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ROLE AND REGULATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIA POLICY ANALYSIS IN INDONESIA

Dr. Evi Satispi, Dr. Taufiqurokhman & Dr. Deni Nurdyana Hadimin*

ABSTRACT

The writing of this article will address three important aspects in tracking the role and regulation of the development of media policy by identifying the rules of media laws and regulations; view background of policy and internal working mechanism in policy making process; power relationships among stakeholders that have implications for citizens' rights. The location of the study is limited to the existing media in Indonesia using a descriptive research approach with qualitative methodology.

The purpose of writing is expected to contribute positively to the community in understanding the complexity of media issues in Indonesia that can be used to empower groups and civil society organizations.

The frame of thought of writing takes several elements, such as the practical importance of research by defining policies, mutatis mutandis (important changes have been made). As well as providing a looser view of policies greater than specific decisions, but smaller than general social movements.

The results of research with major approaches in research and media analysis are often reduced and fail to recognize the natural characteristics of mass media as the public sphere and the complexity behind the performance of the mass media.

KEYWORDS: Roles and Regulations, Development of Media Analysis

INTRODUCTION

Background
A number of literatures suggest the importance of the role of any public domain policy (Parsons, 1995). Nevertheless, the importance of policy in analyzing media development, policy aspects often do not appear at all (as recently put forward in the Balabanova study, 2010). In theory, discourse on media development is often released from policy analysis (Coyne and Leeson, 2009). It has a theoretical foundation, arguing that at an empirical level, the policies and developments of the mass media can not be separated; at least in the context of the Indonesian state.

The landscape of the media industry in Indonesia has undergone drastic changes since the succession of the Soeharto government in May 1998. At that time, the media industry in Indonesia became very liberal based on BPS, 2011 data on Communications and Information Technology Statistics in Indonesia. And mention statistics affect all types of mass media, including newspapers, magazines, tabloids, radio stations, and television and Internet media. In addition to local and national media, international media networks are also rapidly emerging in the Indonesian market. After being banned from operating during the Soeharto era, it translated up to 80 percent of its original content into Indonesian and allowed space to add some local content (Press Council, 2011).

By comparison, before 1998, there were about 279 print media and only five private television stations. Less than a decade later, the number of private television stations doubled (excluding about 20 local television stations) and the number of print media tripled (BPS, 2011). Likewise with radio stations, the increase is not only in terms of numbers, but they are also given more space to create and create content, especially news, after years of being forced to continue broadcasting a government radio station (RRI).

Technological advances and Internet innovations and their usage mark the development of the media industry in Indonesia. The Internet has ceased to be considered an alternative medium since the 1998 Reformation, but has been accepted as another form of mass media that journalists and other community members can explore (Laksmi and Haryanto, 2007).

Tablel 1. Overview of Mass Media Changes 2005 (Laksmi dan Haryanto, 2007:53)

Jenis media	Jumlah total hingga 1998	Jumlah total pada 2005	Catatan
Media Cetak	279	Diperkirakan 600	Dinaungi asosiasi yang telah lama berdiri, SPS (Serikat Pekerja Suratkabar)
Stasiun Televisi Swasta Nasional	5	10	Stasiun televisi swasta mendirikan asosiasi bernama ATVSI (Asosiasi Televisi Swasta Indonesia)
Stasiun Radio	Tak diketahui	831	Dinaungi asosiasi yang telah lama berdiri, PRSSNI (Persatuan Radio Siaran Swasta Nasional Indonesia)
Jenis media	Jumlah total hingga 1998	Jumlah total pada 2005	Catatan
Televisi Lokal	Tak tersedia	20	Membentuk Asosiasi Televisi Lokal Indonesia (ATVLI)
Media Siber	3	5	Hingga saat ini belum ada asosiasi untuk media berita maya.

In the above table mentioned from the data 279 mass media until 2005 jumped to 600 mass media. While the television station from 5 to 1o media TV incorporated in the container ATVSI (Association of Private Television Indonesia). And the number of radios in 2005 from tiak is known to be 831 radio stations. Then for the local TV media amounted to 20 and cyber media from 3 to 5 media. Of course the current number will continue to grow again. The current media industry liberalization has grown at an amazing rate, but not all of them can survive. In the media industry, survival is determined by the context of political economy. This reflects a global trend, ie only a small number of media companies actually own and control the development of the media industry (including access to media) and have power over the distribution of content to other parts of the world (Gabel and Bruner, 2003).

The writing of this article will address three important aspects in tracking the role and regulation of media policy developments in Indonesia, as well as analyzing and considering all empirical data available in both primary and secondary data using a qualitative approach. That is the methodology approach based on the subjectivity and knowledge and experience of the author.

The purpose of article writing is expected to be useful academically, especially in the field of public policy administration studies concerning media in Indonesia. In addition to contributing to the Indonesian people, especially in providing a better understanding of the complexity of media issues in Indonesia that can be used to enrich (and empower) civil society groups and organizations in Indonesia in discourse and effort. Another goal is to map empirically the dynamics of media policy in Indonesia in the perspective of citizen rights at the macro level. The focus is to understand the direction (trajectory) of media policy. This is done by identifying the laws and regulations of the media, current or in the future; policy background, and internal working mechanisms in the policy-making process. Besides being able to see the linkage of power among stakeholders as well as the citizens' rights implication to the media is also a factor considered (Gabel and Bruner, 2003).

At the micro level, it can map a number of grassroots responses to media policy, particularly with regard to initiatives in generating and distributing content, as well as impacts that arise in the local (or perhaps more broad) socioeconomic and political context. So from the two objectives above, the author will reveal some points, namely: First, the definition of 'civil society groups' does not necessarily mean NGOs or formal civil groups. Civil society groups here may mean privately or independently organized interest groups, which usually have no direct relationship with government agencies or private firms; personally, both formally and informally, organize the group to achieve certain goals or values (Nugroho, 2007, 2008, 2010b; 2011b; 2011c; Nugroho and Tampubolon, 2008).

Second, in the analysis of writing trying to use the perspective of citizens' rights to the media. This is in response to most of the data and information about the media referring to the use of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) 1 in order to defend media rights (in this case particularly the freedom of the institution or the press). In this case more is needed to protect citizens who have limited freedom in the media. From the above statement, the citizens' rights to the media in three dimensions according to FI, FNS, (2010), states: First, the right of citizens to obtain information, with a primary focus on the right to access reliable information and access to information. Reliable information will help citizens make the right decisions in their lives or to take part in decision-making processes related to citizenship.

Access to information makes it possible for citizens to create content that can empower themselves. Typically, self-generated content from the bottom (bottom-up) will produce more reliable information. The location of this research is limited only to the media in Indonesia that is considered to know by the author in order to facilitate the author in describing the existing media problems today. While the frame of thought of article writing is composed of several elements. First, look at the practical importance aspect of the research by defining the policy, mutatis mutandis (important changes have been made), in terms of the extent to which the policy aims to impact. Includes a loose view of policy: "something greater than a special decision, but smaller than general social movement" (Heclo, 1972, quoted in Parsons, 1995: 13). Thus, it can focus on single, individually elaborated media policies, or a policy constellation, for example in media reform programs or on trends in political reform that have occurred and spread over the years, as has happened in Indonesia.

The results of writing with a major approach in research and media analysis are often reduced and fail to recognize the natural characteristics of mass media as the public sphere and the complexity behind the performance of mass media. This should be fixed. Otherwise, the risks are likely to be three important aspects of media research that have escaped attention: (a) To what extent and how media policies relate to the expansion of the mass media industry today; (b) To what extent and how media policies affect the content of the mass media; (c) Are current media policies and regulatory frameworks sufficient to ensure the willingness of the mass media to civilize the public, and if so, to what extent does it affect.

From the problems described above, the authors take the title of writing: "Roles and Regulations Development of Media Policy Analysis in Indonesia". So the question of the formulation of the problem posed by the author is as follows: "How Roles and Regulations Development of Media Policy Analysis in Indonesia?

So to answer the problems mentioned by the authors above, then the authors will describe the four points, namely: (1) Previous media policy studies as reference materials writing; (2) Analysis of media policy in Indonesia; (3) Understanding media policy; (4) Media policy mapping in Indonesia. In detail will be explained the author in the article below.

ROLE AND REGULATION OF MEDIA DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA

1. Previous Media Policy Writing Study
Research writing out some of the previous researches: First, Hill and Sen's (2000) research on media in Indonesia (Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia by David T. Hill and Krishna Sen is probably the most cited, because this study included the dynamics of the press, mainstream media, and popular culture in Indonesia during the New Order.Not many studies have succeeded in understanding the national media because it is related to the existence of a regime that opposes various forms of press freedom.In doing so, The New Order is "difficult." Secondly, in Do not Shoot the Messenger (Piper, 2009), Tessa Piper reports the policy challenges facing the media in Indonesia, outlining important facts about the latest developments in press freedom and freedom expression in Indonesia.

In this case it underscores the important fact that the growing media industry as well as the increasing number of media workers are not related to the maintenance of press freedom. Public policy plays an important role in creating an atmosphere that "jostles" journalists, information activists, and the public in general, which cuts the desire to practice the freedom to create and share information (Piper, 2009).

In the same topic, Mendel, (2010) funded by the Open Society Foundation, wrote Audiovisual Media Policy, Regulations and Independence in Southeast Asia (2010). It provides a view of media policy, particularly broadcasting regulations, in Southeast Asian countries, and links it with the character of government and / or regime respectively. So media policy is an important indicator of the overall democratic process in Southeast Asia. As well as trying to assess the extent to which new media can serve as an alternative to traditional broadcasting (Mandel, 2010).

Freedom Institute and FNS launched a study entitled Ensuring the Law and Civil Rights: Press, Film and Publishing (2010). This joint study is an example of research that uses the perspective of citizens' rights in observing the latest media and press developments in Indonesia (Freedom House, 2011). In particular, this study discusses citizens' rights within the scope of press, film and literature. In relation to policy, a number of key findings that support the analytical framework of our research are: (i) that there are overlapping policies and regulations that can be interpreted unilaterally to support policy makers' interests; (ii) that there are government bodies with excessive authority and overlapping responsibilities; (iii) that the media policy-making process is not transparent and unaccountable.

In terms of content, the Open Society Foundation is funding another study conducted by Jeremy Wagstaff, South East Asian Media: Patterns of Production and Consumption (2010). This study offers comparisons and views on current media developments in Southeast Asia. With a large population, ASEAN is now treated as a market as well as a profitable production base. The study examines the latest media trends in 10 out of 11 countries. Fellow in the Alliance of Independent Journalists also publishes a report on press and media institutions in Indonesia (AJI, 2009) each year.

Each report shows specific concerns regarding the practice of press freedom from the point of view of media workers. The AJI report provides a diverse view of the dangers facing the press, generally in the form of defamation cases. In addition to AJI, there are several civil society organizations (CSOs) in Indonesia that have made reports and analyzes on the role of policy in the development of the media despite the obstacles in terms of freedom of expression and the right to media, especially post-reformation of their concern.

2. Media Policy Mapping in Indonesia

Mass media and media technologies have impacted individuals and communities globally on a greater level than ever imagined (Thompson, 1995). The effects that arise include the diverse experiences of all human beings, including affection, awareness, and behavior in community activities, events, and interactions (McLuhan, 1964).

As important as the role of mass media in mobilizing change in society, media must be regulated to ensure the achievement of improvement in social life (Habermas, 1984). Because the media is essentially a public case and the scope of its work is always in the public sphere (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). However, managing the mass media in Indonesia through policy is a hard idea, even almost impossible.

The mass media could be a sector where such contradictions are most clearly visible and have a detrimental effect on many people. However, this has been ignored, for example Broadcasting Act no. 32/2002 which seeks to promote the diversity of content and ownership of mass media. Other regulations such as Government Regulation no. 49-52 / 2005 which should support the Broadcasting Act, undermines these values by allowing companies or media groups to operate up to cover 75 percent of the total province in Indonesia. This regulation continues despite the DPR has questioned it (KPI, 2006).

Analyzing the dynamics of media policy in Indonesia, in an effort to understand how policies over time in Indonesia try to guarantee and protect the public character that should be attached to the mass media, this task is not easy. Because analyzing media policy requires not only the knowledge and understanding in exposing the processes of policy-making sumir (KPI, 2008).

There are two important aspects that the author will explain, namely: First, research writing is expected to open and scrutinize the public character of the media, especially those related to media alignments to the public which until now only an assumption and tends to be underestimated. This kind of precision is important, as it makes

the public able to become more critical of the consequences of mass media practice in Indonesia, whether intentional or otherwise (Schultz, 1998: 49).

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3. Understanding Media Policy in Indonesia
The ongoing 1998 reform era brought a major shift in the landscape of media liberalization in Indonesia to the presence of new challenges in its regulation. The development of media (and industry) sectors is not only determined by technological advances (eg, media technology innovation). More important, however, is influenced by market dynamics (such as creating inventories and demand in media content and infrastructure), as well as political interests (eg power).
In the case of Indonesia. This is particularly evident, as media represents and represents the realization of power, media ownership and media policy is essential. The principle of 'following where money flows' is able to reveal the role of business interests in government politics in media development. And how real politics affect the development with the emergence of existing media.

Not only is the media regarded as a powerless aspect of the political economy of the media, the role of citizens is also often regarded as unimportant in media development. One example is community participation in community broadcasts contained in the Broadcasting Act of 2002, but not mentioned in the digitalization plan of the national broadcasting system.

In the case of mediated regulatory analysis often found lack of law enforcement and weak bureaucracy, which often runs on the interests of the power elite will add to the long list of problems in the arrangement of mass media. Although such problems do not always arise in a young democratic system like in Indonesia. The impact on the media sector is quite dangerous: the media lose its public character, because no one is guarding it, including the state through its laws and regulations. This proves that access to media infrastructure is uneven and its cargo no longer cultivates the public interest as the standard norm of Indonesian society. Although there are a number of absurd claims regarding media quality and diversity.

The author observes in the media sector, citizens' rights have been reduced to consumer rights. These findings, in addition to raising doubts about the continuity of the public sphere in Indonesia, also indicate that the policy has no role. In the media sector, the various policies that are expected to respond and contribute to ensuring the public character of the media have been clearly considered to be less successful.

If it is believed that media acts as a 'fourth pillar' in modern society (Carlyle, 1840: 392; Schultz, 1998: 49), research writing shows that overall media policy in Indonesia needs to be reviewed in regulation to support

strong media and society involved and the existence of government remains stable against criticism by the media. The complexity of the problems that arise (especially with regard to the pervading interests, both political and capital) of the media issue suggests that review efforts are a daunting task and require a sincerity, as well as the political will of the government as well as public participation.

4. Mediadi Policy Analysis in Indonesia

Policy analysis, Parsons (1995) states that policy "is an approach to public policy aimed at uniting and contextualizing a number of models and research from that discipline, which is problem-oriented and policy-oriented" (pp. Xv). In addition, mention levels or levels of analysis that distinguish three levels, namely: meta, meso, and micro (Parsons, 1995). That is in addition to the three paradigms in public policy making and analysis (incrementalist, rationalist, and strategic). Meta analysis is the highest level that 'analyzes the analysis' itself. In empirical work, this is usually done after the primary analysis is done, to evaluate the analysis critically by assessing its assumptions, origins, and importance (Parsons, 1995). Meso analysis focuses on defining the problem, how the agenda (which will be handled by the policy) is defined, and how the policy is formulated (Parsons, 1995: 85). This will help us frame the case as it focuses on the issue, and get an analysis aimed at "improving the quality of the policy" (Hill, 1999: 2). This level of analysis is helpful for assessing specific policies of a country or sector, as in this case: media policy in Indonesia (see also John, 1998).

Meso analysis has two components: (i) decision analysis, which is "an analysis of the decision-making process and policy analysis for decision-making ... (which) lies between policy formation and implementation" (Parsons, 1995: 245); and (ii) delivery analysis, which is concerned with the investigation of implementation, evaluation, change, and impact (Parsons 1995: 457). The delivery analysis is related to the meso level and the third level, which is micro analysis, from a policy analysis that allows for a specific research on the policy implementation phase, which focuses on change and impact.

According to the thinking of John, P, (1998) to gain a clearer understanding of the changes and stability that media policy considerations. While it has no purpose to generalize the findings, meso analysis helps identify the quality of existing media policies in an effort to offer ways to improve the quality of the policy. On the other hand, the meta analysis will provide a suitable framework for evaluating the process while running an overall policy analysis.

Media is a contested realm, parties who are able to gain sufficient power in influencing the policy-making process can also determine the content of the policy in question, according to their interests. This is where the group and network approach (Parsons, 1995) and the evolutionary perspective (John, 1998) can provide a specific framework for understanding the policy-making process. Nevertheless, the authors eventually made the writing generally accessible to the wider community, especially for various civil society groups. In accordance with Mundy and Sultan (2001), as quoted in Zanello (2009: 7), "information is only useful if available, if users have access to that information, available in appropriate form and language" (p. 7). In doing so, we hope that this research can have an impact by making it available to civil society groups to allow for the emergence of civil society-driven change (Berkhout et al., 2011). This is the reason why writing is straightforward, and practical, and friendly. So it can be useful for every citizen who can and can access it quickly and affordable (Zanello, 2009).

KESIMPULAN DAN SARAN

1. Historically, the 1998 Reformation was a turning point and was regarded as the main foundation in ensuring citizens' rights to the media. After that, the amendment of the 1945 Constitution and Human Rights Law no. 39/1999 which guarantees the right to information and media to citizens. The two post-reform policies have become the legal and regulatory framework of the media, namely the Press Law no. 40/1999 and Broadcasting Act no. 32/2002. Normatively both rules are on the right track, guaranteeing basic prerequisites for citizens to exercise freedom of expression and opinion. Even so, the implementation has a different story.
2. The media regulation policy in Indonesia is practically less successful as an industry. The existing policy is incapable of regulating the profit-oriented economic principles applied by the media. Meanwhile, policymakers and governments fail to regulate the strict limitations of practice between monopoly and oligopoly. The absence of a policy that specifically considers the commercial aspects of the media industry and regulates its activities is one of the factors enabling rapid industrial expansion. Although the Broadcasting Act no. 32/2002 has contained several restrictions (Article 18) and prohibited cross ownership, but Government Regulation no. 50/2005 failed to support the policy.
3. Most of the impact and accessibility of citizens to the media is influenced by policies governing non-media matters. For example, the Information and Information Technology Act (ITE) no. 11/2008, Pornography Act no. 44/2008, and the Criminal Code (Penal Code). These policies are usually based on thoughts of public

morality and contain unclear definitions of rules. Therefore, society and media workers are always at risk of being criminalized and accused of defamation. The use of rubber articles is also the easiest way to silence public opinion. Public opinion is not only hampered by a number of policies, but also by the media agenda itself. Internal censorship and the interests of media owners emerged as a way of setting real agenda and could threaten the existence of an open public sphere. Implementation of a networked broadcast system remains a major factor in democratizing the broadcasting system. That way, revising the Broadcasting Act will be an important test for all concerned parties.

4. In connection with the failure of the application of networked broadcasting systems, private broadcasting has dominated the broadcasting world and is the primary, even, only, choice in television media. In an ideal situation, public broadcasting (TVRI and RRI) will manifest its role in providing content that is neutral and ad-free. So it can provide an alternative for the public.

5. Despite being decisive in the effort to educate the public through the media, the regulators are weak in regulating the media. The main institutions involved are the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), the Press Council, the Indonesian Telecommunication Regulatory Body (BRTI), the Business Competition Supervisory Commission (KPPU), and the Ministry of Communications and Informatics (Kemenkominfo). Current conditions have reached less institutional success levels. Because the media industry has been able to beat the regulations or regulations made by the regulators.

6. Media policy is reactive to changes created by technological innovations in society. Convergence and digitization will be the next test. Recent technological developments are very promising, even going to change the use of media. Digitalization will provide many opportunities by opening new channels. This will create new opportunities for the media to contribute to providing a variety of content.

SUGGESTIONS

Penuis sees from the current media developments that provide the following suggestions: the development of policy analysis of the role of media in Indonesia needs to be improved in terms of regulation, and the alignment of the control of its citizens. As the progress and decline of media development in Indonesia will depend on the regulators who make the rules while maintaining the rights of its citizens as a medium of control over the existence and alignment of the media as a public interest. Although the media themselves are actually very open to active public engagement, only in the fact that the role of citizens of the rights of control and regulators of rule-making is outweighed by interest groups who have so far mastered the content and the media industry itself. Therefore, it needs serious struggle to improve the condition of media development in a policy that is in favor of the public interest.

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