

THE LEAGUE OF THIRTEEN

MEDIA CONCENTRATION IN INDONESIA

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THE LEAGUE OF THIRTEEN: MEDIA CONCENTRATION IN INDONESIA

By Merlyna Lim¹

The demise of the Suharto era in 1998 produced several positive developments for media democratization in Indonesia. The Department of Information, once led by the infamous Minister Harmoko was abandoned, followed by several major deregulations that changed the media landscape dramatically. From 1998 to 2002, over 1200 new print media, more than 900 new commercial radio and five new commercial television licenses were issued. Over the years, however, Indonesian media went ‘back to business’ again. Corporate interests took over and continues to dominate the current Indonesian media landscape.

MEDIA OWNERSHIP

From Figure 1 we can see that the media landscape in Indonesia is dominated by only 13 groups: the state (with public status) and 12 other commercial entities. There are 12 media groups (see Table 1) have control over 100% of national commercial television shares (10 out of 10 stations). These groups also own five out of six newspapers with the highest circulation, four out of the four most popular online news media, a majority of Jakarta-flagship entertainment radio networks, and a significant portion of the major local television networks. In addition, some of these groups also take control over digital pay-TV services and media related businesses, such as telecommunications, information technology, and content production and distribution. Media corporations, too, have expanded their businesses into non-media sectors and, thus, given their owners stronger economic and political control.

Among these groups, there are veteran players such as Kompas Gramedia Group and Jawa Pos Group that, in Sen and Hill’s words, “given their relative political autonomy, were least vulnerable to the political and economic crisis of the last days of the New Order, and best placed to move into the post-Suharto era.”¹ Then there are groups that have obvious political ties. Media Group is owned by Surya Paloh, the Chairman of the Advisory Board of the former ruling party Golkar.² Another Golkar related company is Bakrie & Brothers (antv and TVOne, among others). Its owner Aburizal Bakrie is the Chairman of Golkar.³ While not directly involved in politics, Lippo Group’s owner James Riyadi has made his political connections apparent by appointing Theo Sambuaga, a prominent leader of Golkar, as the president of the group. Another player, Trans Corpora (Trans TV and Trans 7), is owned by Chairul Tanjung who is a close ally of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. While not affiliated with any political party, Hary Tanoesoedibjo of the MNC Group is known for his close relations with major political players.⁴

Interesting to note here is the prominence Tempo Inti Media Harian (of *Tempo* magazine and newspaper), founded by writer Goenawan Muhammad. Tempo is the only non-media conglomerate that survives in the mainstream media industry while maintaining its political independence. As the media environment is dominated by just 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 only exposed to the viewpoints and opinions of a few. This concentration of ownership also leads to a disproportional political control by the media,⁵ the public’s decreasing access to important information, and the under-representation of certain groups in the media.⁶

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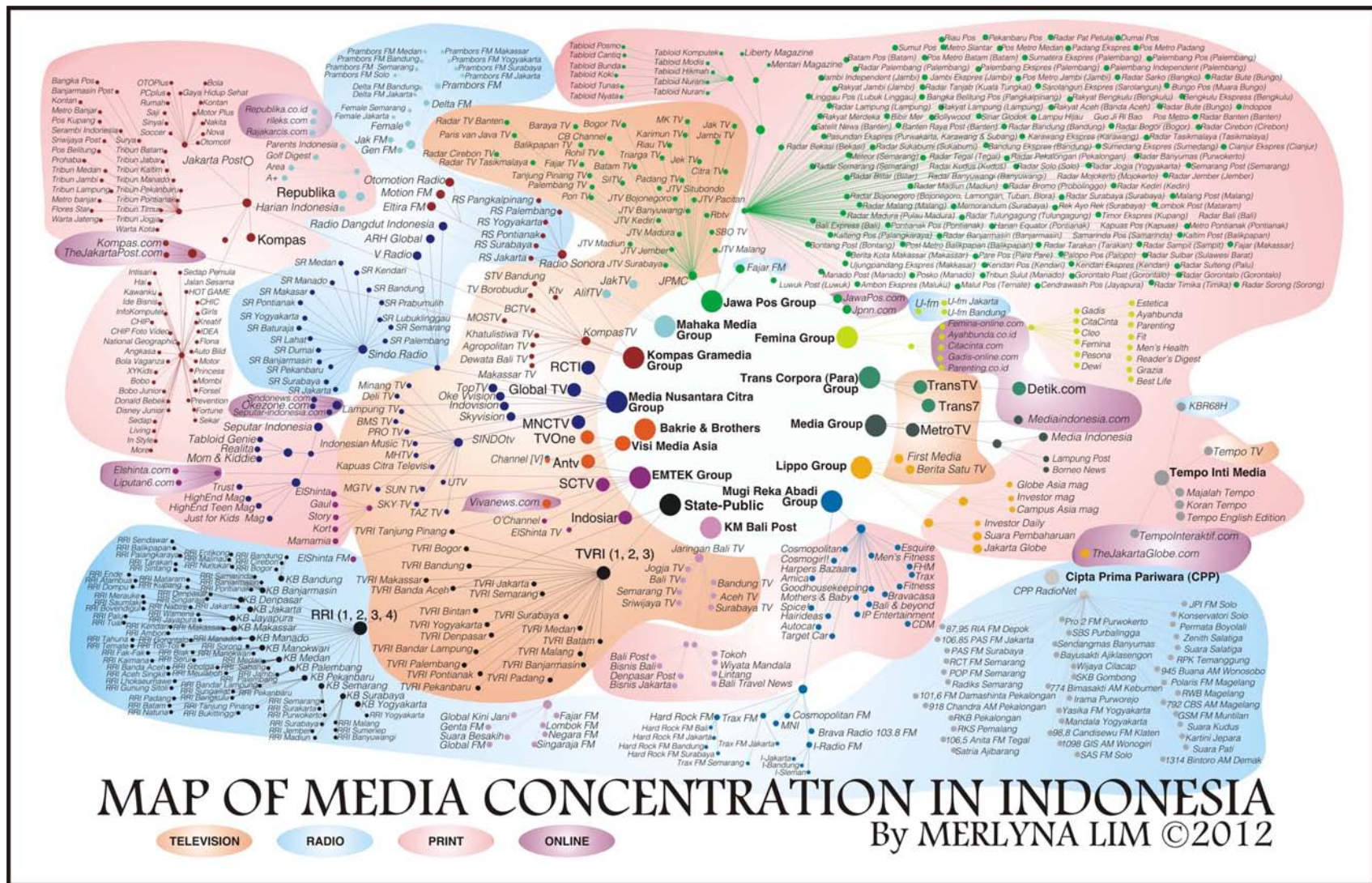


Figure 1 Media ownership in Indonesia

Table 1 Indonesian Media Conglomerates⁷

Media Group	Group Leader	TV stations		Radio stations	Newspapers	Print Magazines/ Tabloids	Online media	Other businesses
		National	Other					
Media Nusantara Citra (MNC) Group	Hary Tanoesoedibjo	RCTI, Global TV, MNCTV (ex TPI)	Indovision, Sky Vision, SINDOtv network	Sindo Radio (Trijaya FM), Radio Dangdut, ARH Global Radio	<i>Seputar Indonesia</i> (Koran Sindo)	<i>High End magz, Genie, Mom & Kiddie</i> tabloids	Okezone.com SeputarIndonesia.Com, Sindonews.com	IT, content production and distributions, talent management, automobile
Mahaka Media Group	Erick Tohir	—	Jak TV, Alif TV	JakFM, Prambors FM, Delta FM, Female, Gen FM	<i>Republika, Harian Indonesia</i> (in Mandarin)	<i>Parents Indonesia, A+, Golf Digest, Area</i> , magazines	Republika Online, rileks.com, Rajakarcis.com	Entertainment, outdoor advertisement
Kompas Gramedia Group	Jakob Oetama, Agung Adiprasetyo	—	Kompas TV network	Sonora Radio network, Otomotion Radio, Motion FM, Eltira FM	<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	—	JPMC network	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 network, Jogja TV, Semarang TV, Sriwijaya TV, + others (total: 9)	Global Kini Jani, Genta FM, Global FM, Lombok FM, Fajar FM, Suara Besakih, Singaraja FM, Nagara FM	<i>Bali Post, Bisnis Bali, Suluh Indonesia, Harian Denpost, & Suara NTB</i>	<i>Tokoh, Lintang, & Wiyata Mandala</i> tabloids	Bali Post, Bisnis Bali	—
Elang Mahkota Teknologi (EMTEK) Group	Eddy Kusnadi Sariaatmadja	SCTV, Indosiar	O'Channel, ElShinta TV	Elshinta FM	—	<i>Elshinta, Gaul, Story, Kort, Mamamia</i>	—	Wireless broadband, pay-TV, telecommunications, banking, IT solutions, production house
Lippo Group	James Riady	—	First Media, Berita Satu TV	—	<i>Jakarta Globe, Investor Daily, Suara Pembaruan</i>	<i>Investor, Globe Asia, & Campus Asia</i> magazines	Jakarta Globe Online	Property, hospital, education, insurance
Bakrie & Brothers (Visi Media Asia)	Anindya Bakrie	antv, TVOne	Channel [V]	—	—	—	VIVAnews	Telecommunications, property, metal, oil & gas agribusiness, coal, physical infrastructure
Femina Group	Pia Alisyahbana, Mirta Kartohadiprodjo	—	—	U-FM Jakarta & Bandung	—	<i>Femina, Gadis, Dewi, Ayahbunda</i> + others (total: 15)	Femina, GitaCinta, Ayahbunda, Gadis, Parenting Online	Production house, event management, boutique, education, printing
Media Group	Surya Paloh	Metro TV	—	—	<i>Media Indonesia, Lampung Post, BorneoNews</i>	—	Media Indonesia Online	—
Mugi Reka Abadi (MRA) Group	Dian Muljani Soedarjo	—	O'Channel	Cosmopolitan FM, Hard Rock FM, I-Radio, Trax FM	—	<i>Cosmopolitan, Cosmogirl, Fitness</i> + others (total: 16)	—	Holder of several international boutique brands
Trans Corpora (Para Group)	Chairul Tanjung	Trans TV, Trans 7	—	—	—	—	Detik Online	Banking, venture capital, insurance, theme parks, resort, retail, cinema

Television: Concentration of Ownership

Currently there are 10 private national television networks in Indonesia—RCTI, Global TV, MNCTV, SCTV, Indosiar, TVOne, antv, Metro TV, Trans TV, Trans 7—that operate in competition with the state-owned Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI). In addition, there are more than 100 local television stations all over the country and some locally produced programming and cable television channels.

Six groups own all ten private national television networks. Among these groups, MNC Group has the

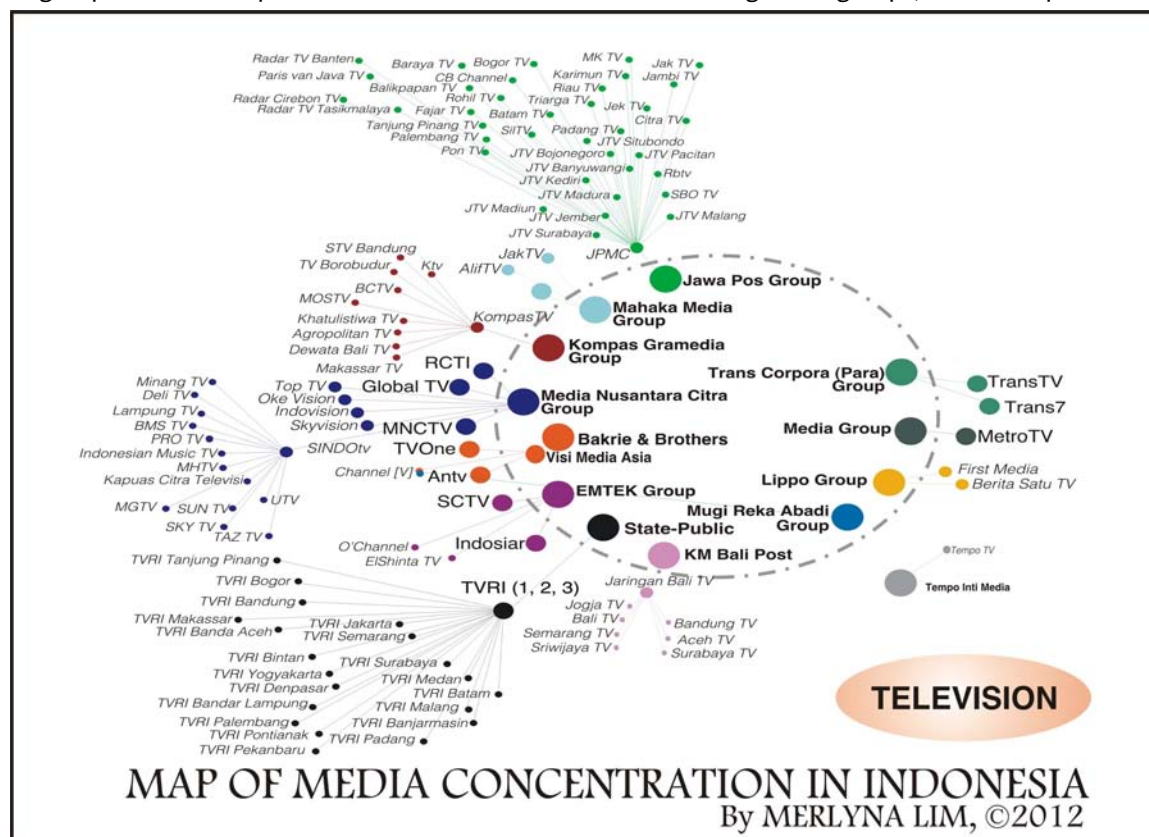


Figure 2 Television Ownership

highest share (36.7%) with the ownership of RCTI, Global TV, and MNCTV, making it the most powerful player in broadcast television. The newcomer EMTEK, which just controversially acquired Indosiar in May 2011, comes second with 31.5%, followed by Trans Corp (18.5%) and the partnership of Bakrie and MM Group (8.7%). Meanwhile, TVRI, which was the only television broadcaster in the country from 1962 to 1989, currently has the smallest share with only 1.4% of the total television market share. The concentration of ownership of television in Indonesia results from the practice of mergers. While mergers and the consolidation of media business is a logical consequence of media liberalization, it is not favorable in terms of media democratization. When there is lack of competition and only a small number of media companies remain, power and dominance is inevitable. The companies remaining dominate the media industry and create a media oligopoly and will contribute to biased political views.

Table 2 Television landscape: Main National Players⁸

TV 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, re-launch 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

On a regional/local level, ownership is less concentrated. With the growth of local TV stations in the last five years, local TV eventually managed to steal a share of the national TV audience. However, the audience share of local TV is very modest if compared to national TV. Local TV audience share increased from an average of 2.1% in 2005 to 3.2% of the total audience share in 2008. The trend, however, went down to 2.5% in 2010.⁹ Among more than 100 local TV stations, TVRI still has 27 stations spread in 27 different provinces while the rest are owned by at least 10 other local television networks.

However, as there is no longer any space for private national television expansion, some big business entities start looking at this market. For example, one of the richest Indonesians, Peter Sondakh, with his group, Rajawali Corp, who formerly owned RCTI, went back to the media business by establishing the network of TV Nusantara (22 stations). A similar step was taken by giant newspaper player Jawa Post Group and Bali Post Group. MNC Group has also expanded to the local level by creating SunTV Network. The largest print media company, Kompas Media Group, owns its own Kompas TV network, too.¹⁰ The current map shows a drift that in the near future local television networks, too, might be dominated by a small number of media moguls. Within the milieu, TempoTV emerges as alternative provider by establishing the only journalism based television station.

Radio: Growing Independent & Community Radios

While not free from the sights of media conglomerates, the ownership of radio is much more diverse compared to television. Of the estimated 2,800 radio stations in the country (up from around 700 in Suharto era), around 700 are community radio stations. Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), the state radio network of Indonesia that previously functioned as a mouthpiece of the New Order government, has 64 stations.¹¹ While no longer monopolizing the radio landscape in Indonesia, RRI still adopts its role in 'distributing, spreading information, and educating, entertaining society to maintain Indonesian identity' and is committed to 'protect the unity and togetherness of the United Nation of the Republic of Indonesia'.¹² Since 2006, the expansion of RRI has taken place mainly in border areas focusing on developing the 'safety belt information' program in partnership with TVRI.

The most promising data on media ownership is the fact that the country's largest radio network is KBR68H, a quality citizen journalism radio. Founded as a news agency on 29 April 1999, KBR68H was created as part of civil society response to the 'transition to democracy'. In 2000, KBR68H started to use a satellite to distribute its radio programming, enabling the radio station partners to relay the agency's programs using just a parabolic antenna and a digital receiver. In one decade, the radio news agency has expanded rapidly, becoming a network that reaches 625 stations¹³ with an estimated 18 million listeners, and is available in 10 countries in Asia and Australia.

Commercial radio networks are also on the rise. The major ones include Ramako Group, Smart FM, and Masima Group, all of which have flagship stations in Jakarta and branches in other cities. Some out-of-Jakarta regional networks are also emerging, such as Arbes Network in Padang, Suzana RadioNet in

Surabaya, and Volare Group in Pontianak. The largest commercial radio network is owned by Citra Prima Pariwara (CPP) with its CPP RadioNet. There are also an increasing number of commercial networks owned by conglomerates. These include: Hard Rock FM, Cosmopolitan, I-Radio, and Trax owned by MRA Group; Trijaya FM, ARH, and Radio Dangdut by MNC Group; Elshinta by EMTEK, and Sonora FM by Kompas Gramedia Group. 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, groups, including hundreds community radios that proliferate small towns and rural areas.

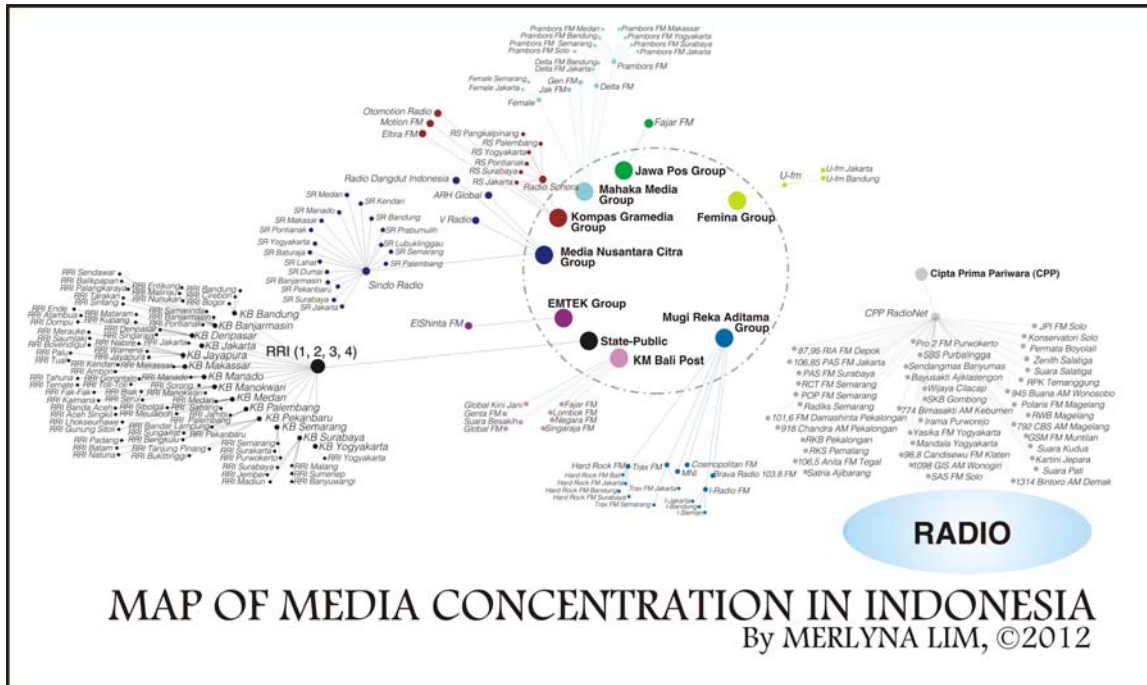


Figure 3 Radio Ownership

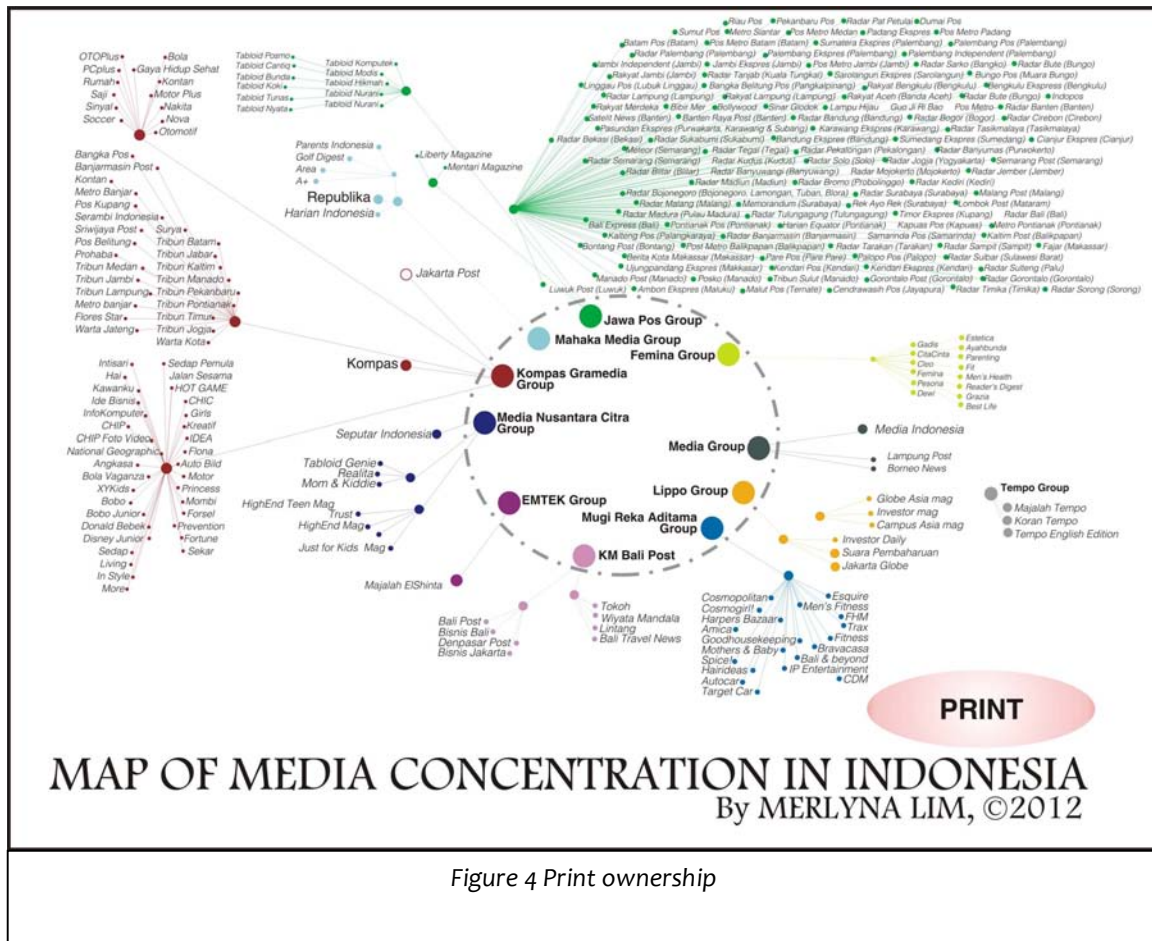
Print media: Domination of Two Players

The post-Suharto euphoria and an easing of press restrictions had catapulted the number of print media from 289 in early 1999 to 1,881 in 2001.¹⁴ The euphoria, however, did not last long. Market realities pushed some to go out of business soon after they were established. As of the end of 2010, there are just 1076¹⁵ print media in operation. *Kompas* leads with 600,000 copies daily, followed by *Jawa Pos* (450,000), *Suara Pembaruan* (350,000), *Republika* (325,000), *Media Indonesia* (250,000), and *Koran Tempo* (240,000).¹⁶

Currently, there are two dominant players in the print media sector. The first is the largest media conglomerate in Indonesia, Kompas Gramedia Group. Its chief outlet, the morning newspaper *Kompas* (600,000 copies/day), is Indonesia's most prestigious daily and the largest 'quality' newspaper in Southeast Asia. While Benedict Anderson once described *Kompas* as 'the New Order par excellence',¹⁷ one should admit that this newspaper is of possible highest quality in the country. This newspaper consistently earns more than 25% of the nation's newspaper advertising revenue. The group also is associated with the *Jakarta Post* (90,000) which was the only English newspaper in Indonesia until Lippo Group-founded *Jakarta Globe* (60,000) entered the scene in 2008. The *Jakarta Post*, however, is run independently, separated from Kompas and other prints. Historically, the *Post* was one of the few publications which tried to tell the New Order story as accurately as they could.¹⁸

Besides *Kompas* daily, Kompas Gramedia Group also owns *Warta Kota* daily, *Intisari* magazine, and 11 other local newspapers, 43 magazines and tabloids, and 5 book publishers. Through these businesses,

Kompas Gramedia group dominates the publishing industry. The country's second largest print media company is Jawa Pos Group, well known for its *Jawa Pos* daily. With 450,000 copies a day, *Jawa Pos* is the nation's second most read daily. Taking a different route than Kompas-Gramedia, Jawa Pos Group concentrates almost exclusively on provincial markets. With 151 newspapers distributed in more than 20 provinces, 11 tabloids, and 2 magazines, this group situates itself as a close competitor of Kompas Gramedia.



With a daily circulation of 240,000 copies, *Koran Tempo* is the only non-conglomerate-owned newspaper surviving the competition against big players. Tempo Inti Media Harian, the publisher of *Koran Tempo* daily, is a major player in print media sector. Its magazine, *Majalah Tempo* (180,000 copies/week), holds 68% of the share of weekly magazine market. Like newspapers, the magazine/tabloid segment, too, is not free from media conglomerates' undertakings. In this area, there are MRA Group (*Cosmopolitan*, *Cosmogirl*, *Men's Fitness*), an experienced player Femina Group (*Femina*, *Gadis*, *Dewi*), EMTEK (*Elshinta*, *Gaul*, *Story*), and Bali Post (*Tokoh*, *Lintang*). However, these are mostly focused on lifestyle and entertainment. By focusing on investigative journalism, Tempo has developed its own niche and is still far superior to *Forum Keadilan* and newcomer *Tokoh* tabloid who also try to venture in the same genre.

Online media: Diverse Yet The Top Rules

The web has become a critical part of Indonesia's media environment. It is now the largest information source and most of the content is provided by millions of Indonesian individuals. Thus, we expect to see that online media would have less concentration of ownership. But, in reality, the vast plethora of web content has not yet translated into diversity for what users see and access. On the contrary, despite the vast amount of content, the structure of the web leads to a staggering and unexpected

degree of concentration. This explains why global companies such as Facebook, Google and the like have most Indonesian users and dominate the top 10 of most visited websites. The outlier is Kaskus.us, Indonesia's very own community forum, who makes it into the top 6.

In spite of that, in acquiring content Indonesians typically go to local content providers such as Detik.com. The language preference might be one explanation behind this occurrence. In addition, Detik.com, online since 1998, is one of the oldest news providers in Indonesia and thus has created a path dependency in the online media market.

As seen in Figure 5, Detik.com is disproportionately superior against the rest of content providers. Along with its subsidiaries—Detiknews.com, Detikhot.com, Detiksport.com—Detik.com with other big new media players such as Kompas.com, Vivanews.com, and Okezones.com dominates the market—top corporate online media occupies ‘the head’, an immense volume of the share. Blogdetik.com and kompasiana.com can be classified as citizen journalism, yet they take place in the space owned by Detik and Kompas.

Although no one disputes the lengthening of the tail—clearly more blogs and more blog-posts are being made online every day—the tail is extremely flat and 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% of Detik.com's daily and monthly visitors.

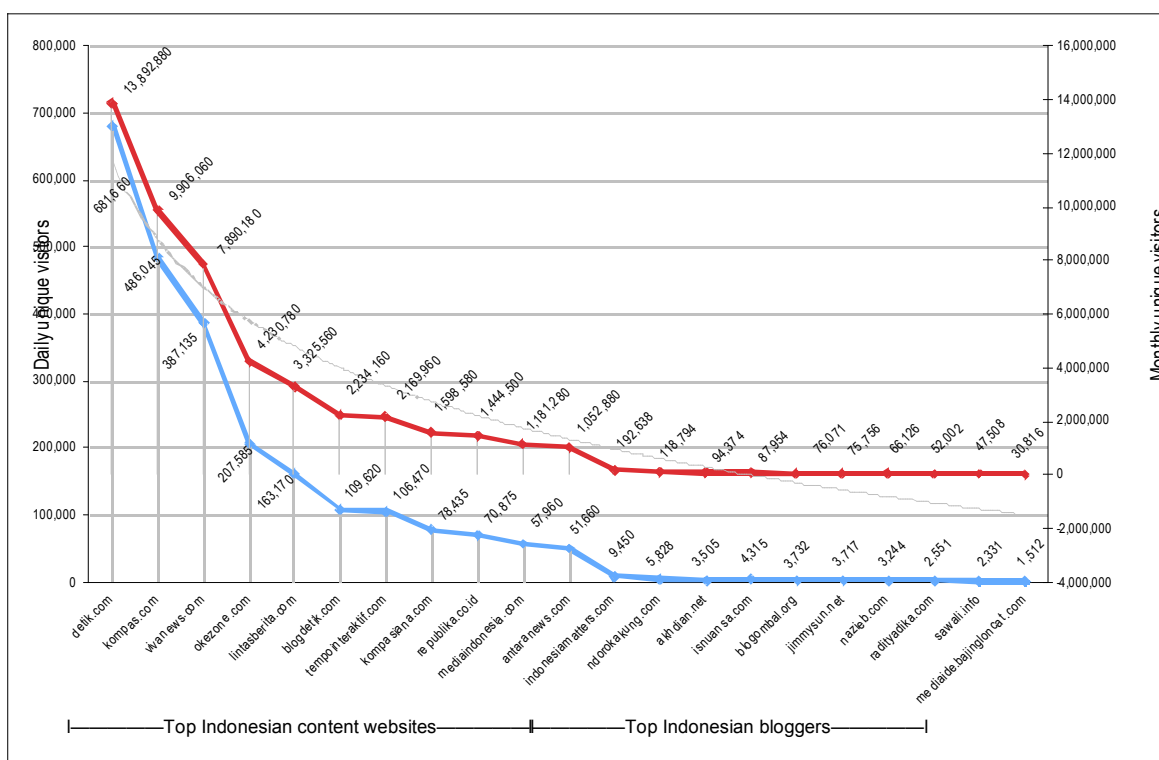


Figure 5 Distribution of Indonesian online media audiences (visitors)¹⁹

IMPLICATIONS ON CONTENT DIVERSITY

The most persistent issue in the production and content, especially in mainstream media, is the lack of diversity. Since 1998, the media content tends to predominantly represent the political elites in Jakarta and business interests. The concentration of media ownership and the networked media business

model (e.g. a small number of production houses supply most of the programs) lead to the homogeneity of available content. Various alternative media have emerged—community radios and televisions, independent online content providers, individual blogs, however they are still a long way from far-reaching.

Television: Domination of Urban Entertainment

The majority of the content on national commercial televisions stations is entertainment, ranging from 60% to 80%, in the forms of soap operas, movies, infotainment and reality shows. Commercial stations' goal is generally to set the benchmarks for the industry and thus frame their programs for the entertainment-seeking urban lower-upper and upper-middle classes, providing access to the lower class and rural population to consume city-based culture and lifestyles that have very little connection with their daily realities. Popular themes mostly revolve around urban upper class lifestyles, sex, and violence. In January 2011, three out of 10 most watched programs were all soap operas. These programs counted for only 10% (602 hours) of the total broadcast time (6,072 hours). However, viewers spent most of their watching time (29% of the 73 hours) to watch them.²⁰

Some might assume that the choice to air entertainment in a dominant fraction is audience driven. The historical record of ratings, however, does not reflect that assumption. There are several better-quality talk shows that received very positive responses. For instance, a satirical talk show Republik BBM (Benar-Benar Mabok), aired by Indosiar, received good ratings for its ability to provide political critique through jokes and satire. Despite its enormous popularity, the show featuring humorous skits with politicians look-alike and sound-alike actors was cancelled in May 2008 by the station under the 'advice' of the then Vice President Yusuf Kalla.

Several national TV stations devoted to news deliver well-packaged and up-to-date news programs. However, news programs are, by and large, tailored with an inclination to sensationalize the events rather than to provide accurate information. Frequently, disaster events are hijacked by prominent figures—the so-called 'celebrities'—who reap individual benefits by their media exposure. For example, in the case of 2004 Aceh tsunami disaster, media were more preoccupied in covering 'charitable' trips of movie stars and singers to the area rather than the living stories of the victims. Narratives of the poor, the marginalized, 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 relatively 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 programs, particularly music. A survey by MARS (2009) reports that music is the most listened to program (82%), followed by news, talk shows, expert interviews, and traffic reports.²¹ For non-entertainment content, there are a number of news and public journalism radio stations in Indonesia, including the network of Radio KBR68H news agency, who take up the space with an average quality better than those of television. Journalists and non-journalists of the Radio KBR68H news agency have received no fewer than 21 awards and prizes, including the King Baudouin International Development Prize for its "contribution to the sustainable development based on the strengthening of democracy, tolerance and citizen participation."²²

Radio has always been a vital medium in providing public spheres in Indonesia. Historically, Indonesian independence fighters used the radio in fighting against Dutch colonialism. The very same medium was also vital in building people's resistance against the Suharto regime and facilitating the student pro-democracy movement in 1998. Today, the radio, too, still has the potential to play a role as a constructive agent of change. Producing and delivering content close to the realities of their communities using a participatory model, community radios are on the forefront of this change. There are many successful stories on how community radios allow communities to be more involved in resolving social, economic, and political issues. Community radios, too, can be a space where local and alternative cultures emerge, be created and re-invented amidst the homogenous urban metropolis culture endorsed by mainstream media.

Print: Varied but not Plural

Print media is at the very heart of Indonesian content landscape, especially in news production. Sen & Hill (2000) argue that “despite reaching a much smaller readership than electronic media’s audience, it is still the press which largely determines what is news.”²³ To a certain degree this assumption is still valid. Yet, in the age of social media, print journalists have increasingly relied on prominent bloggers and tweeps (Twitter users) as the source of their stories.

Not only distribute information, print media also provide a forum for the exchange of discourses on social, cultural, political and economic issues. Being the oldest medium for the ‘literate’ consumers, print has an ability to ‘set the political agenda’ more than any other types of media in Indonesia.²⁴ As a rule of thumb, newspaper readers are far more critical and more active politically than the electronic counterparts. This combination of readership factors and the domination of the newspaper industry by veteran publishers such as Kompas, Jawa Pos, and Tempo, make the newspaper content in Indonesia of much higher quality than other media. While recognizing the downside of their domination, together these three publishers produce adequate information on national and provincial levels, as well as in investigative journalism. In so many ways, these print media are representative of the Indonesian press in general in three ways, including “balanced reporting” (Kompas), “aggressive reporting” (Jawa Pos) and “investigative reporting” (Tempo).

Post-authoritarian developments in the press has also produced a variety of viewpoints, something that did not exist prior to 1998. Islamic publishing alone represents a wide spectrum of viewpoints. While the Jakarta-based newspaper Republika is assertively modernist, Media Dakwah (Islamic ‘preaching’ media) makes it clear its campaign for an Islamic state. However, viewpoints of marginalized groups are not represented. These groups only appear when they were involved in conflicts, scandals, or other ‘sensational’ events—often with inaccurate portrayals. The minority Islamic group Ahmadiyah, for example, did not get much coverage until its members were violently attacked by Islamic radicals. Even, then, they still did not get fair coverage. Media also rarely recognizes the diversity of sexual orientation—homosexuality is often portrayed negatively as sexual abnormality or deviant behavior.

Online media: Many Voices but Who are Heard?

With the proliferation of blogging, Facebook and Twitter in Indonesia, some observers say that social media is furthering democracy and freedom of speech, and is a trigger for social change,²⁵ “the fifth estate in Indonesian’s democracy,”²⁶ and democratizing content.²⁷ To a certain degree, these statements have their currency. However, they are only valid when contextualized in select, rare, stories such as the victorious online movements to support Prita and Bibit-Chandra.²⁸ Some of the above arguments also rely on the fact that with the availability of new technologies and the freedom to produce, content production is no longer the monopoly of the powerful elites. Anybody can tweet, blog, and post on Facebook. The content of the online Indonesia, indeed, is rich and bountiful. The question is, when there are many voices, whom are heard?

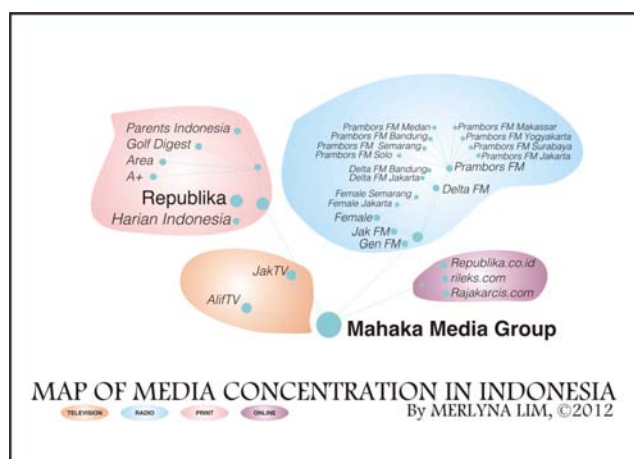
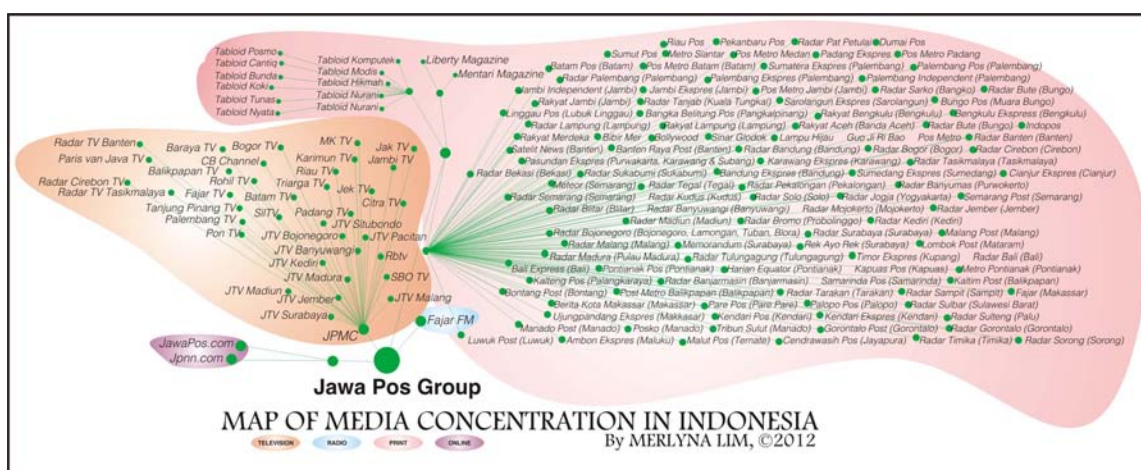
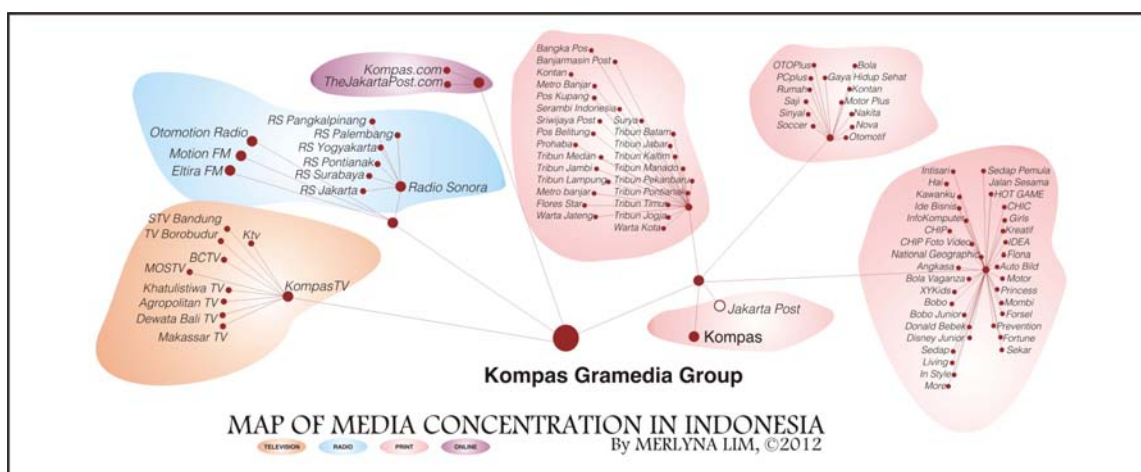
As illustrated in Figure 5, the distribution of audiences in the Indonesian online environment is very skewed, which makes it appropriate to quote the phrase: “Never have so many people written so much to be read by so few,”²⁹ to describe this phenomenon. Corporate websites aside, the distribution of weblinks and traffic in the Indonesian blogosphere itself is heavily skewed with a small number of bloggers getting most of the attention. Even though there are over 5 million Indonesian bloggers, posting approximately 1.2 million new items daily, the average blogger has almost no political influence as measured by traffic or hyperlink. Moreover, as described previously in the ‘access’ section, social media usage in Indonesia is still very much the enterprise of urban elites. The majority of content, too, thus, resembles and represents the usage—opinions, expressions, and stories of urban middle class culture, lifestyle and problems. Among 539 known Indonesian Facebook groups, 193 are on brands/products/services/companies, 188 on media/entertainment/celebrities, and only 66 on campaigns/movements/ activities/public information—reflecting urban middle class preferences and choices.³⁰

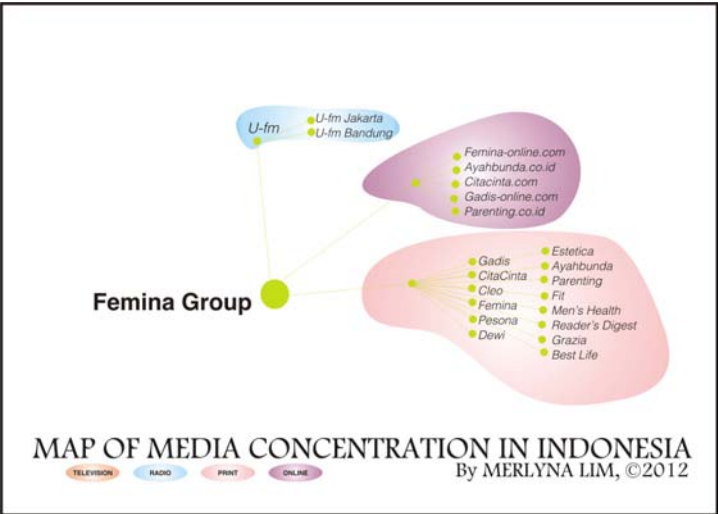
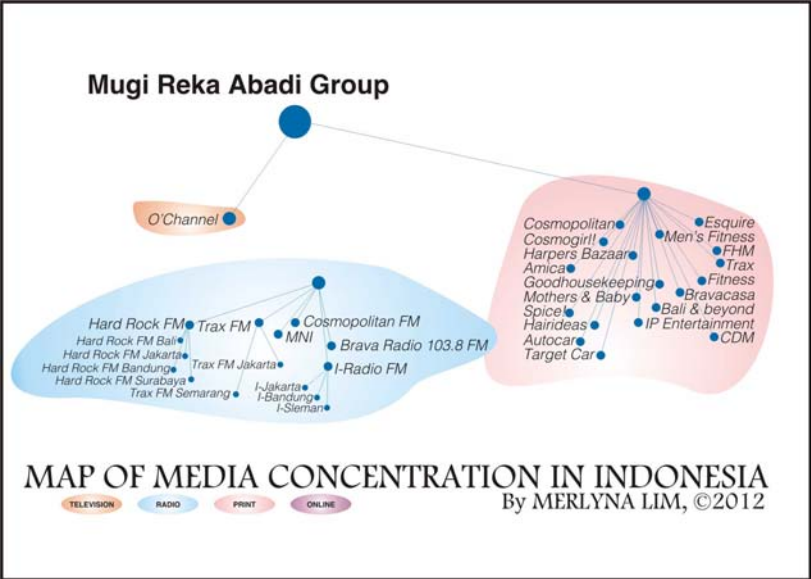
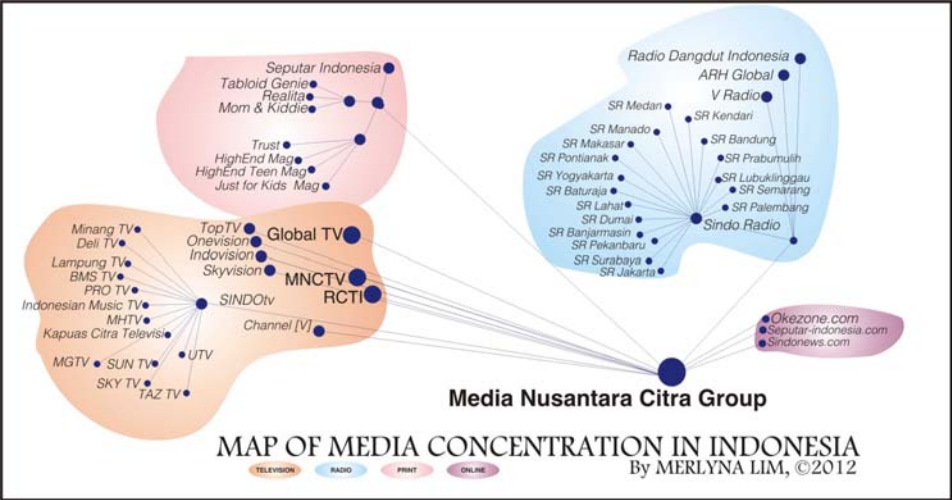
Figure 7 illustrates how this bias is reflected in the blogosphere. Among 80 blogs with social and political concerns, issues on marginalized communities such as Lapindo³⁴ and Ahmadiyah³⁵ receive minimum coverage, while issues closer to the middle-upper class interests—that were highly propagated by mainstream media—got much higher coverage. The pornography scandal of Indonesian artists Ariel and Luna Maya picked up ongoing discussions from July 2009 to March 2011 while a deadly attack on Ahmadiyah members was hardly discussed.

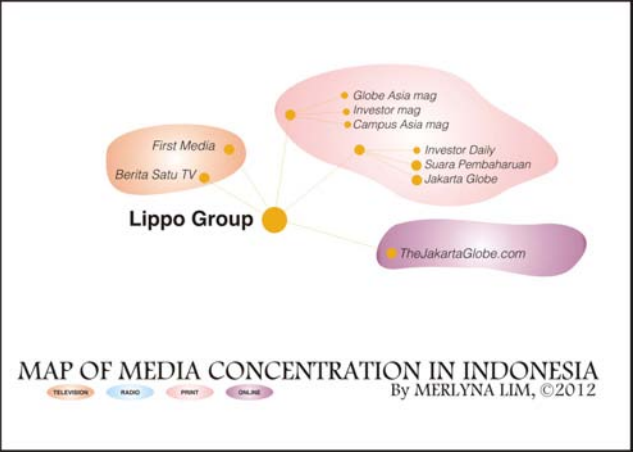
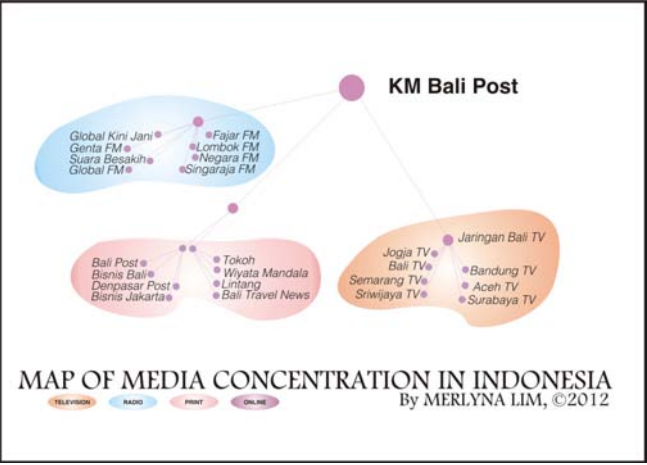
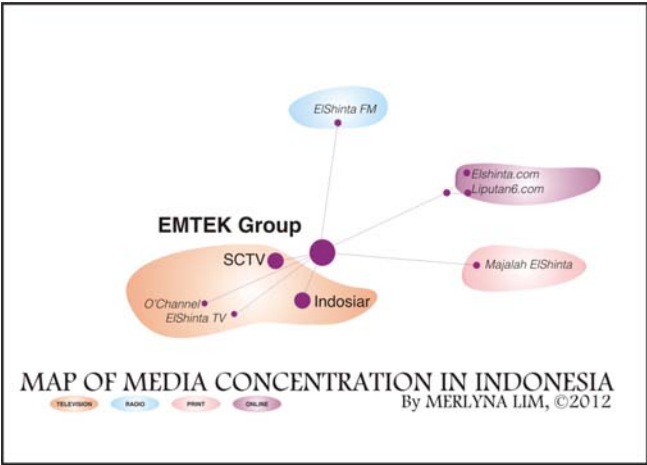
Apart from these overall problems, social media does provide a space for Indonesians to communicate and express themselves in a way unimaginable before. Social media also encourages a participatory type of content production, which has the potential to contribute to enriching the diversity of content. On a small scale, the practice of producing alternative content is rampant. In the last couple of years, there is an emergence of community blogs focusing around real issues and concerns in Indonesian society such as politikana.com, obrolanlangsat.com, savejkt.org, and akademiberbagi.org. Despite their inherent middle-class orientation, the formation of these communities can be seen as a step towards building diversity and pluralism of content in the online sphere in Indonesia.

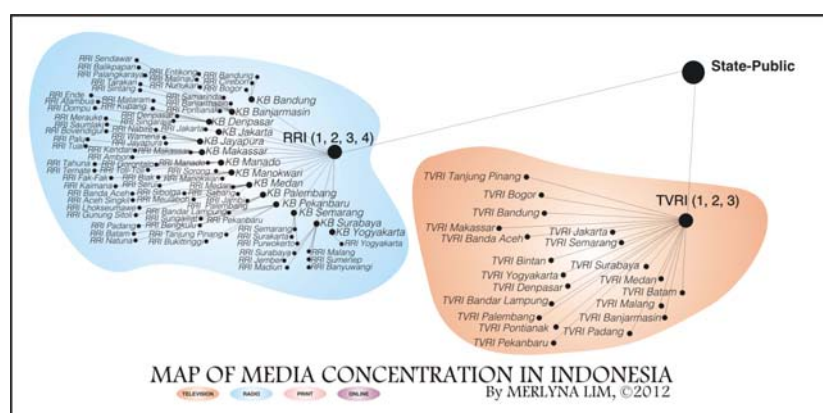
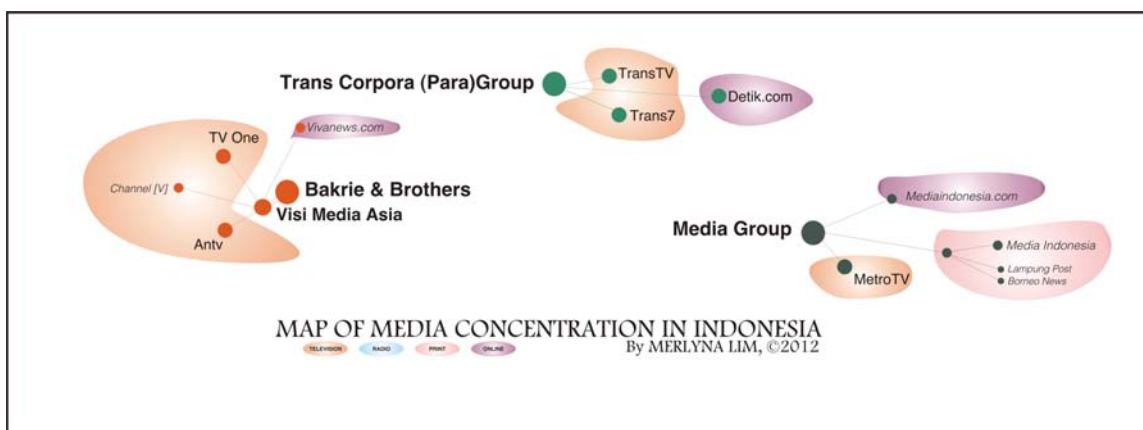
APPENDICES

Media Ownership by Group









- 1 Sen, K. and Hill, D.T. (2000), *Media, Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, p. 59.
2 http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Surya_Paloh [last accessed 28 July 2011].
3 http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aburizal_Bakrie [last accessed 28 July 2011].
4 *BusinessWeek Online* (15 July 2002), Jakarta's New Titans,
5 http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/02_28/b3791135.htm [last accessed 28 July
6 2011].
7 Bagdikian, Ben H., 1997, *The Media Monopoly*, Boston: Beacon Press, p. 11, 90-99.
8 Bagdikian, 1997, p. 44-47.
Data is compiled from various sources, including: Lim's research (informant based data); Tifa
Foundation (2010), iTifa's Notes on Indonesia, p. 4.; Haryanto, I. (2010), *Media Ownership
and Its Implication for Journalists and Journalism in Indonesia*, in Krishna Sen and David Hill
(eds.), *Politics and the New Media in 21st Century Indonesia*, p. 107; <http://id.wikipedia.org>,
<http://www.mnccgroup.com/>,
<http://investing.businessweek.com/research/stocks/private/snapshot.asp?privcapId=22353221>
, <http://www.bakrie-brothers.com/>, <http://www.transcorp.co.id/>, <http://www.feminagroup.com/>
[last accessed 28 July 2011].
Modified from an original source—Clarity Research (2007), *Indonesia in a view: A CASBAA
market report on the pay-TV industry in the Republic of Indonesia—using data from Lim's
research (+ =noted changes).*

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- ⁹ AGB Nielsen (29 April 2011), Nielsen Newsletter, Edition 16, http://www.agbnielsen.com/Uploads/Indonesia/Nielsen_Newsletter_Apr_2011-eng.pdf [last accessed 28 July 2011].
- ¹⁰ Kompas TV Network observably takes a different route in its content. Preliminary assesment shows that the Network pays much attention of the quality and educational values of its content.
- ¹¹ Marsono, 2009.
- ¹² “Penyampaian, penyebarluasan informasi, juga mendidik, menghibur masyarakat agar bangsa Indonesia tidak kehilangan jati diri’ dan ‘tetap komit dalam menjaga persatuan-kesatuan dan keutuhan NKRI,” in Marsono, 2009.
- ¹³ KBR68H (5 May 2011), Jaringan Dalam Negeri, <http://www.kbr68h.com/jaringan/297-indonesia/5889-jaringan-dalam-negeri> [last accessed 28 July 2011].
- ¹⁴ Piper, T. (November 2009), Don’t Shoot the Messenger: Policy Challenges Facing the Indonesian Media, p.3.
- ¹⁵ SPS (Serikat Penerbit Surat kabar), 2011.
- ¹⁶ Compiled from various sources, including: <http://kompas.co.id>, <http://id.wikipedia.org>.
- ¹⁷ Anderson, Benedict, ‘Rewinding “back to the future”: The left and constitutional democracy’ in David Bourchier and John Legge (eds.) (1994), *Democracy in Indonesia: 1950s and 1990s*, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, p. 140.
- ¹⁸ Based on Lim’s conversation with Jeremy Wagstaff (October 2011).
- ¹⁹ 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).
- ²⁰ AGB Nielsen (31 January 2011), Nielsen Newsletter.
- ²¹ MARS Indonesia, 2009, *Perilaku Belanja Konsumen Indonesia*.
- ²² Messakh, Matheos Viktor (30 June 2009), KBR 68H centers on radio journalism, *The Jakarta Post*, <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/06/30/kbr-68h-centers-radio-journalism.html> [last accessed 28 July 2011].
- ²³ Sen and Hill (2000), p. 51.
- ²⁴ Sen and Hill (2000), p. 51.
- ²⁵ Nugroho, Yanuar (2011), *Citizens in @ction*, Hivos and Manchester Business School, research report, http://audentis.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/citizens-in-action-mioir-hivos-final_report-en.pdf [last accessed 28 July 2011].
- ²⁶ According to blogger Enda Nasution, cited in Lutfia, Ismira (6 August 2010), Journalist, Bloggers Weigh In on Role of New Media, *Jakarta Globe*, <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/home/journalists-bloggers-weigh-in-on-role-of-new-media/389727> [last accessed 28 July 2011].
- ²⁷ Sutadi, Heru (12 February 2011), Social Media dan Demokrasi 2.0 di Indonesia, <http://politik.kompasiana.com/2011/02/12/social-media-dan-demokrasi-20-di-indonesia/> [last accessed 28 July 2011].
- ²⁸ These two cases are the most prominent cases—and, to a certain degree, are overused to justify the democratization effect of social media in Indonesia—in which Facebook and other social networking platforms were used to mobilize support for the perceived victims. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prita_Mulyasari for the story of Prita and see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corruption_Eradication_Commission for the story of Bibit-Chandra.
- ²⁹ Hafner, Katie (27 May 2004), For some, the blogging never stops, *New York Times*.
- ³⁰ SalingSilang.com (2011).
- ³¹ Source: SalingSilang.com (2011).
- ³² Data of March 2011, cited in SalingSilang.com (2011).
- ³³ Source: Lim’s Blogtrackers research, 2011.

³⁴ See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sidoarjo_mud_flow [last accessed 28 July 2011] for more description on the Lapindo case.

³⁵ See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadiyya_in_Indonesia [last accessed 28 July 2011] for more explanation on the Ahmadiyah and its persecution in Indonesia.