian Media Conglomerate such as Tanoesoedibjo, Tandjung, Paloh and Bakrie also have the background as a politician. Mass media are an efficient tool to change the mind of people. Mass society theory makes several basic assumptions about individuals, the role of media, and the nature of social change. Media owner used their media for preserving his political influences. Facing this situation, Indonesian regulation about media ownership ignored by media owners. They used their power in the political area to get away from the regulation. Whereas, in Indonesian Law Number 32, issued on 2002 about Broadcasting Media, Especially on Chapter 36 verse 4 states, "broadcast content must be maintained neutrality and should not put the interests of a group". Many complain from the media audience, but no action from the government. The regulator doesn't enforce the law, especially at Broadcast Media. Most of the press uses the public sphere, who design for democratisation process, not for individual or political party's interest.

Keywords: media conglomeration, Indonesia, Politics

INTRODUCTION

After "New Order" (in Bahasa Indonesia: Orde Baru) era has fallen, new media in Indonesia has grown up. During the authoritarian era, Suharto, Second Indonesian President after Sukarno, used Departemen Penerangan – Ministry of Information to control Indonesian Media. On 1969 – 1989 (20 years) Indonesia only have one and only Television Channel, and it's owned by Government. TVRI – Televisi Republik Indonesia – Television of Republic Indonesia also have entirely subsidiary by government budgeting. On another way, TVRI also has the privilege to collect some tax of television ownership from Indonesian people. Long history with suppressed and harassed by the authoritarian, the Indonesian press is now

among the freest and liveliest in Asia (Kuipers 2011). During this period, the number of printed publication increased rapidly with a hundred newspapers and magazine are published throughout the archipelago, the majority in Java (Kuipers 2011). Giant newspaper company in Indonesia, Kompas Newspaper Daily, issued more than 20 new local and regional newspaper from their subsidiary Media, Tribun Media Group. Local Newspaper operated by Tribun like Tribun Bali, Surya, Serambi Indonesia, Pos Kupang, Tribun Timur, and Tribun Jabar became the leader of a regional newspaper in Indonesia. On broadcast media, the raising has significantly emerged. On Salsabiela (2014, 1) she stated more than 150 local airing Television stations and 11 national TV stations was airing in Indonesia during the post-authoritarian era.

The growth of media in Indonesia, also shown trends of media conglomeration. Media holding always has diversification media, to establish the positioning in the market. Media Holding has consideration of political issue influence to keep struggle for the market (Halim 2013, 5).

Media owner commonly affiliates with a political party. Text on media had a commoditization and collaborated with the interest of media owners (Halim 2013, 5-6). Why politician use media to preserve political issue? Baran and Davis (2012, 55-56) stated that mass media is efficient to change the mind of people. Mass society theory makes several basic assumptions about individuals, the role of media, and the nature of social change. Here we list these assumptions: (1) The media are a powerful force within society that can subvert essential norms and values and thus undermine the social order. To deal with this threat media must be brought under elite control. (2) Media can directly influence the minds of average people, transforming their views of the social world. (3) Once people's thinking is changed by media, all sorts of dangerous long-term consequences are likely to result—not only bringing ruin to individual lives but also creating social problems on a vast scale. (4) Average people are vulnerable to media because in mass society they are cut off and isolated from traditional social institutions that previously protected them from manipulation. (5) The social chaos initiated by media will likely be resolved by an establishment of a totalitarian social order. (6) Mass media inevitably debase higher forms of culture, bringing about a general decline in civilisation.

Now, we see Tanoesodibjo (CEO MNC Media Group) has a rising politician after he showed up in his Television (RCTI, MNCTV, and Global TV) every day during the 2014's Election. After he quit from Hanura Party, he establishes his party, Perindo (Persatuan Indonesia – Unity in Indonesia) and reaches sympathy from people. In February 2015, Perindo claim had more than 4 million members in 34 provinces (<http://www.koran-sindo.com/read/961912/149/perindo-perkuat-infrastruktur-partai-1423460700>). That's imaginary number for the new party. In other media holding like Viva, Bakrie, general chief of Golkar (Golongan Karya – The Party of Functional Group, Ruling party in Suharto's Regime) Version of Bali National Congress have a significant influence to create an issue for Golkar

leadership crisis. Viva has many TV, such as tvOne and ANTV. In another hand, Media Group owned by Surya Paloh, General Chief of Nasdem (Nasional Demokrat – National Democrat) Party, new emerging party in 2014's election, have the first News TV Station in Indonesia, Metro TV. With Publication continuously, Nasdem as a newcomer in Indonesia Political sphere reached 36 chairs in Indonesia's House Of Representative (<http://fraksinasdem.org/halaman-anggota.html>).

Media Ownership, Regulation and Impact

Discussion about media ownership, can't be separate from the law in Indonesia. Undang – Undang (Law) Number 32, The year 2002, Chapter 18, and verse 1, written: "Concentration of ownership and control of private broadcasters by a single person or a legal entity, either in the area of broadcasting as well as some areas of broadcasting, limited". In a democratic system, according to Siregar (2008: 40), regulation of the media is mainly divided into two major parts, namely the media who do not use the public domain and the media are using the public sphere. Media that do not use the public domain, for example, books, magazines, newspapers and movies (except if the broadcast via TV), the regulations using the principle of self-regulatory. But, we know the fact of media ownership in Indonesia leads to conglomeration basis on the political practitioner. Tanoesoedibjo own 4 National TV (RCTI, MNCTV, Global TV, I-News) base on Free to air (used public TV UHF Frequency). Bakrie has 2 The national television (FTA), tvOne and ANTV. So, we still closed our eyes about conglomeration in the media industry?

Tamburaka (2012, 84) stated media not only provide information and entertainment but also to provide knowledge to the audience. So the process of thinking and analysing things evolve eventually led to a frame of the social construct of reality in society. In 2014 election, we know Nasdem as a newcomer in Indonesia's Politic sphere, every day became the headline and news report in Metro TV (owned by Paloh) and 3 TV (RCTI, MNCTV, and Global TV) owned by Tanoe, before he moves to Hanura Party. That TV used agenda setting to create a social construct, Nasdem a good party, clean and always say no to corruption. The impact of agenda setting, Nasdem have a significant vote from the election.

Also at tvOne, owned by Bakrie. We never watch Lapindo (subsidiary oil company owned by Bakrie) late payment to Mud disaster victims. And now, when Golkar join Opposition Coalition (lead by Gerindra), tvOne always broadcast government is failing. Ida and Subiakto (2012, 108) argued the importance of media in the political process. Mass media is used to accelerate the process of social change, political campaigns, and propaganda. The politician used media, as the tool to preserve their interest. Whereas, in Law 32/2002 about Broadcasting Media Chapter 36 verse 4 states, "broadcast content must be maintained neutrality and should not put the interests of the group". The problem is media as a power of opinion builder, ignoring the regulations and principles of democracy. Ida and Subiakto (2012, 134 -136) said, This Phenomenon act as an abuse of power

by the politician. Media uses its power to attack, blame, and prosecute political rival (Media owner). Further, Ida and Subiakto critic the regulator, tend not dare impose sanctions to the media and the owner.

Tanoesoedibjo's Case: From Businessman to Politic

Before October 2011, Tanoesoedibjo was known as Businessman and CEO at MNC Group and Bhakti Investama. In October 2011, suddenly Tanoe announced his membership with Nasdem, a new Political Party, and reach Chairman of the Board of Expert. Since Tanoe joins Nasdem, all TV that he had, always expose the activity at Nasdem. Tanoe said: "I've been expending energy and funds to raise Nasdem" (<http://politik.news.viva.co.id/news/read/384171-hary-tanoe--saya-dan-surya-paloh-sama-sama-sedih>). Tanoe's claim represents Tanoe already mobilise his media to gain Nasdem.

After he resigns from Nasdem, Tanoe moves to Hanura Party, which founded by Wiranto. Tanoe became Vice President Candidate from Hanura, pairs with Wiranto. Tanoe also mobilises all media he had to success his ambition in politic. In KPI's (Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia- Indonesian Broadcasting Commission) Note, every TV's owned by Tanoe play minimum 13 times Hanura Campaign per day (<http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php/lihat-terkini/38-dalam-negeri/31943-nasdem-hanura-golkar-dan-gerindra-langgar-ketentuan-iklan-kampanye-di-televisi>). Tanoe was calculated activity in the political sphere, after the massive campaign on his TV.

After 2014's election, Tanoe resigns from Hanura and build his party, Perindo. He does same action like two former parties. He mobilises all media he had to campaign, his new party, Perindo. Based on watchlist from Rapotivi.org, Perindo's Campaign, have much concern from TV Audience. At least, a tone of the report is negative. Perindo's Campaign has been reported by 33% reporter as breaker the broadcast rules (<http://rapotivi.org/index.php?r=home/tabulasi&m=8&y=2015>).

What the dangerous about relations between a Political action of Tanoe and his media ownership? Chesney in Ida and Subiakto (2012, 162-163) stated media conglomeration have an impact to production of information, political, cultural, and economic power concentrated in a few people. Related with Tanoe's political action and his media ownership, we worried about how independence the news issued from his media? Further, his media use public sphere (UHF Frequency, FM Frequency, and public domain) as a medium for his media. Frequency is a high electromagnetic wave which aired radio messages. An electromagnetic wave is one of the natural objects that exist throughout the period but are limited and have properties of scarcity. In the study of communication, frequency categorised as public property. There are three meanings of the status as the frequency domain, as public bodies, public property and the public domain. All three contain the same substance that frequency as an

entity that became a public territory. For the public the right to obtain social benefits (social benefits). Public through their representatives in parliament have the right to give a license or recognition whether or not broadcast station were born, both commercial and community broadcasting. Thus, the frequency limitations require that the state takes a central role as a manager with the aim of achieving people's welfare (Masduki, 2006: 15). If the frequency in the right used, democratisation process will be accelerated with Smart Political Education.

Bakrie's Case: Stalking Horse from Lapindo Disaster

Abu Rizal Bakrie, known as Ical, in Yudhoyono's Cabinet from 2004 until 2009 Bakrie served as minister. Since 2009, Bakrie served as the Chairman of the Golkar up to late 2014 and resumed chairmanship in May 2015. Shortly after being named to the cabinet of Yudhoyono, Bakrie set in motion a new government policy calling for a 3% reduction of Indonesians living in poverty, by reducing fuel subsidies in exchange for financial support to approximately 6 million people. Bakrie argued the government's need to gradually increase fuel prices to keep fuel subsidies from busting its budget while bringing the cost of fuel closer to international levels. By October 2005 and after two price hikes, the cost of fuel increased by 126%. TvOne was always reporting a positive viewpoint and positive tone. When Bakrie became a minister, tvOne never criticises fuel policy. Inversely proportional, when Bakrie no longer served as minister. TvOne criticises fuel increase's policy.

Bakrie's name has been mentioned in reference with the Sidoarjo mudflow that erupted on 29 May 2006 in Sidoarjo, causing significant devastation to the environment and loss of life. This case was sticking when Bakrie served as minister at Yudhoyono's Cabinet. Scientists are divided over the cause that triggered the mudflow. One side is claiming it was a natural occurrence caused by a 6.3-magnitude earthquake that occurred two days earlier near Yogyakarta, while the other side and government confirmed the drilling practices of the PT Lapindo Brantas, a company in which Bakrie's family was a controlling shareholder, triggered the mudflow. The media coverage, as a result, remains mixed. But, in tvOne's coverage, never told about Lapindo as the trigger of the mudflow. In this case, especially who direct mention Bakrie's name, tvOne manipulate information. Chomsky in Ida and Subiakto (2012: 163) told about the conspiracy of the elite often to control news and intelligence. The media are used as tools of political, economic, and military. On behalf of the interests of media owners, created propaganda for the existence and justification. In another hand, Halim (2013: 42) make a conclusion, power of capital and political frame from media owner, as the ideological basis of media in presenting the news.

Ida and Subiakto (2012: 165-166) stated the interests of media owners, in the classical Marxist theory, with its production materials able to influence and control of media content, and in the end, there is only one value or perspective, the point of view of the owner of the media itself. Related to Bakrie's case, Bakrie

as the media owner, controlling and manipulate of media content as like as his political interest. Media worker can't do anything if talked about capital and resource in the media.

Bakrie uses all media he had to "stalking horse" from the responsibility for Lapindo's disaster. With all resource and capital power, tvOne creates issue on another side of the news favourable to Bakrie.

Paloh's Case: Build a Party from Zero to Hero

Surya Paloh, chairman of Media Group, a media holding owner of Metro TV, Indonesia's first 24-hour news channel, based in West Jakarta. Paloh also a politician, he was known as Former Chairman of the Advisory Board of Golkar, and now Chairman of Nasdem.

Paloh and Bakrie ever compete for the position of Chairman of Golkar in 2009. Metro TV and tvOne live broadcast the election of Chairman Golkar in 2009. Paloh use Metro TV as the political tool, make campaign via news in Metro TV (<http://arsip.gatra.com/artikel.php?id=35087>). Facing election of Chairman of Golkar ongoing campaign of two candidates from the Elite, Paloh and Bakrie, each of both using Metro TV and tvOne as a media campaign. Besides packaged in the form of political advertising, the television news was showing the Golkar figures in packaging news. If we look at the news concerning about the National Congress of Golkar, Metro TV always try to bring Paloh as the candidate who received great support from each DPD (Dewan Perwakilan Daerah – Province Representative Council) Golkar with the text: "After DPD level II in West Sumatra which provides written support to Paloh, now turn written support delivered by DPD regency level in Papua".

News supports the candidate being offset by the condition of the other candidates such as Bakrie, Yuddy Chrisnandi and Tommy Suharto. The same thing happens when tvOne proclaim support for the Bakrie. The television news only highlights how support for the Bakrie, without preaching how the condition of the other candidates. Typical language used by tvOne is, "Support for Bakrie continued to flow, including from AMPI (Golkar's under bow)". Here looks vulgar imbalances news delivered by Metro TV and tvOne, both apparently wanted to bring their owner by the news. As well as the confidence of agenda setting theory. As if to direct the audience, in this case, the participants of the General Assembly, on the political jargon to choose candidates who are expected to excel. With the news framing one candidate only, as if that candidate is the strongest candidate that will form public opinion that the candidate is the ultimate candidate.

As well as other events like corroborate this theory, one of which is a talk show that aired "Kick Andy" (Feature News Metro TV) how Lapindo mudflow victims who suffer. Talk show led to the suffering of the victims of the Lapindo contrasted with advertisements about welfare obtained by Lapindo mudflow victims were aired by ANTV, where victims are so pleased with the new housing that is acquired

from Bakrie companies as compensation. Even with so vulgar ANTV mention in their news that Bakrie was the strongest candidate, with the text, "Bakrie as the strongest candidates, who match?". Shows reinforces their covert campaign of each candidate, which strengthens against the political ideology of the two candidates.

And Bakrie is the winner from this contestation. Paloh was hurt and establish new Party named Nasdem. Some prominent figures in Indonesian politics declared the birth of a mass organisation called the National Democrat (or Nasional Demokrat) on 2010. Initiated by media mogul Paloh and Yogyakarta's King, Hamengkubuwono X, the mass organisation, finally transform into a political party contesting the 2014 general elections. The event of launching was live by Metro TV more than 4 hours. Every day, Metro TV full of news from Paloh as Superstar, and advertisement from Nasdem. The situation became massive when CEO of MNC Group, Tanoesoedibjo join as Chairman of the Board of Expert in Nasdem. RCTI, MNCTV, Global TV in collaboration with Metro TV, create the issue about Nasdem in headline news.

After Tanoe move to Hanura, Paloh takes over the party and ruling the party and Metro TV together. Hard work from Paloh resulted in Nasdem, a new comer became Rank 8 from 12 contestants, and reach 6.72% vote (<http://www.kpu.go.id/index.php/pages/detail/2014/316>). Paloh's success is portrayal the thesis from Littlejohn (2014) about agenda setting. Littlejohn stated Media used Familiarity, Personal salience, and favorability to infiltrate agenda setting in the public agenda.

Conclusion

Based on explanation to the above, the authors conclude media conglomeration have significantly tool to preserve influences political interest. Tanoesoedibjo, Bakrie, and Paloh as a media owner use media to gain his popularity and controlling the political issue. Frequently, media owner use media for striking the political rival.

Most of the media, used a public sphere, however, must be used for public interest too. Media must become the agent of change and democratisation as Ida and Subiakto (2012) said. KPI and Government must be proactive to enforce the law, especially at Media who used public sphere.

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