

TELEVISION LOCALITY

Industrial, historical and socio-cultural investigations
of local television in post-authoritarian Indonesia



Bram Hendrawan

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**INDUSTRIAL, HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL INVESTIGATIONS OF
LOCAL TELEVISION IN POST-AUTHORITARIAN INDONESIA**

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INDUSTRIAL, HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL INVESTIGATIONS OF LOCAL TELEVISION IN POST-AUTHORITARIAN INDONESIA

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(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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Prof.dr. E. Müller

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Introduction



During my fieldwork for this dissertation (2010-2012) I spent a great deal of time in different locations in Indonesia, observing the production processes of various television programmes by local television stations. One such study took place on the 16th of October 2011 in a small village in district Bangli Bali where Bali TV, a local commercial television station, organised an event for *Wirasa*,¹ a feature programme on poor people who receive financial help for medication or education. The event was conducted in a village hall and consisted of different activities, including free medical check-ups for villagers, dances and songs were performed by local Balinese artists and the main activity was the presentation of donations to the villagers by the vice-governor of Bali (see Figure 1-8). During the event cameramen were moving around to film and interview people taking part in these different activities. Interestingly, the production of this particular programme was not merely an event for a television broadcast but also a social and political event that was sponsored by a local politician who, at that time, wanted to stand in the next elections for governor. He was the main 'actor' in the whole show. The production of the programme was part of his political campaign. Furthermore, the event was also a social event when people could get free medical treatments by a professional medical team.

This example illustrates the embedding of television in socio-cultural processes at the local level in Indonesia, the main topic of this dissertation. In many countries local stations are known for the local character of their programming, thanks to the limitation of broadcasting reach, and in some cases because of regulations. Local television stations in Indonesia are similar, for example broadcasting local news and entertainment programmes in local languages. However, my fieldwork also reveals an aspect of television practice that has rarely been investigated in the studies of local television, namely that it is embedded in a local network of social actors that is part of broader process of public communication and identity practices at the local level, as the case of Bali TV above illustrates. I have observed this phenomenon not only in Bali but also in three other locations that I have researched - Solo in Central Java, Yogyakarta and Manado in North Sulawesi. TATV in Solo and Jogja TV in Yogyakarta broadcast live music programmes with local performers in which viewers can phone in to request popular Javanese songs and send greetings to friends and families. In Manado, the municipal government has a contract with all local media, including local television stations, to report the activities of the mayor and vice-mayor.

¹ In the context of this programme the word can be translated as 'empathy.'



Figure 1 Balinese vice-governor (right) and the owner of Bali TV (left)



Figure 2 The vice-governor with recipients of the donation



Figure 3 Free medical treatment



Figure 4 Bags of rice are distributed as gifts



Figure 5 Local singer performing



Figure 6 Balinese dancers performing



Figure 7 A recipient of the donation is interviewed for a news programme



Figure 8 Another recipient of the donation

Bali TV, TATV and Jogja TV are just a few of hundreds of new commercial television stations, known as *TV lokal* (local television) that have been mushrooming in different regions throughout the archipelago since the turn of the millennium. These stations operate at a sub-national level, by which broadcasts can be received only in a limited area. The introduction of the new Broadcasting Law #32 of 2002 that liberalised the television sector marked a transition in the Indonesian television landscape, borrowing John Ellis' (2000) terminology, from an era of 'scarcity' into that of 'availability'. Until the end of the twentieth century the Indonesian television landscape was monopolised by national stations that consisted of the state television of the Republic of Indonesia (TVRI) and five commercial stations; all were located in the capital city Jakarta. A local television service was provided by the regional stations of TVRI known as *TVRI Daerah*. Nevertheless, it broadcast only for a few hours a day and was not available in all regions.² At the beginning of the new millennium a few local commercial stations started to emerge in different regions and by 2013, there were approximately 200 of these in Indonesia. Nowadays, a local television service is available not only in provincial capital cities but also smaller cities and districts. The aim of the dissertation is to investigate the first decade of the development of local television (2002-2012). In particular, it aims to scrutinise its role in the socio-cultural transformations at the regional level following the implementation of regional autonomy.

The proliferation of local television points to the new role and place of television in Indonesian society amidst the social and political transformations of the country following the fall of the New Order regime in 1998. As part of a series of social and political transformations known as *reformasi* (reform), Indonesia implemented regional autonomy, devolving powers from the central to sub-provincial governments. The process has turned the country from one of the most centralised states in the world into one of the highly decentralised. This has given rise to new social, political and cultural dynamics at the sub-national level, a process that Aspinall and Fealy (2003) call 'the rise of the local'. In contrast to the authoritarian New Order era when the central state implemented a uniform top down policy in all levels of government administrations, post-New Order Indonesia saw the transformation of locality characterised by 'greater regional control over political and economic affairs' (Aspinall and Fealy 2003:2).

In this dissertation I argue that the development of local television in post-New Order Indonesia should be seen as part of the rise of the local. First of all, it is the

² By 1998, the regional TVRI stations were only operating in 13 out of 27 provinces (Yogyakarta, Central and East Java, West Java, DKI Jakarta, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, North Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, South Sumatra, East Kalimantan, Aceh, Maluku)

product of the changing central-local relationship due to the implementation of regional autonomy: and secondly, local television appears as an important actor in furthering the transformation process of locality. By examining the first decade of the development of *TV lokal*, this dissertation aims to identify local television's specific role in the construction of locality in post-New Order Indonesia. What are the underlying factors that shape such a role, and in what forms and through which mechanisms does it contribute to the process?

A constructive approach to locality

Locality forms an important aspect of this study, and it is crucial to explain this concept because of its many uses and meanings. Duncan and Savage state that locality is 'a confused notion' because of 'the variety of quite different meanings and uses ascribed to 'locality'' (1989:192). Mainly developed in the field of Human Geography, the concept has been used in different areas, including media studies. Scholars have been using the term locality to refer to two different yet related aspects of analysis, namely the scalar and the social dimensions.

First, locality explains the scale of the analysis. Painter (2009) for instance, 'defines locality as a place or region of subnational scale' (cited in Clarke 2013:493), while Taylor (2004) sees locality as 'a unit of analysis, or level of political geography, in the series of global-national-local' (ibid.). While it is widely agreed that locality refers to a sub-national scale, there is no consensus to which geographical size this term refers exactly, whether regional, provincial or much smaller scales. In this dissertation, the scalar dimension refers to areas within which local television operates. As I will discuss in detail in Chapter 2, this scale of locality consists of different geographical areas according to various administrative, technical and cultural factors.

While it is essential to specify the scalar dimension of locality, here the focus of the analysis is on the relational dimension, i.e. locality as a social process. Following Doreen Massey (1994), locality is a *quality* of place that emerges through social interactions. Locality, according to Dickens, refers to "the ways in which people interact with one another, with the physical environment and how they articulate their experiences" (1990:3). Locality is thus perceived as a product of interactions between social actors. Its meanings, boundaries and histories 'are being questioned, rethought, and remade by people who live in, visit, use, and plan them' (Stauth and Schielke 2008:14). This way locality is perceived in more abstract terms of flux and process. In focusing on the social dimension of locality, the analysis aims at identifying various forms/manifestations of locality as a value and explaining the mechanisms of its

construction. For this purpose, Arjun Appadurai's concept of 'production of locality' offers a fruitful approach.

Arjun Appadurai (1996) focuses on the social dimension of locality by defining it as 'a phenomenological property of social life, a structure of feeling that is produced by particular forms of intentional activity and that yields particular sorts of material effects' (p.182). It is differentiated from the materialised form of locality, which he calls 'neighborhood'. He uses the term to describe 'existing social forms in which locality, as a dimension or values, is variably realized' (p.179). 'According to Arjun Appadurai, 'locality' is a central property of social life, an indispensable dimension in the engendering of 'neighborhoods' or situated communities' (Santos-Graneor 2004:104). Appadurai contends that 'locality is an inherently fragile social achievement. Even in the most intimate, spatially confined, geographically isolated situations, locality must be maintained carefully against various kinds of odds' (1996:179). Locality cannot be taken as a given. Its construction, which Appadurai calls 'production of locality', constitutes of 'complex and deliberate practices of performance, representation, and action' (ibid p.180). Importantly, the production of locality is characterised by asymmetrical power relations between multiple actors, involving struggles and strategies to define its constellation. As Appadurai points out, locality production is 'a matter of social power and of the different scales of organisations and control within which particular spaces (and places) are embedded' (1996:186). It is this *organisation* of the production of locality that serves as the focus of the analysis in this dissertation. The implementation of regional autonomy as part of the *reformasi* has led to new conditions and contexts of social interactions at the sub-national level that engendered new practices in the production of locality in Indonesia.

Changing practices of the production of locality

Historically, the management of locality has always been the main concern of different government administrations in Indonesia since its independence from Dutch colonial rule in 1945. This is because of the immense diversity that characterises the nation. Hundreds of ethnic groups, each with their own languages, belief systems and customs, are scattered around its more than 13 thousands islands. Maintaining unity amid this vast heterogeneity, as it is reflected in the national slogan of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (unity in diversity), has always been the main agenda of the government in power. Throughout Indonesian history, the central-local relations have been subject to transformations. In the years following independence, Indonesia experimented with different forms of central-local relationships. After a brief period as a federation state

and being confronted with various separatist movements, the first two presidents, Sukarno (1945-1966) and Suharto (1966-1998), maintained a centralised authoritarian regime, 'in which the authorities saw regionalism as a major threat to Indonesia's survival as a unitary state' (Aspinall and Fealy 2003:2).

After coming into power in 1966 and throughout his presidency, General Suharto implemented a centralised military regime known as the New Order, a name that was used to dissociate his policy from 'the Guided Democracy' under President Sukarno. It was under the New Order that Indonesia emerged as an economically and politically stable state. Aspinall and Fealy succinctly describe the central-local relations during the New Order as follows:

The New Order in particular built an extensive edifice of state surveillance and control to ensure that central government policies and directions were enforced right down to the village level. Uniform administrative structures and procedures were imposed across the nation, often replacing long-established and effective local forms of community leadership and dispute settlement. Power relations during this period were essentially pyramidal. At the apex of the pyramid stood Soeharto, supported by the key pillars of the regime: the military and the central bureaucracy. Chains of command and patronage then extended down through the provincial, district and subdistricts tiers of government, with officials at each level owing allegiance to those directly above them while also having responsibility for ensuring compliance from those below. Jakarta was intolerant of dissent, and local leaders or organisations that resisted central government policies were viewed with suspicion and often subject to intimidation and repression. (2003:2)

During the New Order regime the central government controlled political and cultural processes at the local level in order to construct a uniform national identity through different mechanisms, such as appointing local leaders, controlling public communication and imposing a top-down cultural policy.

The fall of President Suharto in 1998 has given rise to new practices of managing locality in Indonesia. In 1999 Indonesia implemented regional autonomy, delegating powers from the central to sub-provincial governments. The policy entailed the devolution of fiscal and administrative powers from Jakarta to sub-provincial governments in all sectors except defence and security, foreign policy, monetary policy, the legal system and religious affairs. The regions are now responsible for managing

their own policies in a wide range of sectors from infrastructure, education and health to environment issues. The decision to drastically change the relationship between Jakarta and the regions was seen as a way to maintain the unity of the nation after the collapse of the regime (Mietzner 2011). The implementation of regional autonomy has brought about new political and cultural practices at the local level.

Post-New Order Indonesia saw the transformation of political dynamics at the local level. In this process, locality is 'both a product of politics and a mediator of political possibilities and expectations' (Flint and Taylor 2007:245). According to Warren and McCarthy, following the implementation of administrative and fiscal decentralisations, 'new political configurations and alliances emerged, as actors engage in an ongoing struggle to build constituencies and reconstruct some form of 'commonwealth'' (2012:26). Local authorities (government and parliament) appear as important actors as they are now in charge of managing governance processes in their own region. The decentralisation has given the opportunity for local actors to decide their own policies. Local budgets are now the domain of the local government and parliaments. Some local governments are able to provide free education and health service for their inhabitants. Some have re-installed traditional administrative structure and dispute mechanisms that were banned by the New Order regime, for instance the installation of the customary village *desa Pakaraman* in Bali. Other regions have implemented Islamic-based bylaws, which, according to Buehler (2008), indicates the changing patterns of political power accumulation and consolidation.

Additionally, the implementation of local elections for local parliaments and heads of local government (implemented in 2005) has contributed to the transformation of locality in post-New Order Indonesia. Under the New Order the roles of local actors in political processes were restricted. According to Aspinall and Fealy, 'communities had scant opportunity to participate in local politics, while provincial and district legislatures and governments seldom dared to voice concern at national decisions that they viewed as inimical to local interests' (2003:2). The reformation of legal political and administrative structures at sub-national level in post-Suharto Indonesia has expanded the participation space for local actors to engage with political and governance processes.

The freedom to decide local policies has also manifested itself in the cultural domain. Locality appears as the framework in which 'collective identity and a sense of cohesion and cultural commensality' are constructed through imagination and performance practices (Lovell 1998:4). Cultural movements based on ethnic identities, initiated and funded by local governments and civil society, are flourishing in the

regions (Lindsay 2008). This marks the emergence of identity politics at sub-national level that are based on cultural and ethnic symbols, something that was repressed by the regime because they were considered a threat to the national identity (Schulten Nordholt and van Klinken 2007; Mietzner 2011).

Thus post-New Order Indonesia saw the emergence of new practices in the construction of locality in which local actors play much more significant roles in the political and cultural processes at the local level than in the period under President Suharto. Importantly, the transformation of locality in the post-New Order period should not be seen as a total break from New Order practices. Various studies demonstrate that the legacies of the Suharto period are part of the dynamics. (2007) In the introduction of an edited book on local dynamics Schulte Nordholt and van Klinken write 'In many respects post-Soeharto Indonesia shows continuities with the previous period, albeit the control leadership of the old regime has been weakened, making way for a considerable degree of 'fractionalisation' and decentralisation of power' (p.8). The transformation of localities in post-New Order Indonesia should be understood as a dialectical process between 'new' and 'old' practices. It is within this context that local television is developed.

The role of television

The construction of locality in modern society involves mediation practices. Arjun Appadurai acknowledges this by inventing the concept of 'mediascape', referring to both media production and distribution technologies and 'the images of the world created by these media' (1996:35). Media appear as a site of social processes where relationships between social actors emerge and are maintained and negotiated. Since its inception television has been playing a pivotal role in the practices of the production of locality. The centrality of television as a communication medium for information and entertainment has given rise to its importance in the mediation process of social relations. In doing so, Allen and Hill point out that 'television not only represents social groups; it also helps to construct and maintain the norms and values through which society is ordered.' (2004:368). Television is one of important institutions in society that play a role in defining and maintaining particular qualities that construct a certain form of locality. Importantly, as I will demonstrate in this dissertation, the embedding of television in the construction of locality goes beyond the representation practices. It also includes the ways in which television enables interactions between social actors through its industrial and regulatory practices and its various uses by communities.

In this dissertation I approach television as one of important institutions in society that plays a role in the production of locality. This role has been shaped mainly by two major forces, namely political and commercial interests. First of all, it has been deployed as an instrument for the creation of a particular type of locality by different institutions of power. In the context of democracy, television has also been part of the creation of locality based on particular ideals. In the western developed democracies for instance, a local television service is part of the television landscape used to foster local political and cultural processes that are crucial for the functioning of democracy.

Secondly, the commercialisation of the television sector has added a new dimension to television practices that contribute to the production of locality. In their effort to create a market, television stations often target a particular type of audience connected by shared language or geographic area. In India for instance, regional indigenous television networks started to emerge in the 1990s targeting a specific group of audience bound by a shared language. McMilin argues that these 'regional private networks play a crucial role in local imaginings and, in the long run, may rise in tremendous political power through their manipulation and reflection of regional identity' (2001:64). Furthermore, the privatisation of the television sector in many countries has led to the emergence of television stations that target specific local scales. Such a process took place for instance, in Italy in the 1970s and in Greece in the 1980s. In these countries, the decision to privatise the industry has led to the explosive growth of the number of local television stations³ (Panagiotopoulou 2004; Barca 1999, Papathanassopoulos 1997). The same situation also occurred in the 1990s in the new democracies of East and Central Europe (OSI Monitoring Report 2005).

Both forces have contributed in shaping the embedding of television in the dynamics of locality in Indonesia. Since its inception in the late 1960s, Indonesian television demonstrates how television is embedded in the changing practices of the production of locality, from a state-controlled television system into a commercially driven one.

The changing role of television in Indonesia

Different historical periods of Indonesia saw different relationships between television and locality. In the first decade of its development (mainly in the 1970s), the state television TVRI consisted of regional television stations independent of central television. These regional stations were established by the provincial governments in

³ The number of local television stations in Greece by the year 2000 is estimated 150 (Panagiotopoulou 2004) and around 1000 stations in Italy by the late 1990s (Barca 1999).

collaboration with private investors (Kitley 2000). This decentralised television system was ended in the 1980s following several measures to centralise the system (this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 1). Secondly, in the late 1980s the private television service was initially introduced as a local television service in a few big cities. However, not long after their inception, these local television services were turned into a national system as part of the centralised political system of the New Order regime, under which the Indonesian television system was much more centralised than those of countries like India or China (Sen and Hill 2000). Television was centrally controlled and primarily used to disseminate the state's ideology and to construct national identity (Kitley 2000). The emphasis on maintaining order and the unity of the nation led to the suppression of differences, despite the plural character of Indonesia (Sen and Hill 2000). The SARA-regulation⁴ led to the banning of television programmes that foreground differences (ibid.). The use of an ethnic language for instance, was severely restricted. In the last two decades of Suharto's presidency regional TVRI stations broadcast only a few hours a day with programming that was subject to the central station's approval. They served mainly as relay stations for the central TVRI (Sen and Hill 2000).

During the New Order the local media landscape consisted mainly of press and radio. These commercially oriented media platforms were part of the dynamics of locality. Regional newspapers can be found in almost every province, although many of them are part of national newspaper chains (for the discussion of the development of press in Indonesia see Sen and Hill 2000). Radio, which unlike television was set up as a decentralised system, played an important role in the articulation of regional cultural identity (Lindsay 1997). As was the case with the national media, local media were also subject to strict state's control. The press was controlled by the necessity to acquire a license to publish, while radio stations were only allowed to broadcast entertainment programmes. Radio stations were obliged to relay the state's news programmes (almost every hour). These local media were part of the local socio-cultural practices.

The liberalisation of the media sector during the *reformasi* has changed the local media landscape dramatically. The number of local press and radio stations increased rapidly (this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4). Community based media (radio and television) were mushrooming.⁵ In addition, the rapid increase of Internet access has facilitated the emergence of hyper-local media. The rise of local commercial broadcasters is part of this wider development. Local television is arguably the most important new media at the local level that has emerged in post-authoritarian Indonesia

⁴ The term 'SARA' was coined to refer to anything that was likely to exacerbate tensions based on ethnicity, religion, race or between social groups or classes.

⁵ For the discussion on community radio, see for instance Birowo (2011).

for several reasons. First of all, television has been the major media for information and entertainment, thus holding a strategic position in political and cultural processes. Second, it marked a drastic shift from a centralised to a decentralised television system.

After thirty years of strict centralised control and censorship, the New Broadcasting Law #32 in 2002 stipulated the decentralisation of the television system and marked the end of New Order centralised television. The law attempted to regulate the liberalisation process of the sector while at the same time setting up the framework in which television could play a role in the democratic process. The decision to shift the television system from a centralised to a decentralised system, which served as the legal umbrella for the establishment of a local television service, was the result of such dynamics. It was a manifestation of what Kirkpatrick (2006) calls 'affirmative localism'. It is a principle that prioritises local media to support democratic processes, based on the idea that democracy can best function in its locality and that media should support it by becoming a space where local dynamics are mediated. The rise of local private television stations is celebrated by many as a step towards a democratic broadcasting system, which is characterised by diversity of ownership and content (Jimmy Silalahi 2008, Ade Armando, 2002; Djoko Susilo, 2002). The introduction of local television service marks the emergence of new television practices in the production of locality in post-New Order Indonesia.

The establishment of local television service after the fall of the New Order shared some similarities with the post-authoritarian European countries, such as Greece and Spain in the 1970s and the 1980s when the state television company started a regional broadcasting service (Spa and Garitonandia 1995:8). The most recent wave took place in the 1990s in the post-communist bloc of Eastern European countries (OSI Monitoring Reports 2005). The Indonesian case adds to this global development indicating the importance of the decentralisation process as part of the deregulation of the television sector. However, the decentralisation process of television in Indonesia is unique because unlike European countries where the decentralisation took place at the same time as the privatisation of the industry, the decentralisation of television in Indonesia aimed to change fundamentally the already existing centralised private television system. The decentralisation policy obliged the existing national private television stations to transform themselves from a single national station into a network system modelled to the US television system (this will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2). It is the aim of this dissertation to reconstruct a history of the first decade of these emerging local stations. As such, it is the first to offer a comprehensive study of local television in post-New Order Indonesia.

Studies on television and locality in Indonesia

By focusing on the relationship between television and locality this study connects two important transformations following the fall of the New Order regime, namely the liberalisation of the media sector and the implementation of regional autonomy. Both developments have received a great deal of academic attention as separate objects of analysis. Various studies on post-New Order Indonesia show that the political transformation of the country changed the media landscape dramatically, from a restricted sector tightly controlled by the state into a liberalised sector driven by the commercialisation process (see for instance Sen and Hill 2011; Nugroho et al. 2011; Lim 2011; Hollander et al. 2009, Sudibyo and Patria 2013). There are also a growing number of studies that deal with the dynamics of decentralisation after the resignation of President Suharto (see for instance Aspinall and Fealy 2003; Schulte Nordholt and van Klinken 2007; Warren and McCarthy 2012; Erb et al. 2013). The investigation of local dynamics has become a new research agenda within the field of Indonesian studies. These studies reveal the complex nature of the transformation process of locality in post-New Order Indonesia, involving complicated and unexpected interplays of various historical, political and socio-economic factors.

However, the link between the two processes – how the decentralisation shapes the development of media and vice versa – is rarely investigated. Studies on the decentralisation processes focus predominately on the socio-political and administrative dimension of the process. Most studies on the media in post-New Order Indonesia on the other hand, focus on the national media. In recent years a few chapter-length studies started to discuss the interconnectedness between television and the changing dynamics at the local level, mostly as part of broader studies on local media (Hill 2007, 2011, Piper 2009, Ida 2011, Barkin 2013, MacRae and Darma Putra 2007). They show the prominent role of local television in the political and cultural practices at the local level. Barkin (2013) and Darma Putra and Creese (2012) for instance, demonstrate how local television is embedded in the practices of local cultural identity based on ethnicity and religion. Furthermore, in analysing local media in different regions in Indonesia, Hill (2007, 2011) argues that local television plays a role in the changing political dynamics brought about by the implementation of local elections.

This dissertation differs from the previous studies mentioned in several respects. First, it is the first that focuses on local television based on multiple locations, allowing a comparative analysis in scrutinising the role of television in the construction of locality. Second, unlike most studies that focus on one aspect of television, either the structure of ownership or a programme, it approaches the subject in its

multidimensionality as both industrial and socio-cultural practices: and third, it employs a historical perspective by tracing the development of local television in its first decade of establishment.

Approaching local television

Within television studies little attention has been given to local television, as most research concerns national and global television. Available studies on local television deal mainly with television in Western countries, mostly in the United States of America (e.g. Murray and Godfrey 1997; Napoli 2004; Bishop and Hakanen 2002) and European countries (e.g. de Moragas Spà and Garitaonandía 1995; Maxwell 1995; Barca 1999). Research on local television, so far, has been mainly focussed on the institutional development and a particular programme, usually a news programme. These foci offer a productive entry point to the understanding of the role of television in the production of locality. The analysis of the institutional side offers an insight into how regulations and the structure of ownership shape the role of television in defining and maintaining a particular form of locality. The programme, which is the final product of television that enters the public domain, offers insight into how different ideas of locality are manifested. Television programmes appear as a space for the imagination of locality in which local symbols are (re)produced, thus contributing to the representation practices that are essential for the identification process to a particular locality.

In previous studies however, less attention has been given to the industrial practices of local television, particularly the question of how economic and professional practices of the production of television programmes shape the role of television in the production of locality. In this dissertation I look at both the institutional and textual dimensions of television with the focus on the industrial practices of local television. The reason for this is twofold. First of all, Indonesian local television stations are commercial enterprises with profit-making as their main goal. Second, by analysing how particular programmes came into being, it can offer insights in the relationship between television and other social actors through the production practices in order to understand the embedding of television in the larger society together with its cultural processes. This way, this study opens up a new terrain in understanding television's role in the production of locality beyond the representation practices.

Television as industrial practices

The television industry is a complex phenomenon that consists of a variety of forms. Different distribution technologies of television lead to different industrial practices.

Here, the term 'television industry' refers to free-to-air broadcasters, the main distribution of television in Indonesia of which local television is part. I distinguish two dimensions that make up the television industry namely the intrinsic and extrinsic parts. Following Gomery and Hockley (2006) the 'micro-intrinsic elements', comprise the ownership structure, the economic model and the production and distribution processes of television programmes. The intrinsic element also includes 'the sets of professional frameworks operating among people in the television industry' (Dahlgren 1995:26). The intersection between these intrinsic elements makes up the dynamics of industrial practices of television. Importantly, the television industry is also subject to external forces (Allen and Hill 2004; Miller 2010). As Allen and Hill (2004) explain 'in every country where television technology has been used for broadcasting, the experience of television has been shaped by yet another set of institutional forces: those of government policy and political ideology' (p.28). The case of Indonesia demonstrates how regulations and public debates play an important role in shaping industrial practices of television. Another important external force that I add here is the business environment within which television is situated. As the analysis in this dissertation will demonstrate, the history and constellation of the local business environment also plays a role in shaping the industry of television. In examining the role of local television in the construction of locality, I situate the analysis within the interplay between these internal and external elements of the television industry.

My approach to television here can be placed in the emerging studies on the production of culture such as an *industrial cultural-industry method* (Caldwell 2008) and *Critical Media Industry Studies* (Havens et al. 2009). Following Havens et al. (2009) this approach aims to understand how television as 'a site of artistic and social expression as well as a business concerned with maximization of markets and profits' works 'within actual practice; and, more importantly, what implications these practices- and the texts they generate- hold in terms of larger social and cultural process of representation and power' (p.249). Thus the analysis here includes the 'critical' question of power, relating to intrinsic and extrinsic elements of television industry, of how they shape the role of local television in the construction of locality. In practice, following Caldwell (2008:4), my approach is 'synthetic' in which I examine data from different registers or modes of analysis - discourse analysis, content analysis of television programming and programmes, interviews with television workers and policy makers, ethnographic field observation of production spaces and economic/industrial analysis. I will discuss these different methods in detail in the chapters in which they are utilised.

Historical perspective

In this dissertation the analysis of the role of local television in the construction of locality is placed in a historical context by tracing its development since its inception at the beginning of the twenty-first century until 2012, a period of roughly a decade. In doing so, I follow Fickers and Johnson's (2010) interpretivist approach to studying cultural history of television. They define the approach as 'the combination of contextual and textual analysis of all kinds of sources, enabling a critical interpretation of television as both a witness to and an actor in economic structures, social change, political power and cultural meaning' (Fickers and Johnson 2010:2). There are two important elements of this approach that I would like to highlight. First, it sees the embedding of television in the process of social change not merely as a witness but also, and importantly, as an active player that contributes to the changes. Thus in studying the embedding of local television in the rise of the local in post-New Order Indonesia, this study focuses on the role of local television as an institution that is both shaped by and shapes the transformations of locality. Second, the approach situates the inquiry into television history in its broader political, economic and social contexts.

By employing an historical perspective in analysing the development of local television, this study contributes to the scant historiography of Indonesian television. While the drastic changes to the broadcasting sector in post-New Order Indonesia have led to an increased number of academic research publications on Indonesian television, only a few studies adopt a historical approach to the subject. Most of them deal with New Order television. Philip Kitley's (2000) study on New Order television is the only book-length study that deals with a history of Indonesian television. Sen and Hill (2000) include a chapter on television in their historical analysis of the New Order media. More recently a few academic articles that look at the development of television in post-New Order Indonesia have begun to emerge, focusing on a particular aspect of television. Sudibyo and Patria (2013) for instance, trace the changes in the television stations' ownership landscape by comparing the situation before and after the fall of President Suharto. Despite the fact that local television has been part of the Indonesian media landscape for more than a decade, no single study has yet looked at the development of these emerging stations from a historical perspective. This dissertation is the first to map a history of emerging local stations that is part of the larger changes in the Indonesian television landscape after the fall of the New Order regime.

I employ a historical perspective in two ways. First, in scrutinising the institutional dimension of local television, I trace changes in the public discourse on local television (Chapter 1), regulations (Chapter 2) and the structure of ownership

(Chapter 3). Second, in analysing the industrial and socio-cultural practices of television I trace their connectedness with 'older' practices of the existing media. For instance, in analysing the economic practices of local stations in Chapter 4, I relate them to long established practices in local radio and newspapers. The same method applies to the analysis of some television formats in Chapter 5. The historical perspective offers a productive approach to the understanding of the complex relationship between the development of local television and the transformations of locality in post-New Order Indonesia.

Design of the study

The investigation of the role of local television in the construction of locality in post-New Order Indonesia is carried out on two levels, namely the macro and the micro. The macro analysis concerns the socio-political and economic contexts in which local stations were developed. It aims to chart the first decade of the institutional development by looking at public discourse and regulations. The macro analysis relies on the data on different institutions that is available and national media archives, and also drawn from interviews with key actors who were involved in establishing/monitoring the development of local television at the national level such as policy makers and experts (academics/media activists).

The second part concerns the micro level analysis of local television practices, including its economic model, production practices and programming. The aim is to understand how these practices are embedded in broader socio-cultural forms in the region in which the station is located. The rapid development of the number of local television stations and vast geography of Indonesia posed challenges in researching these micro practices of local television. To make the analysis feasible, I use case studies in order to gain a deeper understanding these, and this was the purpose of the fieldwork conducted.

Case studies and fieldwork

The fieldwork took place over 10 months (divided into different periods from 2010-2012) and was carried out in various locations in Indonesia, including Yogyakarta and Solo in Central Java, Denpasar in Bali and Manado in North Sulawesi (see Figure 9). My first visit was in the second half of 2010 when I spent approximately three months in Yogyakarta and Solo. The second was between 2011 and 2012 for a period of around seven months when I stayed mainly in Denpasar and Manado, respectively for five

months and two months. During both visits I went to Jakarta a few times to conduct interviews with national policy makers and representatives of television associations.



Figure 9: Fieldwork locations are marked with red arrows

These four locations were chosen due to differences in social-cultural and geographical background (see Table 1 for an overview of these differences). This multi-site fieldwork was designed to enable a comparative analysis to trace similarities and differences of local television practices in varying geographical locations in Indonesia. In each location I conducted research in at least one television station. The choice was based on the size of the programming (only stations with a full-day programming) and the availability of access (whether or not the owner granted me permission). In Bali, I took Bali TV as a case study, in Yogyakarta Jogja TV and in Solo TATV. In Manado, I was planning to visit Pacific TV but the owner refused to allow me to conduct my research there. Nevertheless I succeeded in interviewing informants who have worked for Pacific TV. Because these informants held strategic positions for several years they provided me with insider information. Consequently, this posed a limitation on my research because I could not conduct any observation in this station (I will discuss the implications of this in Chapter 5 when discussing the programming of local stations). These four local stations represent different types in terms of the scale of organisation, the structure of ownership and the size of coverage area.

In each local television station I conducted interviews with various television professionals and managers. Most were conducted formally as semi-structured interviews, in which I used a list of questions as a starting point. All such interviews were taped whenever I obtained permission to do so. Additionally, much of the material used in this dissertation is the result of informal conversations with television professionals during lunch or gatherings outside working hours. For this kind of

interview, I made notes whenever possible, mostly when I returned home after spending some time with them. Another important part of the fieldwork was the interviews with social actors other than television professionals, ranging from policy makers, government officials, religious leaders, artists and many others. These interlocutors were mostly involved in the practices of local television. They were chosen by a snowball method - I usually got a tip from television professionals and from there on I got to know more and more people. In total I conducted more than 50 interviews, all in Indonesian, of which 43 were taped.

The fieldwork also included observation of the production of television programmes that take place in the newsrooms, studios and also outdoor locations. For instance, I followed news crews when they were covering events. I also attended various off-air events organised by local stations, such as the one I have described at the beginning of this introduction. These observations yielded interesting materials as I got a chance to see the interactions between television professionals with other social actors. These observations were primarily conducted in Bali TV, Jogja TV and TATV. I could not conduct a similar observation in Manado because of the limitation of access to local stations there.

Watching local television was also part of the fieldwork. In each location I recorded local television programmes from different stations. The recording period was chosen randomly. For each station that I observed I have at least one week of recorded materials. Because I only had one recording device, I could only record the programming of one station at a certain period of time. In Chapter 5, I discuss the use of recorded materials in more details as part of the analysis of the programming of local stations.

The fieldwork also included collecting documents related to local television such as regulations, official data and media reports. Most media articles originally published by Indonesian newspapers and magazines were obtained through the Internet. All regulations on television were also available online on the website of different government institutions. Official data on licenses and ownership of television was difficult to get because of bureaucratic problems. I managed to get some these documents through personal connections. I will discuss these further in Chapter 3 when analysing the ownership structure of local stations. To enrich my sources for the analysis, I conducted some surveys of local television audiences by distributing questionnaires and conducting focus group discussions and interviews with a small number of viewers. The results of these surveys are used complementarily to support

the analysis in different chapters that focus mainly on the production processes of television.

Table 1 Research Locations

Location	Specific socio-cultural characteristics of the region
Denpasar, Bali.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The dominant ethnicity in the region is Balinese. While the major religion in Indonesia is Islam, this region has Bali Hinduism as its major religion. - Compared to other regions, Bali has a high level of contact with the international world due to its tourism industry.
Yogyakarta and Solo, Java.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - These two cities are considered the heart of the Javanese culture, the biggest and the most influential ethnic group in Indonesia. Although administratively they belong to different provinces, these two cities are located only a one hour drive from each other. - The Javanese are the biggest Muslim ethnic group in the world.
Manado, North Sulawesi.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The major ethnic group in Manado is Minahasa. This region is one of few regions in Indonesia where the dominant religion is Protestant. - While other Christian-majority regions of Indonesia have been ravaged by communal conflicts since the fall of Suharto, the region has long had a reputation for stability and order.

The structure of the dissertation

The dissertation consists of seven chapters, excluding this introduction and the conclusion. In these chapters, I demonstrate the embedding of local television in the rise of the local in post-New Order Indonesia by showing how locality as a value has shaped its development (its institution, economy and programming) and simultaneously how its practices contribute to the transformation of locality. The first two chapters provide the political, economic and cultural contexts of the establishment of local television. They are structured chronologically by dealing with two different periods of development namely, the *formative period* (1998-2002) in Chapter 1 and the *expansion period* (2002-2012) in Chapter 2. These contextual chapters are necessary to understand the industrial and socio-cultural practices of local stations, which are the topic of the following five chapters. These remaining chapters are structured thematically, i.e. each chapter deals with a specific aspect of local television namely the structure of ownership (Chapter 3), the economic model (Chapter 4), programming (Chapter 5) and its role in socio-cultural processes (Chapters 6 and 7).

Chapter 1 looks at the early years of *TV lokal*, which I call the *formative period*, roughly from the fall of the New Order in 1998 to the promulgation of the new Broadcasting Law #32 in 2002. The period saw the establishment of local stations throughout different regions. It formed a crucial time in the development of Indonesian

television because in this period public debate about television took place as part of media reforms. For the first time, the idea of local television was publicly debated. By analysing public discourse on local television, I argue that this period saw the construction of locality as a value that served as one of the principles that underlay the transformation of the television system in post-New Order Indonesia. The chapter discusses the contours of the public discourse on local television and how they were eventually translated in the new broadcasting law.

The promulgation of the Broadcasting Law #32 served as the legal framework for the existence of *TV lokal* as it stipulated the decentralisation of the television system. In Chapter 2, I analyse the implementation of the law and how it shapes the development of local television in the period, which I call the *expansion period* (2002-2012). This period was characterised by the explosive growth of the number of local stations and the emergence of new regulatory regime on television. The chapter discusses the difficulties of realising a decentralised television system as regulated by the new law because of the resistance of the incumbent national broadcasters and conflicts of interests between regulatory bodies. These problems impacted on the development of new local stations both legally and economically. This chapter demonstrates how locality as a value is subject to various political and economic interests of different actors.

Having explained the historical context of the development of *TV lokal*, the following three chapters focus on specific aspects of this television service. In Chapter 3, I examine its structure of ownership. Specifically, I look at how the value of locality manifests itself in the structure by comparing the regulations and the actual situation. The owners of local stations in Indonesia have diverse backgrounds, coming from commercial companies, and local political and social organisations. Based on its structure of ownership, I distinguish two types of local television, namely independent stations and group stations. While in the formative period, most local stations belonged to the independent category, in the second half of the decade many stations became part of group stations. In this chapter I identify factors that have given rise to this change in the ownership structure.

Chapter 4 deals with another important aspect of local television namely its economy. As commercial television, a local station's survival is dependent on its ability to generate income. Here I discuss the contours of its economic model and identify factors that have given rise to such a model. I argue that unlike the common model of commercial television economy that relies on on-air advertisement, local stations in Indonesia rely on other sources, such as sponsorship and off-air events. This has

engendered a unique economic model of television that is 'open', i.e. it welcomes whoever is willing to pay to be on its programmes. Various social actors, such as government officials, religious groups and other community groups, have made regular appearances on local television. I argue that this economic model shapes the relationship between television and other local actors in Indonesia.

Chapter 5 scrutinises the programming of local television. Here, I describe its characteristics and explain the factors that shape programmes. In particular, I look at the notion of '*muatan lokal*' (local content) as an important factor that determines the programming of local stations. In the dominant discourse on local television in Indonesia, local content served as one of the main arguments to justify the establishment of a local television service. I argue that by producing and broadcasting local content programmes, local television contributes to the understanding of what locality is in post-New Order Indonesia.

Insights into the institutional and industrial dimensions of local television will help to understand its embedding in socio-cultural practices that contribute to the transformation of locality in post-New Order Indonesia, the topic of the remaining chapters. In Chapter 6 I look at the relationship between television and changing modes of public communication by analysing local news programmes and talk shows. I argue that the practices of local television demonstrate that in Post-New Order Indonesia television has moved to the centre of political and governmental practices. It offers a public communication space that is more open than the New Order television. Chapter 7 looks at the role of local television in the construction of local identity. The rise of local identity is one of important transformation of locality following the implementation of regional autonomy. I argue that local television plays an active role in constructing the discourse on local identity through the commoditisation processes of local symbols. In this chapter I show how the practices of identity on Indonesian television in post-New Order Indonesia involve a complex process that shows both continuities and breaks with the New Order discourse on local identity.

In the concluding chapter, I draw together discussions on the relationship between television and the construction of locality. I argue that the development of local television in Indonesia demonstrated how locality as a value served as a driving force for social change. Furthermore, I reflect on the implications of this study for our understanding of the social role of television in post-New Order Indonesia. I will also discuss possible scenarios with regard to the future of local television by setting the results of my research against the latest developments that have taken place after I finished my fieldwork in 2012.



Chapter 1

Breaking the Centralised System

Discourses on localism in the formative period of *TV lokal* (1998-2002)

1.1 Defining the formative period

The beginning of the twenty-first century saw the establishment of new television stations throughout various regions in Indonesia. In the public discourse these emerging stations were called *televisi lokal* or *TV lokal* (literally, local television), distinguishing them from the existing national television stations in Jakarta. A few examples of these are *JTV* in Surabaya in East Java, *Lombok TV* in Mataram in West Nusa Tenggara, *Bali TV* in Denpasar, *Deli TV* in Medan in North Sumatra, *Papua TV* in Jayapura and *Televisi Manado* in North Sulawesi. By August 2003 the number was estimated at around 50 stations (Sudibyo 2004:103). The emergence of these stations signals the beginning of what I call *the formative period* of local television. It covers roughly the period from the fall of the New Order regime in May 1998 until the promulgation of the new Broadcasting Law #32 on the 28th of November 2002.

This formative period is characterised by important developments that contributed to the rapid formation of a local television service in post-New Order Indonesia. Such developments took place at both the national and regional levels. At the national level the period saw the emergence of public debates about local television that contributed to the implementation in 2002 of the new Broadcasting Law #32, which stipulated the decentralisation of the television system. The law did not only provide the legal umbrella for the existence of a local television service that was previously forbidden, but more importantly, it ended the centralised television system maintained during the New Order. Equally important developments in this period took place outside the capital city with new local stations mushrooming throughout various regions in the archipelago, as I have explained above. These early years play a crucial role in shaping the contours of local television in post-New Order Indonesia, which eventually determine its place and role in society. What were the driving forces behind these developments? How did they impact the establishment of local television?

In this chapter I scrutinise the formative period of *TV lokal* in order to explain the political, cultural and economic underpinnings of its establishment. I argue that *TV lokal* was mainly a product of the changing paradigm in Indonesian broadcast policy from 'centralism' to 'localism'. While during the New Order, the regime maintained a centralised television system to secure its political, cultural and economic interests, during the *reformasi* this centralised system was under attack. A demand for a decentralised television system emerged as an alternative to the New Order's television that eventually materialised in the new Broadcasting Law #32. This development indicates the emergence of localism as an important broadcasting principle in Indonesia.

The localism principle as part of broadcasting policy is developed mainly in a liberal democratic context. Smallwood and Moon explain that 'localism, as one dimension of diversity, is believed to serve the public interest by contributing to a robust marketplace of ideas. In media regulation localism was intended to distribute power among local communities to promote a healthy democracy' (2011:36). The principle has been discussed extensively in the US context. This is because localism, together with diversity and competition, forms a key principle in American broadcasting policy (Napoli 2000, 2001). Different from the system in West European countries, which was founded on a centralised national broadcasting system, in the USA, from its inception, the radio and television broadcasting system consisted of local stations that are affiliated to network stations. Cynthia Conti describes the situation as follow: 'Though the term "localism" is absent from any major act of broadcast legislation, scholars refer to an array of policies that demonstrate lawmakers' commitment to sustaining or improving upon the equal distribution of service and local programming among communities' (2012:106).

Based on her analysis of the treatment of the localism principle in American broadcasting policies in different historical periods, Conti characterises it as 'a mutable principle,' which according to her, 'shifts in shape and implementation on a regular basis' (2012:109). 'Localism has been given various meanings and is used at different times for different purposes' (ibid.). This conclusion is supported by many studies in the USA and in other countries that show various origins, meanings, forms and implementations of the localism principle (Ali 2012, Kirkpatrick 2006, McCain and Lowe 1990). Stavitsky (1994:20) for instance, in analysing the implementation of localism principle in the US public broadcasting argues that the conception of localism in U.S. public radio is changing from the traditional *spatial* emphasis (this includes geographic and political entities such as cities, counties, regions) to a *social* conception of community, defined by shared interests, tastes, and values, as is often seen in Western Europe. Based on their studies on Western European radio broadcasting McCain and Lowe (1990) conclude that technological developments, economic pressures and political climates are all important factors that shape the contours of localism principle in broadcast policy. It is the aim of this chapter to examine the origins, meanings and contours of the localism principle in post-New Order Indonesia by investigating the transformation of the television system during the *reformasi*.

In the existing studies on the transformation of the broadcasting sector in post-Suharto Indonesia, there has been a little attention given to the decentralisation process of the television system. Most studies focused on the liberalisation process of the sector,

mainly on its impact on the national television landscape and its role in the proliferation of the public sphere (Nugroho et al. 2012; Lim 2011, 2012; Hollander et al. 2009). This is surprising considering the fact that the rise of local television indicates a fundamental change from the centralised broadcasting system maintained by the New Order for more than two decades. As David T. Hill argues the most dramatic transformation of media in post-Suharto Indonesia 'has been driven not from Jakarta but from local media enterprises' (2006:26). The decentralisation has not only changed the contours of the television landscape, more importantly, it has given rise to new roles and functions of television in Indonesian society. Therefore it is important to examine this decentralisation process in order to have a better understanding of the transformation of the broadcasting sector in post-New Order Indonesia.

To the best of my knowledge, there are only two published studies (both in Indonesian) that look at the decentralisation process of the broadcasting system. Agus Sudiby (2004) in his book on the transformations of broadcast media devotes a chapter to the description of the emergence of local stations at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Ade Armando (2011) focuses on the implementation process of the network television as part of the decentralised system. These studies provide invaluable insights into the historical and political-economic contexts of the decentralisation process of Indonesian television. However, the question of why and how localism became a principle of the new broadcasting system in post-New Order Indonesia has been left unexplored.

The existence of local broadcasters, both radio and television, is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia. From its inception and throughout the New Order regime, radio was mainly a local medium (Lindsay 1997; Sen and Hill 2000; Jurriens 2009, Sen 2003. Television was first introduced as a local service, both the state television TVRI and private stations (Kitley 2000). However, the existence of these local stations was not the result of a policy that prioritised locality; instead they were mainly a product of industrial development in the time when the sector was still unregulated. The New Order regime subsequently maintained their existence as part of the centralised media system in order to realise and sustain its national political and cultural policies. I argue that it is through the decentralisation of the broadcasting system during the *reformasi* that localism as a broadcasting principle was introduced and finally institutionalised in Indonesia. The localism principle served as one of the important paradigms in the transformation of the television sector in post-New Order.

I will first explain the centralised television system maintained by the New Order regime in order to make clear the historical context that has given rise to the

demand for a decentralised television system during the *reformasi*. Then I will focus on analysing the origins, meanings and contours of the localism principle that underpinned the decentralisation process of the television system in post-New Order, and in the last part of the chapter, I will look at the formative period from a regional perspective by analysing economic, political and cultural changes at sub-national level following the implementation of regional autonomy and that have given rise to the establishment of local stations in this period.

1.2 The New Order centralised television system

During the New Order two television services were available, namely the state television TVRI and the private television service. Each television service has a complex history that has been discussed extensively by Kitley (2000) and Sen and Hill (2000). Here, I will limit the discussion to explaining the characteristics of the centralised system maintained by the New Order throughout the 1980s and the 1990s.

A centralised television system refers to a television distribution model that consists of a predominately national television service, meaning that all areas within the country receive the same television programme. The BBC model in the UK is a well-known example of such a system, and one which has been adopted by many other countries in the world. In Indonesia the centralised television system was created in the 1980s and was maintained until the fall of the regime in 1998. Both the state and commercial stations broadcast nationally and were controlled centrally by the regime through the Department of Information. It held the sole authority to issue broadcast licenses and was in charge in regulating the content of television. Under this regime, according to Sen and Hill, compared to other media, television was ‘the medium most firmly controlled from Jakarta’ (2000:108). This television system was crucial for the regime to maintain its centralised government. Sen and Hill write, ‘its institutional and textual strategies developed alongside its increasing importance as they key propaganda tool for government policies, and as the site for the regime’s definition of Indonesian national culture’ (ibid.). To explain the specific character of this centralised television system during the New Order, I will first discuss the state television TVRI and followed by the private stations.

1.2.1 TVRI monopoly and nation building project

Introduced in 1962, the state television TVRI was developed from a local television service into a national one. By the end of the New Order regime it consisted of a central

station in Jakarta and eight regional stations.¹ In the early stage of its development, TVRI consisted of regional stations that were founded by local initiatives and operated independently of the central station in Jakarta. Kitley describes the first 13 years of TVRI as a period 'that saw the rapid development of a decentralized television system, a system predicated on a production role for regional stations guided by a national station under the control of a high-profile politically influential foundation, funded largely by advertising revenue and license fees' (2000:46). It has to be noted that this decentralised system was not a result of the policy of the government but due more to the lack of funding to establish a centralised television system. In this period the New Order regime was still in the process of consolidating its power. The geography of Indonesia, which consists of thousands of islands, made the distribution of television broadcasting from Jakarta difficult. The high investment costs for establishing regional stations could not be covered by the government's annual budget.² Therefore, the central government welcomed local initiatives.

As the New Order regime stabilised it began to take measures that led to the centralisation of TVRI. The launch of the Palapa Satellite in 1976, followed by the more powerful Generation B Palapa in 1983, marked the beginning of the centralisation process in television. The satellite made the distribution of television programmes from Jakarta easier. According to Sen and Hill, 'the satellite reduced variations in the broadcast of news and information programmes between the regional stations of the TVRI' (2000:110). Programmes that were sensitive to local interests were reduced under the pressure of a more powerful Jakarta-centred national system (Kitley 2000). The centralisation of TVRI was completed in 1983 when the government introduced an integrated programming pattern (*Pola Siaran Terpadu*). This policy stipulated that regional stations submit their annual programming plans for the approval of the Central TVRI in Jakarta. This regulation further limited the independence of regional stations to set up their own programmes. Without sufficient funding to support their operation costs due to the ban of television advertising in 1981, 'the budgets of regional stations rarely allowed their programming to exceed 15-20 per cent of total airtime' (Sen and Hill 2000:110). The advertising ban had made TVRI a fully state television service because it was dependent on its subsidy.

Throughout the 1980s, TVRI held the monopoly in the television sector. According to Sen and Hill, 'the television system which emerged in Indonesia, in the

¹ TVRI Yogyakarta (1965), Medan (1970), Ujung Pandang (1972), Balikpapan (1973), Palembang (1974), Surabaya (1978), Denpasar (1978) and Manado (1978).

² The Minister of Information stated this in 1972 in his speech to celebrate a decade of TVRI (Direktorat Televisi Departement Penerangan 1972).

shadow of the satellite, was far more centralised than comparable large, state-monopolised televisions in India or China' (2000:110). Television programming consisted predominately of national programmes set up by the central station in Jakarta. As the only television service available, TVRI served as 'the key propaganda tool for government policies' (Sen and Hill 2000:131). Kitley describes TVRI during the New Order as follows:

Although it was funded commercially until 1981, it was a state monopoly, and its goals were overwhelmingly normative and "developmental". Television's preoccupations from 1962 to 1989 were the promotion of national development, the construction of the national citizen, and the modelling and circulation of ideas of official national culture. (2000:331)

Throughout the 1980s and the 1990s TVRI was part of the New Order regime's 'national culture project', which Kitley defines as 'a range of state-sponsored and -directed activities designed to legitimate symbolically Indonesian national cultural identity' (2000:3). Based on his analysis of TVRI programming in this period, Kitley argues that television programming at that time was

Modernist in its interests in mapping a unitary and unifying official culture over the great diversity of Indonesia, and hegemonic in the way it selects specific ideological principles and values and invents traditions. At times, the project attempts to privilege elements of Javanese culture as a model for social relations. (2000:333)

The dominance of Javanese culture, that of the biggest ethnic group in Indonesia, which included President Suharto, was apparent in many programmes of TVRI. This was so for instance, with *Ria Jenaka*, a weekly comedy programme that was based on characters from Javanese mythology.

Another important characteristic of the centralised television system during the New Order was the tight control over television content. The regulations required all television programmes to support the constitution and the state ideology *Pancasila*. They had to be in line with the state's development programmes and avoid issues that might engender conflicts between ethnic groups, religions, races and between different groups. Because of this policy, the use of local languages on television was restricted. Furthermore, as it was the case with other media, television was also subject to the

state's censorship through various mechanisms from the pre-censoring of television programmes to the banning of programmes considered 'subversive' by the regime.

1.2.2 *The introduction of centralised private national stations*

The monopoly of TVRI was broken when the government allowed private players to enter the sector in the late 1980s, first with a limited service area in Jakarta and Surabaya (the two biggest cities in Indonesia) and then as national broadcasters from the beginning of the 1990s. These stations were RCTI (1987), SCTV (1989), TPI (1990), ANTV (1993) and Indosiar (1995). Kitley argues that this 'deregulation was in no sense a liberalization of the television sector, but is best understood as motivated by state authorities' interest in regulating the influx of foreign televisual services and programming, which became popular in the mid-1980s' (2000:331).³ The introduction of a television service was thus 'not so much a paradigm shift towards more democratic or even market-driven media; it was a policy adjustment to a changing mediascape within the framework of central cultural control of the peripheries' (Sen and Hill 2000:112). The control over the television sector was mainly achieved by the monopoly of the sector by the regime and its patrons.

All private stations during the New Order were owned by President Suharto's family and members of his circle, licenses for which were granted without any transparent mechanisms. The first private station RCTI was founded by a consortium of which Bambang Trihatmodjo, the son of the President, was part. The second station SCTV was established by a group that consisted of family and friends of Suharto, including Sudwikatmono, a cousin of the President. The third private station TPI was owned by Siti Hardiyati Rukmana, the daughter of the President. Other private stations were also owned by Suharto's intimates. Indosiar was backed by Liem Sioe Liong who had long and close association with Suharto: and ANTV was established by the Bakri Group and Agung Laksono (an important figure in the Golkar Party, the party of the New Order regime, who had a close connection with Harmoko, then the Minister of Information). This nepotism in issuing licenses to private stations 'ensured that

³ The development of television technologies in the 1980s such as the video boom, spill-over transmissions from neighbouring countries (Malaysia and Singapore particularly), satellite television and dishes, made it difficult for the government to sustain the monopoly of TVRI. During this period certain segments of Indonesian society were starting to buy satellite dishes in order to receive foreign television service. Furthermore, local and transnational businesses were trying to make profits. The booming economy in Indonesia in the 1980s had given rise to the need for television as an advertising medium. This became apparent when products for the Indonesian market began to appear on Malaysian commercial television, which could be received in Indonesia via satellite television and spill-over transmissions in the area close to Malaysia.

although the government lost some control, the Suharto regime retained its monopoly over television in Indonesia' (Sen and Hill 2000:112).

The first government regulation on private television (Ministerial Regulation #111 of 1990) defined three types of private television based on its coverage area namely national, regional (provincial level) and local broadcasters (city level). This regulation indicates a decentralised television system. RCTI, SCTV and ANTV were first licensed as regional stations. Only TPI had a national broadcast license because it was first introduced as an educational television service, which in the regulation was classed as national television. However, the local television model as it was envisioned in regulation #111 did not last for long. The regulation was revised in 1992 and 1993, which led to the establishment of a national private television system. The reason behind this shift in policy is not clear. During the New Order regime, regulations on television were enacted without any public consultation, which made it difficult to discover the rationales behind them. In any case, this policy benefited the private television operators as they were allowed to reach a larger television audience.

Throughout the 1990s all private stations were based in Jakarta and broadcast nationally, although there were differences between these stations in the size of the area serviced, depending on the numbers and locations of their relay transmitters. Although TVRI was still the only station covering the widest area, throughout the 1990s it had lost its popularity among television audiences to the new private stations. After the introduction of a private television service, Indonesia saw a dramatic growth in the television market. The number of television sets grew rapidly from 7.6 million in 1990 to about 20 million in 1997, for a population over 2,000 million (d'Haenens et al. 2000:202). In the 1990s, the television sector became a booming business.

To maintain its centralised control over private stations, the regime obliged them to relay national news programmes of TVRI and the programmes they broadcast were also subject to state control. According to Hollander et al., these restrictions led to 'commercialisation without independence', which was part of 'an attempt to ward off pressures from transnational television and Western influences by the rapid development of domestic commercial television' (2009:41).

1.3 The mobilisation of the localism principle

The collapse of the New Order regime in 1998, followed by the socio-political transformations brought about by the *reformasi* had tremendous impact on the media sector. High on the reformation agenda was the creation of freedom of expression that was suppressed by the authoritarian regime. The reformers' key objectives were, among

others, to ensure the liberalisation of the press and to guarantee freedom of information rights (Kitley 2008: 352). Some important measures to achieve this goal included the abolition of the notorious Department of Information responsible for media censorship during the regime and the enactment of the Press Law #40 of 1999 that 'annulled the repressive press laws of 1966 and 1982 and inscribed freedom of the press as a fundamental philosophical principle of the Press Law' (ibid.). This progressive atmosphere of *reformasi* brought a momentum to the reformations of the broadcasting sector, mainly the television sector, which was seen as one of the symbols of the New Order's authoritarian regime.

Different studies have documented well the scope and contours of the broadcasting reform in post-New Order Indonesia (Nugroho et al. 2012; Lim 2011, 2012; Hollander et al. 2009; Kitley 2008, Jurriens 2009; Masduki 2007). The loosening of the state's control over the sector contributed to the explosive growth in the number of television broadcasters. In 2001, five new national commercial stations were established, in which Hollander et al. (2009) called the second wave of privatisation of the sector.⁴ O'Rourke (2002) argues that while during the New Order Suharto used the privatisation of television in the late 1980s to shift a public television monopoly into the hands of close associates, in the *reformasi* period the television market was opened up in the name of democratic reform to a wider, but still privileged, elite.⁵ The introduction of new national private television stations in this period can also be interpreted 'as a means of deflecting concerns about the links of most existing stations with the Suharto family and defusing pressures to revoke their licenses' (Thomas 2004:396). Parallel to this development was the emergence of local stations in different regions, which I will explain further in the final section.

Another important reform of the television sector during the *reformasi* was the implementation of new broadcasting policies, introducing into the licensing procedures new values such as transparency, the protection of public interests and the creation of diversity of ownership and content. It was in this context that the shift of the broadcasting paradigm in Indonesia from 'centralism' to 'localism' became apparent. The localism principle manifests itself in the New Broadcasting Law #32 that stipulated

⁴ These new stations started to broadcast in 2001 namely Metro TV, Trans TV, TV Global, TV-7 and Lativi.

⁵ Unlike private television stations that were established during the New Order regime, these new broadcasters are owned by people that are not related to the Suharto regime (Hollander et al. 2009). They came from the existing business sector. Metro TV, the first private news channel in Indonesia was established by the Media Indonesia Group, a newspaper publisher. TV7 was owned by Indonesian biggest publishing company Kompas Gramedia Group before it was taken over by Trans TV, which was owned by Chairul Tanjung who is active in banking, retail, restaurants and resorts. Lativi came into the hands of the Bakrie Group, active in telecommunications, property development and financial consultancy and also owner of the station ANTV.

the decentralisation of the television system. How did this shift take place? What factors played a role in the process? What are the contours of this localism principle? To answer these questions I will scrutinise at public debates on television regulation during the preparation of the new broadcasting law and their manifestations in the law #32 of 2002.

1.3.1 Public debates on television regulation

During the *reformasi* public debates on television took place in the context of the preparation of the new broadcasting law. The Broadcasting Law #24 of 1997 that was enacted during the New Order regime was considered irrelevant for the newly reformed Indonesia. Since the fall of Suharto, the Law had become a rallying point of various groups. It was considered authoritarian because the government held the regulating power over the television industry (Masduki 2007). Furthermore, the Law contained many restrictions, which according to its opponents curtailed the freedom of information (ibid.). The demand for a new broadcasting law was also related to increased public concerns about the rapid development of the television sector. With the abolition of the Department of Information in 1999, it was no longer clear how the sector should be monitored and regulated. New broadcasters (both radio and television) were established without any transparent licensing procedures (Armando 2011:152). Furthermore, the competition among new television broadcasters had given rise to television programmes containing such elements as violence and sex considered detrimental to society (ibid.).

Although public debates on the television regulation had started in the 1990s when the first broadcasting law was discussed by parliament (Kitley 2000b:297), it was not until the *reformasi* that civil society could actually exercise its influence. Different drafts of the new broadcasting law were debated through various hearings, seminars and public discussions in the media (Masduki 2007:123). According to Hollander et al., ‘never before had so many professional and academic institutions, NGO’s, politicians, and intellectuals been offered an opportunity to be actively involved in discussions about the future of broadcasting’ (2009:43). Kitley describes the situation as follows:

The debate on press and broadcasting regulation was assisted by the changed media atmosphere, which the economic crisis and reformasi precipitated. Radio stations, which up until then were not permitted to broadcast their own news bulletins, began to put together programs which focused on politics and current affairs. TV stations and the press focused on news and current affairs and

developed talk shows that were much freer than ever before. This kind of programming was popular with audiences and assisted interest groups arguing for changes in media regulation. (2000:134)

The debate included an enormous variety of issues ranging from regulations on ownership, content and regulatory body (Masduki 2006). It was in this context the idea of a decentralised television emerged as an alternative to the centralised New Order television system.

During the *reformasi* era, the New Order's centralised television system was under attack by the reformists. Criticism of the domination of the Jakarta based national commercial television was put forwards by academics and media activists in various seminars and media. The censure referred mainly to the structure of ownership and programming of the national private stations. Djoko Susilo, a member of the Indonesian People's Representative (DPR) who was a member of the special team that prepared the new broadcasting law in 2002, criticised the national television stations in a newspaper column that exemplified the dissatisfaction with the national television in the dominant discourse. He started by criticising the ownership of national stations as follows:

It is very strange that the Indonesia population of 220 million people can only access 10 television stations that all are located in Jakarta and are owned by conglomerates connected to each other. We have to remember that the licenses were given unfairly and undemocratically to national private television by the former government. Everybody knows the history of RCTI, STCV, TPI, and other private television stations.⁶ (Susilo 2002)

The criticism to the programming of national stations mainly concerned the bias towards the Javanese culture and the neglect of regional differences. In the dominant discourse, 'Jakarta' and 'Java' were often used interchangeably as the symbol of the national television culture. This is apparent for instance, in Susilo's article when he writes,

⁶ Sangat aneh kalau untuk bangsa Indonesia yang berjumlah 220 juta orang, kebebasan mendapatkan akses ke dunia penyiaran hanya dibatasi oleh 10 stasiun TV yang berpusat di Jakarta, yang semuanya dimiliki oleh para konglomerat yang saham-sahamnya berjalanan. Harus diingat pula proses pemberian izin TV oleh pemerintah dulu kepada TV swasta yang ada sekarang terjadi tidak secara demokratis dan fair. Semua orang tahu sejarah berdirinya RCTI, SCTV, TPI, dan TV swasta lainnya.

There are ample instances [of television programmes-BH], for example television series *Si Doel*, *Ketoprak Humor*, *ludruk*, *wayang*, and *campursari*⁷. *Sinetron*⁸ series show only the hedonistic culture of the Jakarta people. It is then understandable that people from Bali, Batak, Aceh, Minang, Bugis, Maluku, Papua, Sumbawa, Sasak and so forth feel that the television that they watch does not represent their community.⁹ (Susilo 2002)

A similar objection was also made by Ade Armando, an academic from University of Indonesia and a media activist, who was one of the proponents of a decentralised television system. In his article that was published in *Tempo Magazine* in 6th of June 2002, he also put forward a criticism of the New Order's television system, which according to him suppressed the diversity that characterises Indonesia. He writes

Currently in Indonesia there are ten private television stations that all are located in Jakarta with a broadcasting area that covers the whole archipelago. The consequence is that every citizen has to accept any broadcast from Jakarta. Talk shows only present guests from Jakarta; life style reflects Jakarta's flavour and programmes only represent the situation in metropolitan Jakarta. In short, there is no place for issues concerning regional character.¹⁰ (Armando 2002)

The implementation of regional autonomy contributed to the emergence of the idea of a localised television system. The transfer of powers from the central government to the regions has given rise to the demand for a television system that reflects the changing national-local relationship. In the atmosphere of political and social reforms, the centralised television system that was seen as a symbol of the authoritarian New Order had lost its relevance. Hinca IP. Panjaitan, another proponents of a decentralised system and who was the first director of the Indonesian Association of Local Television (ATVLI), argued that local television can be seen as 'regional rebellion'

⁷ These are programmes that were associated with Javanese culture: *ketoprak*, *ludruk* and *wayang* are types of programmes that are based on Javanese stage performance. While *campursari* is a Javanese popular music genre.

⁸ The Indonesian version of television soap opera.

⁹ Contohnya cukup banyak, misalnya serial sinetron *Si Doel*, *Ketoprak Humor*, *ludruk*, *wayang*, dan *campur sari*. *Sinetron* pun hanya menampilkan budaya hedonistik orang Jakarta. Layak kalau orang Bali, Batak, Aceh, Minang, Bugis, Maluku, Papua, Sumbawa, Sasak, dan lain-lainnya merasa bahwa TV yang mereka tonton tidak mencerminkan masyarakatnya.

¹⁰ Dewasa ini di Indonesia ada sepuluh stasiun TV swasta yang berkedudukan di Jakarta dan bersiaran ke seantero Nusantara. Akibatnya, semua warga harus menerima tayangan apa pun dari Jakarta. Acara talk-show hanya menghadirkan pembicara dari Jakarta, gaya hidup mencerminkan cita rasa Jakarta, program yang tersaji pun hanya mewakili suasana metropolitan Jakarta. Pokoknya, masalah khas daerah tidak mendapat tempat.

against the domination of national stations. As he puts it: 'the problem is, every region has its own figures, intellectuals, culture and problems that are not well represented in the national media. Therefore, it is agreed that a locally based media is a solution' (in Sudibyo 2004:113).¹¹

The criticism of the centralised television system during this period reflected the political and cultural rationales that are often used to justify the inclusion of localism in the broadcasting policy in developed democracies. Napoli (2000), for instance, in his analysis of the US broadcast policy, explains that the localism principle is based on political and cultural rationales. From a political standpoint, localism has traditionally been an important value in governmental design in the United States, based on the idea that participation in democratic processes can best be achieved 'via a reduction in the scale of decision-making and a genuine transfer of power to the decentralized units' (Napoli 2000:575). Because the media is acknowledged as a significant political institution, 'the function of localism as a communications policy objective evokes democratic theory objectives such as enhanced political participation and informed political decision-making' (ibid.). From a cultural point of view, 'a focus on localism in institutional design and operation has been viewed as essential to the preservation of unique cultural values and traditions within particular communities' (Napoli 2000: 576). These political and cultural rationales were prominent in the public discourse on television during the *reformasi* as justification for the demand for a television system that accommodates local interests.

Apart from these political and cultural rationales, the justification of the localism principle during the *reformasi* was also based on economic motives. This reasoning is, for instance, apparent in Armando's article in which he argues that a decentralised television system would benefit the regions economically (Tempo 17 June 2002). According to him, the establishment of local stations would contribute to the development of television industry at the regional level. Local production houses and advertising bureaus would benefit from the existence of a local television service. 'And to work as a presenter, actors, or cameraman, people from the region do not have to go to Jakarta.'¹² Armando writes:

¹¹ Permasalahannya, setiap daerah mempunyai tokoh, intelektual, budaya, dan permasalahan sendiri yang tidak bisa terakomodasi dengan baik dalam representasi media-media nasional. Maka dari itu, mendirikan media berbasis lokal kemudian disepakati sebagai solusi.

¹² Dan untuk bekerja sebagai presenter, artis, atau pengarah kamera, orang daerah tidak perlu lagi hijrah ke Jakarta.

This vision is totally different from the current reality in which national television stations monopolise the advertisement revenue that is estimated at around five to six billion Rupiah. With a network system, such an amount of money can be distributed among more hands. This decentralisation can contribute to the growth of regional economy. (Armando 2002)¹³

Armando's arguments served as an example for the proponents of the decentralised television system. The emergence of the idea of a decentralised television system in the public debate on television during the *reformasi* points to the appearance of localism as a new principle in the broadcasting policy in Indonesia.

Despite its importance as one of the driving forces of the transformation of Indonesian television system, during this formative period the definition of localism was rarely featured in the public discourse. The term 'local' was usually defined in a very broad term as '*daerah*' (region), as many quotes from the reformists I have presented before have shown. In the dominant discourse, the term '*daerah*' was often put in opposition to 'Jakarta', the symbol of the national culture. This is apparent in the criticisms of national television that often juxtaposed cultural symbols that represent the differences between 'Jakarta' and 'region'. This is apparent for instance, in Djoko Susilo's column,¹⁴ in which he criticised the dominance of the national programming and explained its ramification as follows:

This [the national programming-BH] means Aceh people, who implemented Islamic law, for instance could not refuse *Baywatch* series, films about lifeguards who dress scantily. Or, the programme *Ketoprak Humor*, a programme that mainly uses Javanese, can no longer 'colonise' its audiences in Papua, Kalimantan, or Sumatra [after a decentralised television is implemented-BH]. (Susilo 2002)¹⁵

In such objections, the notion '*daerah*' encompasses both spatial and social definitions. The spatial definition refers to a region as a geographic/administrative unit, mainly in

¹³ Gambaran itu berbeda dengan realitas masa kini, manakala TV swasta nasional di Jakarta menguasai pendapatan iklan sekitar Rp 5 triliun-6 triliun. Padahal, dengan sistem jaringan, uang itu akan disebar ke banyak tangan. Dan desentralisasi ini akan turut memacu roda ekonomi daerah.

¹⁴See footnote 6.

¹⁵ Ini membuat masyarakat Aceh, yang menerapkan syariat Islam, misalnya, tidak bisa menolak tayangan *Baywatch*, film tentang penjaga pantai yang berbusana minim, di sebuah stasiun televisi. Atau, acara *Ketoprak Humor*, sandiwara yang sarat bahasa Jawa, tidak bisa lagi "menjajah" pemirsanya di Papua, Kalimantan, atau Sumatera.

terms of a province such as Bali, Aceh, Papua or as an island such as Sumatra and Kalimantan. The social definition sees *daerah* as a community with a distinct social identity based on cultural and religious symbols. In the quote above for instance, Aceh was represented as a religious community, while the Javanese language represents the national culture of the New Order.

My analysis of the public debate on television during the *reformasi* revealed the importance of localism as one of the new broadcasting principles that were introduced to reform the New Order television system. In the following section I will explain how the principle was institutionalised in the new broadcasting law.

1.3.2 The localism principle in the Broadcasting Law #32

During the New Order, according to Kitley (2000:225), the regulation was in disarray: it came late to the industry that had been the government monopoly since the inception of television. The Broadcasting Law #24 enacted in 1997 is a good illustration of how the regime used television as a tool for maintaining its political and economic interests. The Law for instance, put the government as the only regulator with the authority, as it is put in the Article 55, to 'guide' (*pembinaan*) and 'control' (*pengendalian*) the broadcasting sector. During the New Order, this authority was translated into monopolising the television sector and imposing censorship on television programmes. The Law also prohibited the establishment of new private television stations in order to protect the existing national television stations owned by the family and friends of Suharto. Therefore the New Order Broadcasting Law has been characterised as 'authoritarian' (Masduki 2006:81) and 'controversial' (Kitley 2000:132). Although the Law was not actually implemented because of the fall of the regime shortly after it was signed, it exemplified New Order's ideas and practices of the television regulation.

Compared to the New Order's policy, the Broadcasting Law #32 of 2002 introduced a new paradigm in the television regulation in several ways (see Table 1 for a comparison between the New Order and post-New Order broadcasting law). This Law acknowledges broadcasting practices as part of the freedom of expression that has to be protected. Furthermore, it includes the public element in the broadcasting policy.¹⁶ Here I will focus on analysing the localism principle as a new broadcast paradigm in the Broadcasting Law #32.

The localism principle manifested itself in the new broadcasting law that stipulated the decentralisation of the broadcasting system. Article 6 (3) states that 'the

¹⁶ For an analysis of publicness as a new broadcast principle see Jurriens (2009) in which he discusses the origins and manifestations of the notion of 'publicness' as a new broadcast value in post-New Order Indonesia by analysing radio journalistic practices.

national broadcasting system consists of integrated and fair broadcasting institutions and networks that are developed by establishing network stations and local stations.¹⁷ Here the term local is chiefly defined spatially in geographic/administrative terms. According to the new broadcasting law, local television is defined as a television station in one particular location the broadcasts of which can be received only in that location (Article 31/6). The government's regulation #50 on private television service issued in 2005 adds that a local television station should have a studio and transmitter (article 1 [4]). Local television coverage area is controlled by a ministerial regulation on the master plan of radio frequencies issued by the Department of Transportation in 2003. According to this regulation, the service area of a local station is limited to one to several districts (I will discuss this further in Chapter 2).

Table 1 Comparison between the Broadcasting Law #24 of 1997 and #32 of 2002

Points of difference	Law #24 of 1997	Law #32 of 2002
Television system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A centralised one that consisted of national television stations. - A private television station was only allowed in the capital city and the number was determined by the government. - A television service that was based on a particular ethnic, religious or political identity was forbidden. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A decentralised one that consists of local television stations and networks. - The public television network is allowed to broadcast nationally, while the private network has a limited coverage area.
Regulatory bodies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The government (Department of Information) - National Broadcasting Advisory and Development Body (BP3N)¹⁸ – a body founded by the government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The government (the Ministry of Communication and Informatics; The Ministry of Transportation) - The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), members are elected by the parliament.
Television service	Government television (TVRI), private television and special broadcasting television (pay television).	Public, private, community and subscribed television.
Foreign investment	Prohibited	Limited (must not exceed 20% of the total capital of the broadcasting company)

The zone of a local television station is also defined by the structure of its ownership. The regulation stipulates that ownership for local television stations should

¹⁷ Dalam sistem penyiaran nasional terdapat lembaga penyiaran dan pola jaringan yang adil dan terpadu yang dikembangkan dengan membentuk stasiun jaringan dan stasiun lokal.

¹⁸ Badan Pertimbangan dan Pengendalian Penyiaran Nasional.

be in the hands of local people, defined as people who live in the district in which the station is located or those who come from that specific area (explanation of Law #32 article 31 [6]). Only when there are no local people interested in establishing a television station are outsiders allowed to set up a station in that particular area. Furthermore Law #32 also stipulates that the management of a local television station should be given first to the local people (article 31 [6]).

The Law stipulates that the public and private television service consists of local stations that are allowed to form a network, known as the network broadcasting system (*Sistem Siaran Jaringan* or *SSJ*). The idea of a network television was inspired by practices in other democratic countries, the proponents of a decentralised television system often using examples from abroad to support their argument. Ade Armando for instance, suggested adopting a network television system, which according to him, has been implemented in 'big democratic countries'. He writes,

In the United States there are five big television networks: CBS, NBC, ABC, FOX and Warner. All American citizens watch programs broadcast by these five networks through local television stations in their own towns as part of the network. Indonesia can follow the same system. If there is RCTI Bandung or RCTI Surabaya, local stations can have a couple of hours for local content.¹⁹ (Tempo, 17-06-2002)

In the new broadcasting law, a network system characterises the decentralised television system. The public television network is permitted to cover the national area while for the private network this is limited (Article 31 [2&3]). This decentralised system is in contrast to the old Broadcasting Law that prohibited 'the establishment of private sector broadcasters exclusively concerned with publicizing a particular political group, ideology, religion, individual or group' (Kitley 2003:106).

The establishment of a network system is motivated by the idea that such a system will help local television stations to grow. According to Ade Armando (2002), the network broadcasting system will benefit local television in three ways. First of all, with an affiliation system they will be able to save money in producing programmes. Second, they have a bigger chance of attracting advertisers. Third, as they no longer

¹⁹ Di AS ada lima jaringan stasiun televisi besar: CBS, NBC, ABC, Fox, dan Warner. Seluruh warga AS praktis menyaksikan program yang disajikan lima jaringan TV tersebut melalui stasiun lokal di kotanya masing-masing, yang berposisi sebagai stasiun afiliasi. Indonesia bisa mengikuti pola serupa. Bila ada RCTI Bandung atau RCTI Surabaya, stasiun-stasiun lokal bisa mengisi beberapa jam siaran setiap harinya dengan muatan lokal.

compete with national stations, they can attract local advertisers. Jimmy Silalahi (2008), the Director Executive of the Association of Indonesian Local television (ATVLI), argues that from a business perspective the network system will be beneficial for local television stations as they can collaborate to develop their promotion and marketing strategies. However, it is not really clear what this network system should look like. The Broadcasting Law contains no article that regulates this system. During the discussion of the new broadcasting law there were a few ideas about the network system (Masduki 2007:201). First, the network should consist of the existing national television stations that can cooperate with local television stations. Second, the existing national television stations should remain but be obliged to establish local television stations as part of the network. Third, there should be a network that consists of local television stations, thus abolishing the existing national broadcasters entirely. Regulations on the network system came much later, and I will discuss these in the next chapter. This drastic change in the policy had a tremendous impact on the existing television industry, especially the national private television stations. The Law obliged them to switch over to a network system within two years after the Law came into effect (Article 60 [3]).

1.4 The emergence of *TV lokal* stations

So far I have discussed only the developments at the national level. At the same time as the national television landscape and regulations were undergoing transformations, new developments also took place in the regions. The political and economic opportunities unleashed by the implementation of regional autonomy and the atmosphere of freedom of expression during the *reformasi* stimulated local actors throughout the archipelago to establish television stations. The emergence of local television stations in the *reformasi* period took place in the absence of regulations on television. After the abolition of the Department of Information and its regional offices, it was not clear who had the authority to issue broadcasting licenses. The loosening of the state control over the television sector made it easier for local actors to enter the sector that was previously restricted by the regime.

It is difficult to obtain the exact number of the new local television stations established in this formative period as there is no official data available. The first few local stations came into being as early as in 1999. The number increased rapidly, especially around the time that the new broadcasting law was enacted. On 21st of August 2002, seven local stations (Bali TV, JTV, Riau TV, Deli TV, EMU TV, Papua TV and Lombok TV) founded the Indonesian Association of Local Television (ATVLI). In this period and the following years after the implementation of the new Broadcasting Law

this association played an important role in voicing the interests of these new stations. By August 2003, ATVLI estimated that there were almost 50 local television stations throughout different regions in Indonesia.

Local stations established in this period were of diverse types, from 'amateur' stations established by an individual in his own home with a limited service area and broadcasting hours, to stations founded by big regional media corporations with professional programming that could reach several districts. Agus Sudibyo (2004) distinguishes three types of television stations that were established in the regions during this period based on who founded them. Most local stations were established by private investors with commercial goals; these he calls *televisi komersial lokal* (local commercial television). The second group of local stations, '*televisi publik daerah*' (regional public television), consists of those that were established by local governments or government officials. The third group is *televisi komunitas* (community television) established by communities such as universities and NGOs. Despite their differences in the structure of the organisation, according to Sudibyo, in the public discourse all these stations were often put under one term '*televisi lokal*' (local television). At this point there was no clear-cut definition on what these different types of local television services ought to do in terms of funding and programming. For instance, many stations in all categories relayed programmes from the national television stations. Most stations received income through the same mechanisms, from advertisement to sponsorship. This makes it difficult to distinguish these stations from each other in this period. The distinction between different local television services took place much later after the government issued different regulations for each type of service in 2005 (I will discuss this further in Chapter 2).

Sudibyo (2004) provided a list of local stations established by private investors during this period (Table 2). The local private investors who established these new television stations came from various backgrounds. Some stations were established by local media companies. JTV, for instance, was established by Jawa Pos Group, the biggest newspaper publisher outside Jakarta that dominates mainly the eastern part of Indonesia. Riau TV was established by Riau Pos Group, the biggest newspaper company in the North and Central Sumatra Island, and which is affiliated with the Jawa Pos Group. Another media corporation that has established a local television is Bali Pos Group with its Bali TV in Denpasar. The interest of local newspaper publishers in television was already apparent during the New Order Era. These media companies will play a crucial role in the development of local commercial television in Indonesia in the years to come, something on which I will elaborate in Chapter 2. Many other stations were established

by local investors without any experience in the media, let alone the broadcasting sector. Lombok TV, for instance, was established by a local investor who owned an electronic and mechanical company. Some of the early local television stations were first established as community television stations. An example of such stations is the PKTV in East Kalimantan, established by PT Pupuk Kaltim, a state-owned fertiliser company. The station was first established by the company for the employees. In 2001 the station became a commercial television station (Sudibyo 2004).

Table 2 Local television stations established by private investors in 2001-2003

Name	Location
1. JTV	Surabaya, East Java
2. Borobudur TV	Semarang, Central Java
3. Banyumas TV (BmsTV)	Purwokerto, Central Java
4. TV Pemalang	Pemalang, Central Java
5. TV Bandung	Bandung, West Java
6. TV Bekasi	Bekasi, West Java
7. NLN TV	Bogor, West Java
8. Deli TV	Medan, North Sumatra
9. Riau TV (RTV)	Riau, Sumatra
10. Batam TV di Batam	Batam, Sumatra
11. Jambi TV	Jambi, Sumatra
12. Bali TV	Denpasar, Bali
13. Lombok TV	Mataram, West Nusa Tenggara
14. Papua TV	Jayapura, Papua
15. Maluku Utrata TV	Ambon, North Maluku
16. Palu TV di	Palu, North Sulawesi
17. Gorontalo TV	Gorontalo, Southeast Sulawesi
18. Manado TV	Manado, North Sulawesi

Source: Sudibyo 2004:106

As was the case during the establishment of TVRI, local governments also showed interest in establishing local television stations. The implementation of fiscal decentralisation enabled local governments to manage their own budget. This made it possible for them to take the initiative of establishing a local station. Some local governments, mainly at the district or city level, were among the first to do so. By 2003 there were around 15 local television stations, established by such bodies (Table 3). Sudibyo describes the rapid establishment of television stations by local governments as follow:

So many local governments are preoccupied by establishing new television stations that there is a saying that if a district head or mayor cannot establish a station, he or she would be considered an out-of-date leader who is not

innovative. Therefore, establishing a local station appears as a trend within regional governments. (2004:113)²⁰

Table 3 Local television stations established by a local government in 2001-2003

	Name	Location
1.	Tanah Grogot TV	District Tanah Pasir, East Kalimantan
2.	TV Pemerintah Kandangan	District Kandangan, South Kalimantan
3.	Buntok TV	District Barito Selatan, Central Kalimantan
4.	Tarakan TV	Public relation department of the city of Tarakan, East Kalimantan
5.	Muara Teweh TV	District North Barito, Central Kalimantan
6.	TV Bulungan	District Bulungan East Kalimantan
7.	Pekanbaru TV (PTV)	District Pekanbaru, Riau
8.	Sangatta TV	District Sangatta, East Kalimantan
9.	Kutim TV	District Kutai Timur, East Kalimantan
10.	Surya Gemilang TV	District Indragiri Hulu, Riau
11.	Bengkalis TV	District Bengkalis, Riau
12.	TV Kota Semarang	City of Semarang, Central Java
13.	TV Pekalongan	City of Pekalongan, Central Java
14.	TV Purworejo	District Purworejo, Central Java
15.	Ratih TV	District Kebumen, Central Java
16.	TV Surakarta Hadiningrat	District Wonogiri, Central Java

Source: Sudibyo 2004:115.

Although these local stations were established by local governments with local budgets, according to Sudibyo, the status of these stations was not clear. Many stations operated in the same way as those established by private investors. Some stations for instance, received income from advertisements and sponsorships and broadcast the same types of programme as the private stations. Many of these stations failed to develop and ceased to operate a few years after their launch. Pekanbaru Televisi (PTV) for instance, stopped broadcasting after a year due to financial losses and lack of personnel (Suryadi 2005:135). Some that survive were turned into public television according to the government regulation enacted in 2005. Ratih TV that was established by the local government of District Kebumen in 2003 for instance, altered their status to that of public television²¹ in 2011.²²

Political considerations also played an important role in the establishment of local stations by local governments. In the context of the implementation of local

²⁰ Begitu banyak pemda yang sibuk mendirikan televisi baru, hingga muncul anekdot bahwa jika seorang bupati atau walikota tak mampu mendirikan televisi maka ia dianggap sebagai pemimpin yang ketinggalan jaman dan tidak inovatif. Maka mendirikan stasiun televisi baru pun menjadi trend di kalangan pemerintah daerah.

²¹ As a local public television station, according to the Broadcasting Law #32 of 2002, these stations are obliged to be part of the TVRI network, leaving them only a few hours to broadcast a local content.

²² 'Ratih TV Uji Coba di Kanal 47 UHF' (Ratih TV is Having A try out on Channel 47 UHF) <http://www.beritakebumen.info/2012/06/ratih-tv-uji-coba-di-kanal-47-uhf.html> (accessed 18 October 2012)

elections television appeared to be an important medium for local politicians. According to Sudibyo (2004), many incumbent local politicians established television stations as part of their strategy to be re-elected. Local television was also used as a means to communicate with the public. This was the case for instance, with Ratih TV, in which the head of the district held a daily morning talk show where she answered questions from the audience.

During this formative period most of these new local television stations were set up using a permit from the local government (either the governor or the head of district/the city major). Some stations did not have any form of permission. It was not clear how these new stations could obtain authorisation to broadcast. Following the administrative decentralisation, local governments held power over distribution of local frequencies. Therefore it was assumed that the broadcasting license was also under the authority of the local government. Many heads of local governments encouraged the establishment of local television (Sudibyo 2004), so it is not surprising that many of these new stations were owned by people with a close connection to the local government. JTV in Surabaya and Bali TV in Bali, for instance, were established by local media corporations that had a close relationship with the local provincial government (Ida 2011). I will discuss this licensing process in more detail in the next chapter.

In their rhetoric, local actors justified the establishment of local stations based on the idea of political and cultural sovereignty as the consequence of the implementation of regional autonomy. Local television appeared as a new symbol of local identity. The general manager of Riau TV (RTV) for instance, stated that the establishment of the station on 20th May 2001 was part of the momentum when 'Riau is undergoing an incredible resurrection both economically and culturally' (in Sudibyo 2004:138).²³ A similar argument is often used as the justification for the establishment of local stations. Bali TV was introduced as part of the *Ajeg Bali* movement, initiated by the owner of Bali Pos Group (a local newspaper publisher), which marked an important development in the Balinese cultural revival discourse in post-New Order Indonesia (Schulte Nordholt 2007). I will elaborate the embedding of local television in the rise of local identity in Chapter 7.

Furthermore, the supporters of local stations argued that local television is needed because the regions were underrepresented by the national stations in Jakarta. For instance, in their mission statement ATVLI states that their aim is 'to make local television a medium that can contribute to the empowerment of cultural values, education, social issues, religion, economy, technology and democratisation in all

²³ Riau sedang mengalami kebangkitan yang luar biasa, baik secara budaya maupun secara ekonomi.

sectors in order to realise an equal development in all parts of Indonesia.²⁴ Here, we can see how the localism principle served as the justification of the establishment of local stations by local actors.

Considering the fact that most of these local stations were commercially oriented, economic factors also played an important role in explaining their rapid growth. When the New Order regime collapsed in 1998 the Indonesian television industry had turned into a multi-billion industry. Television had become the main medium for entertainment and information. By 2003 watching television was the most common media related activity for 84.94 percent of the Indonesian population of 240 million people (BPS 2012). This made television a very attractive business sector. The big television market and the position of television as the main medium for entertainment and information promised a lucrative business opportunity. Private players saw the opportunity to enter the sector that was previously restricted. Local interest in local television has always been present in Indonesia from the inception of television. The private sector was involved in the establishment of some regional stations in the 1970s (Kitley 2000).²⁵ When the government announced the introduction of new private stations in the beginning of the 1990s submissions from regional investors were proposed.²⁶ However, during the New Order the sector was monopolised by the regime its allies, so when the wave of media liberalisation took place local investors were among the first to take the initiative in establishing local stations.

The commercial interests in local television can also be explained by the increased awareness of the economic potential of locally oriented media. Gazali (2002:133) in analysing local media in the early reform period after the downfall of Suharto notes that local media entrepreneurs started to realise that freedom of expression, which was guaranteed by the new Press Law implemented in 1999, could become a new commodity. In one of the regions that he investigated for instance, the number of daily and weekly newspapers in the early reform period increased by 300 percent, compared to the figures in the Suharto era (*ibid.*). The economic potential of

²⁴ Menjadikan media televisi local sebagai penunjang dalam upaya menggali nilai budaya, pendidikan, sosial kemasyarakatan, agama, ekonomi, teknologi, dan demokratisasi di semua bidang, dalam rangka pemerataan pembangunan di seluruh Indonesia. <http://www.atvli.com/index.php/home/profil/2> (accessed 13 November 2011)

²⁵ TVRI Medan was established in 1970 by the provincial government of North Sumatra in collaboration with the state oil company Pertamina. The same company was also involved in the establishment of TVRI Palembang and Balikpapan. TVRI Ujung Pandang was the result of the collaboration between the provincial government of South Sulawesi with another company, namely PT National Gobel Jakarta, an electronics company.

²⁶ Following the introduction of television in Jakarta, proposals for local television station came from different regions (Armando 2011:127). Suara Merdeka Group (the biggest newspaper in Central Java) for instance, wanted to establish a television station in Semarang. Other proposals came from Batam, Yogyakarta and other cities.

media on the local level is increasing in the context of regional autonomy as the changing political situation on the local level has given rise to the need for local media. Importantly, the local television investors anticipated the implementation of the decentralisation system that would end the era of the national stations. In this period it was assumed that in the decentralised television system the income from advertising that was monopolised by the national stations would automatically go to the local stations. This assumption further accelerated the development of local stations following the implementation of the new broadcasting law.

1.5 Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter demonstrated that the rise of *TV lokal* in the formative period was shaped by complex developments at both the national and local levels. Although they are interrelated, it is important to distinguish these national and local factors because they were based on different processes. In identifying these factors I have focused on the emergence of localism as a broadcasting principle and how it was mobilised in the transformation of the Indonesian television system. I argued that the localism principle served as an important trope in the public discourse in order to justify the existence of a local television service by both national and local actors. I have identified several factors that contributed to the shift of broadcast paradigm from 'centralism' to 'localism'. First, the New Order's broadcasting policy that was based on centralism had set a negative precedent that led to a demand for an alternative television system. Second, the democratisation of the media sector during the *reformasi* provided the space for the introduction of new broadcasting principles, including localism. Third, the changing central-regional relationship following the implementation of regional autonomy provided the political justification for the decentralisation of the broadcasting system. Although actors both in Jakarta and in the regions brought forward localism as a principle to justify the existence of a local television service, there were differences that underlie its uses.

The reformists' concerns at the national level were the reformation of the New Order television sector as part of a larger media reform to create a democratic television system. In this context localism appeared as one of principles that were considered crucial to create transparency and diversity in broadcasting practices. Here, the localism principle was used rather normatively by referring to the practices in other countries. I have explained that in public debate at the national level, the localism principle in Indonesia is shaped by political, cultural and economic rationales. Politically, a local television service was envisioned to be a medium for supporting local democratic

processes following the implementation of local elections. Culturally, the existence of a locally oriented television considered crucial as a medium for the expression of local identity that according to its proponents was underrepresented by national television stations. Considering the economics of the matter, the decentralisation of a television system was seen as a way to distribute the wealth from Jakarta to the regions. Based on these motivations, it can be concluded that the localism principle in the post-New Order broadcasting policy embodied the idea that television should be a means for the empowerment of the region. This is in contrast to the New Order broadcasting policy that prioritised the national interests.

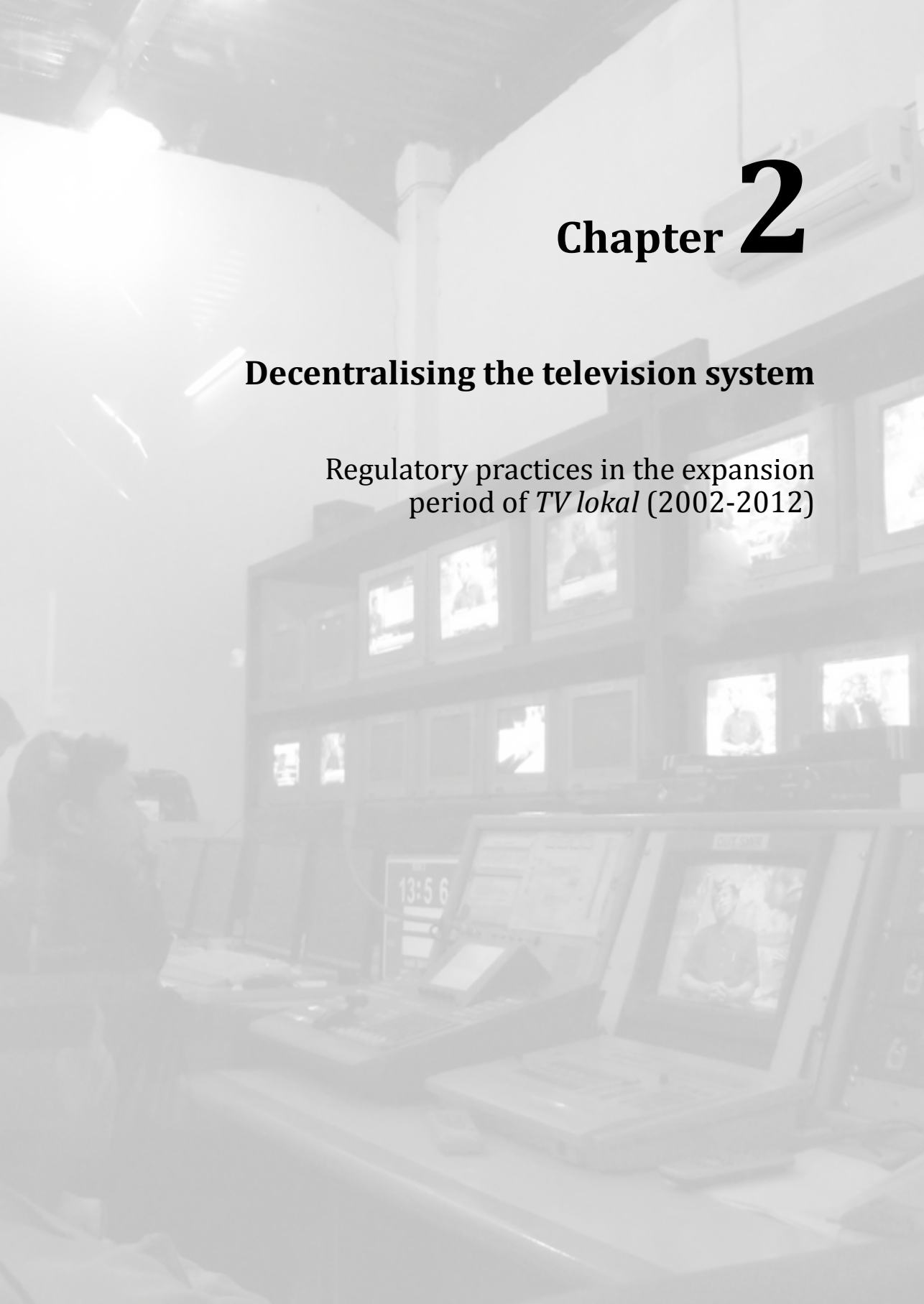
At the local level the establishment of local television was related to more practical reasons. The regulation vacuum in the television sector in this period made the establishment of local stations possible. In this context, local actors mobilised localism principles to justify their interests in television: they saw television as a means to realise their interests, cultural, political or economic. I have explained how local governments, private investors and communities played an active role in establishing local stations in their regions. Different interests of these local actors in television explained the emergence of different types of a local television service in this period - commercial television, community television and government television. Despite their differences in the organisational structure, in this formative period these different local television services claimed to represent the same concern, namely providing an alternative television to the national stations that had long neglected regional differences. These local actors contributed to the shift of the paradigm in Indonesian television practices by putting forward the importance of localism.

After explaining the origins and rationales of the localism principle that contributed to the establishment of local television during the formative period, in the following chapter I will investigate how this principle is put into practice. In the period following the implementation of the broadcasting law in 2002, the localism principle continued to be debated. Its extent and contours were subject to different interpretations, which was part of the dynamics of new regulatory practices on the television sector in post-New Order Indonesia.

Chapter 2

Decentralising the television system

Regulatory practices in the expansion
period of *TV lokal* (2002-2012)



2.1 Defining regulatory practices

This chapter examines the development of *TV lokal* in the period following the implementation of the Broadcasting Law #32 of 2002, which I call *the expansion period*. It covers a time span of roughly a decade and saw important developments that shaped the contours and practices of local television in Indonesia.¹ In this period the decentralisation processes of the television system stipulated by the new law took place. This involved a complex process of reorganising the television system from a national service into a network system consisting of local stations. The process marked a new stage in the formation of a local television service in post-New Order Indonesia characterised by two important developments, namely the rapid increase of the number of stations and the emergence of new regulatory practices in television.

The economic boom in Indonesia that followed the political stabilisation after the fall of President Suharto contributed to the growth of the television market. The huge population, which according to the Indonesian Bureau of Statistic (BPS) had reached 240 million people by 2011, offered a vast television market. 'There has been increase in the number of households with a television set, from 54% in 2000 to 65% in 2007' (Lim 2011:2) and more than 90% in 2010 (Intermedia 2010:1). With this growth of the television-watching population, the number of television operators increased, not only the dominant terrestrial free-to-air broadcasters but also pay television operators.² In this context, the number of local stations increased rapidly.

It is difficult to determine the exact number of local stations operating in this expansion period. In 2005 the Indonesian Association of Local Television (ATVLI) estimated there were 70 local stations functioning.³ An official figure was not available until 2009. The problems connected with the licensing procedure in this period hampered the registration process of the new television stations. Many stations were already operating but were not yet registered by the government. The official data that are available have been inconsistent. In 2009, the government published the first official data on-line showing the number of television broadcasters that were registered at the Department of Communication and Informatics (Depkominfo), the ministry that is in

¹ I put 2012 as an end of this period because in that year I completed my fieldwork in Indonesia. Thus, the end year here does not necessarily indicate the completion of the decentralisation process.

² While in 2000 there were only two operators, by 2009 the number of official pay television operators has reached 76 (http://e-penyiaran.net/data.php?t=ijin_televisi, accessed on 27 January 2010). There are estimated to be over 2,700 pay-TV companies in Indonesia, the vast majority of which are small cable companies in provincial areas that lack the licenses required by law (p.57) (International Intellectual Property Alliance (IIPA) 2010 Special 301: Indonesia Issued February 12, 2010, Page 50 -62 <http://iipa.com/rbc/2010/2010SPEC301INDONESIA.pdf>).

³ 'Televisi Lokal. Euforia Orang Kaya Daerah' (Local Television. Regional Rich People Euphoria) <http://majalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2005/06/13/EB/mbm.20050613.EB119024.id.html> (accessed 17 April 2011).

charge in issuing broadcasting licences.⁴ According to this data, there were 274 new private local stations. However, other data published on the same website listed only 118 new local stations.⁵ The annual report of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), another important regulatory body that is involved in the licensing process, states that by the end of 2011 the number of licensed local stations was 193 (p.52).⁶ More recent data that I received from the Depkominfo⁷ showed that by the end of 2013, there are 213 new local stations that have received a license to broadcast (See appendix 1 for the list of these local stations). This data shows that in less than a decade after the Law's introduction the number of stations had increased fourfold (based on the estimation that by 2003 that there were 50 stations, as explained in Chapter 1).

The registration process of the emerging local stations was part of the new regulatory practices in the television sector that characterised this period. The introduction of the Broadcasting Law #32, the subsequent implementation of its regulations and the establishment of new regulatory bodies, including the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (*Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia* or KPI), have led to new practices in the management and administration of the television sector in Indonesia. This was a complex process that involved contestation of access to and control over television between different actors amid the rapidly changing sector. In this chapter I investigate how these new regulatory practices shape the legal status of local television, its relationship with the existing national private television broadcasters and its service area.

Studies on the regulation of television in Indonesia are rare. This is because, among other reasons, television regulation, 'in terms of economic and sector regulation', is a relatively new phenomenon, as it is in many Asian countries (Kitley 2003:5). A few studies on this topic define television regulation predominately as a state activity with analysis concentrated on the legal discourse either by describing the creation process or discussing the content of the regulation (see Panjaitan 1999, Kitley 2000b). This approach, I argue, is insufficient to capture the complexity of television's regulatory practices in post-New Order Indonesia. Instead, I propose to adopt a decentred approach to regulation as an analytical framework (Hancher and Moran 1989, Senn 2011, Baldwin and Cave 1999). The approach differs from the dominant state-centred

⁴ http://e-penyiaran.net/data.php?t=ijin_televisi (accessed on 27 January 2010)

⁵ http://e-penyiaran.net/index_perijinan.php?prop=0&jns=LPS-AT&lembaga=&stasiun=&pg+3 (accessed 27 January 2010)

⁶ Annual Report 2011 of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission available online at http://www.kpi.go.id/download/laporan_tahunan/LAT_KPI_2011_Final.pdf (accessed on 12 June 2012)

⁷ I received the data from my correspondence with Feriandi Mirza, head of the broadcasting data management, Depkominfo, on 12 January 2013.

analysis of regulation in two respects. First of all, it proposes a wider definition of regulation; second, it includes the analysis of the non-state actors in the regulatory practices.

Instead of confining regulation to terms of technical and legal discourses, my approach defines regulation as a set of practices around which different actors function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions. Following Senn, the main premise of the approach 'lies in the recognition that regulation does not only mean state regulation or the product of a state activity as legitimated authority. On the contrary, it is based on the assumption that regulation is also a domain of civil society' (2011:1). From this perspective, regulation is conceived as a process that is decentred from the state. The analysis thus moves from focusing exclusively on state regulation to what Senn calls *legal pluralism*, in which the role of epistemic communities, networks and private associations or non-governmental organisations in the regulatory processes is acknowledged. Regulation thus 'involves an intermingling of public and private characteristics that makes it more fruitful to focus on complex and shifting relationships between and within organizations involved in regulation' (Baldwin and Cave 1999:30).

The interactions between different actors in the regulatory processes occur in what Hancher and Moran (1989) call a *regulatory space*. Based on their analysis of the economic regulation under advanced capitalism, Hancher and Moran develop this concept, which can be defined as an arena in which a range of regulatory issues are contested by various actors. The actors that occupy a regulatory space are understood from an organisational perspective. Thus the concept focuses on 'predominantly regulation by and through organizations' (ibid.). In line with the premise proposed by the decentred approach, this entails blurring the distinction between the state and private spheres in the constitution of regulatory practices and principles. By focusing on the interactions between different actors in the regulatory space, the analysis aims at investigating power relations in the setting of specific political, legal, economic and cultural attributes. The concept aims to lay bare the inclusion and exclusion mechanisms in the regulatory process in which powerful organisations 'gain, maintain and sometimes lose their dominant positions in regulatory space' (Hancher and Moran 1989:297). Hancher and Moran write: 'Any investigation of the concept involves examining the outcomes of competitive struggles, the resources used in those struggles, and the distribution of those resources between the different involved institutions' (1989:277).

Although this decentred approach relies on theories that are developed in the context of advanced Western capitalism, I find it relevant to analyse the Indonesian

situation in this way for several reasons. First of all, the liberalisation of the television sector in post-New Order Indonesia gave rise to a television model comparable to many Western countries in which private and civil actors are actively involved in television practices. Second, the approach acknowledges the specificity of regulatory space across different historical and geographical contexts. In fact, it is exactly the specificity of such a space that becomes the object of scrutiny. Thus the approach offers an analytical tool to investigate the particularity of television regulation in post-Suharto Indonesia, disentangling the complex interactions between different actors in defining the role and place of local television. As I have explained in Chapter 1, one of the manifestations of the localism principle in the new Broadcasting Law #32 was the adoption of a decentralised television system that consisted of local and network stations. This decentralisation process included two important regulatory measures, namely the transformation of the existing centralised national television system into a network system known as *Sistem Siaran Jaringan (SSJ)* and the introduction of new licensing procedures for the new stations. In the following sections, I will analyse the implementation process of each measure and identify its implications for the development of local television in this expansion period.

2.2 The implementation of the network system

As I have explained in the previous chapter, the implementation of a network television system was meant to empower the emerging local stations. The reformists argued that such a system would stimulate their development, as it encourages cooperation between television stations and would eventually bring the distribution of economic benefits from the national to the local level. The Broadcasting Law stated that the implementation of the network system had to be in place within two years after the signing of the law (Article 60 [3]), in other words, the system had to be established by 2004. In practice, this would mean that the ten existing private stations had to stop operating nationally through their relay transmitters and were obliged to form a network with local stations, if they wanted to continue their operation. This regulation contributed to the rapid emergence of new local stations in the expansion period. First of all, there was no longer any legal barrier to establishing a television station at a sub-national level, as it was the case during the New Order. Second, investors established local stations to anticipate the implementation of a network system, which many saw as a business opportunity. The assumption was that local stations would benefit from the advertising revenue by becoming part of a national network. However, by the end of 2012 such a network system had not yet been fully realised. Although new national

television networks have emerged, the original private national stations still operate nation-wide without forming any network with the existing local stations. There are two interrelated factors that explain this situation, namely the resistance of the existing national private television industry to following the regulation and the performance of the regulatory bodies.

2.2.1 *The response of the existing television industry*

From the very beginning the existing national television broadcasters were against the network system. Their representatives criticised the new regulation in the media and organised various demonstrations against its implementation.⁸ Karni Ilyas (2002), the president of Indonesian Private Television Broadcasting Association (*Asosiasi Televisi Swasta Indonesia* or ATVSI) for instance, stated in his opinion column in *Tempo Magazine* (12 December 2002) that the implementation of a network system would lead to the death of national television. He wrote, 'private television industry will collapse. This is not a concocted statement. If the new Broadcasting Law is implemented, it will become the signal of doom for Indonesian television industry'⁹ (Ilyas 2002). According to Ilyas, the restriction of service area for national television stations would mean a loss in the income and eventually threaten the future of these stations.

In March 2003, a coalition of various groups that represented the existing national television industry¹⁰ including the association of ten national private stations, ATVSI, presented a petition for the partial judicial review of the Broadcasting Law 32/2002 by the Constitutional Court.¹¹ One of the main points of the petition was on the limitation of the coverage area for the private television broadcaster in what the coalition called 'discriminatory articles'¹² (*pasal-pasal diskriminatif*). According to the coalition, the limitation imposed on the private television broadcaster is a form of discrimination because the same regulation does not apply to the public television service, which is allowed to broadcast nationally. This regulation, according to the

⁸ "Di Komplek DPR, Ratusan Pekerja Pers Menolak RUU" (Hundreds of Press Professionals Rejected the Concept of the [Broadcasting-BH] Law at the House of Representatives, <http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/nasional/2002/11/28/brk,20021128-04.id.html> (accessed 17 April 2011).

⁹ 'Industri televisi swasta akan kiamat. Pernyataan itu tidak mengada-ada. Kalau saja Rancangan Undang-Undang Penyiaran yang lagi digodok di DPR itu jadi disahkan sebagai undang-undang pada 25 November lalu, hampir pasti produk legislatif itu merupakan lonceng kematian bagi industri televisi Indonesia'.

¹⁰ Also included in this group were the Television Journalists' Association, the Union of National Commercial Radio Broadcasters, the Union of Indonesian Advertisers, and the Indonesian Television Community (Kitley 2008:355).

¹¹ The discussion here is based on the document on the decision of the Constitutional Court (Perkara Nomor 005/PUU-I/2003) downloaded from <http://www.mastel.or.id/files/regulasi/amar%20putusan%20UU%20Penyiaran.pdf> (accessed 13 January 2012).

¹² These include articles 14 [1], 15 [1], 16[1], 19 [1], 31 [2 and 3].

coalition, would lead to a monopoly of information by the state, which will be detrimental for the television market and would eventually jeopardise ‘the sense of unity and togetherness’ (*rasa kebersamaan dan kesatuan*) of the nation (p.5). Furthermore, they argued that private television stations that operate nationally ‘in many ways will offer a lot of advantages for the public as they will offer diversity of alternative information’ (p.6).¹³ The coalition’s argument in the petition revealed the existing national television industry’s fear that the regulation would decrease their competitive capabilities in relation to public television that, according to the new law, was allowed to receive advertising. Kitley (2008) argues that the coalition was in favour of a market free of politics. He wrote: ‘It was against any intervention by the state to impose a structure on the development of broadcasting networks. It was in favor of no special treatment of ‘infant industry’ segments such as regional television, pay TV or community television service’ (2008:358).

The Court rejected the coalition’s petition regarding the size of the area served in their decision announced in February 2004.¹⁴ According to the Constitutional Court, the argument proposed is unfounded and showed that the petitioners did not understand the rationales behind the regulations (p.18). The Court argued that different regulations for different types of television services are needed because each service has a different function and that this is a common practice in democratic countries all over the world. The Court stated:

It is important that it be understood and remembered that the frequency spectrum is a limited public natural resource. The differentiation of type of players in the broadcasting sector is thus compulsory in order to maximise this public domain for the benefit of the people by respecting the principles of diversity of ownership and the diversity of content. (p.18)¹⁵

Furthermore, according to the Court, the petition shows an emphasis on the commercial interests instead of public ones, which is not desirable in a democratic country (ibid).

The judicial review marked a new development in the regulatory practices in television in Indonesia. First of all, it demonstrated the involvement of non-government actors in the regulatory processes. The associations of television stations would play an

¹³ ‘[...] dari dari berbagai segi dia akan memberikan banyak keuntungan kepada publik dalam artian pengayaan informasi alternatif’ (point 4 of the petition).

¹⁴ Verdict Number 005/PUU-1/2003.

¹⁵ ‘Harus dipahami dan diingat bahwa frekuensi sumber daya alam milik publik yang terbatas. Pengklasifikasian kelas pemain dalam dunia penyiaran menjadi keharusan dalam rangka memaksimalkan ranah publik itu kepada kemakmuran sebesar-besarnya kemakmuran rakyat dengan menjunjung tinggi asas *diversity of owernship* dan asas *diversity of content*’ (p.13).

important role in this period that shaped the course of the decentralisation process of the television system. Second, and perhaps more importantly, the review set a precedent in the regulatory practices in which the contestations of principles and values of broadcasting took place in a legal arena (the court). As Kitley puts it:

Significantly, we note that it was the broadcasting sector that first engaged in the discourse of accountability in its petition to the Constitutional Court. In doing so, even if the action might be seen as self-interested or opportunistically founded on the principle of rights articulated in the amended Constitution, the initiative contributes to a new hegemonic regime where accountability and rights are asserted over the discourse of domination and distribution of privilege which characterized the New Order. (2008:364)

As the decision of the court supported the implementation of the network system, there was no longer any legal barrier to the implementation of the regulation. It was then down to the regulatory bodies to do this. Before I explain the process, I will discuss briefly the regulatory bodies in the television sector following the enactment of the new Broadcasting Law.

2.2.2 *The establishment of a dual regulatory body*

Law #32 stipulates the establishment of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (*Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia* or KPI), defined as an 'independent state institution' (article 7[2])) that represents 'public interests' (article 8 [1]). This marks a fundamental change in the monitoring and administration practice of the broadcasting sector in Indonesia. During the New Order such a task was carried out by the notorious Department of Information, the only body that held any authority over the sector. The KPI was an outcome of the reform spirit wanting to create transparency in the broadcasting practices and preventing the take-over of the industry by a certain group. KPI was one of a range of institutions established during the *reformasi* 'to contribute to the separation of powers in Indonesian governance' such as the Indonesian Election Commission, the Competition Commission and the Anti-Corruption Commission (Kitley 2008:352).

The KPI consists of the national commission (*KPI Pusat*), the members being elected by the national parliament (*DPR*), and the regional offices (*KPI Daerah* or *KPID*) the members of which are elected by the provincial parliament (*DPRD I*). The national and local commissions are not structurally linked because they are funded by different

sources. The national KPI falls under the national budget while the KPID is funded by the provincial budget. Close coordination in issuing regulations is maintained through a national annual meeting. The national KPI has the authority to issue regulations of national scope while the regional offices are concerned with matters that take place at the provincial level. The day-to-day monitoring and administration of local stations fall under the jurisdiction of the KPID. It is also the first gateway of the licensing process and holds the authority to give warnings to television stations that violate the regulations on the television content. The national KPI was established in 2004 with nine members. By the end of 2011 all provinces in Indonesia had set up a KPID office. With the foundation of the KPI Indonesia entered a new era in which the government was no longer the only regulator. The KPI and the government (the ministry of Communication and Informatics) are now in charge of regulating the television sector.

While the Law states that KPI is in charge of broadcasting regulation (article 7 [2]), it retains the government's role in many respects by requiring the collaboration between the government and the KPI in issuing and implementing regulations. This for instance, is in the formulation of licensing procedures (article 33 [8]), the regulation on ownership and the size of area served (article 18 [3&4]) and the sanctions (article 55 [3]) (for the complete list of articles that require collaboration between the government and the KPI see table 1). The only authority of the KPI that is specifically defined in the Broadcasting Law is the authority to issue regulations on the broadcasting content (article 8).

The Law however, does not define clearly how the collaboration between the government and the KPI should take place. Kitley, in analysing the Broadcasting Law #32, argues that administrative arrangements for joint decision-making between the government and the KPI were inadequate because 'the requirement to develop implementing regulations 'with' the government failed to provide a workable mechanism for resolving disputes in the event of the two parties being unable to resolve their differences' (2008:357). Articles that require co-operation between the government and KPI are open to different interpretations. These ambiguous articles led to a conflict between the two bodies. Each party had their own interpretation of which areas of authority were in their purview. Such a dispute was apparent for instance, after the government issued regulations to implement the new Broadcasting Law.

Table 1 Matters that require collaboration between the government and KPI

Article	Matter
14 (10)	Public broadcaster
18 (3) and (4)	The size of the service area for local, regional and national broadcasting; and the cross-media ownership.
29 (2)	Licensing requirements and procedures for the pay broadcaster (Lembaga Penyiaran Berlangganan)
30 (3)	Guidelines for foreign broadcasters in conducting reporting activities
31 (4)	The network broadcasting system
32 (2)	Technical requirements for broadcasting and its infrastructure (Rencana dasar teknik penyiaran dan teknis perangkat siaran)
33 (8)	Broadcasting license
55(3)	The establishment of administrative sanctions
60 (3)	Relay broadcasting

In 2005 the government issued a series of regulations on different broadcasting services (#11-13 for public broadcasters, #50 for private broadcasters, #51 for community broadcasters and #52 for pay broadcasters). In these regulations, the government claimed its authority in various regulatory powers, including licensing. In 2002, immediately after the signing of the Broadcasting Law by parliament, Sofyan Jalil, the Minister of the Communication and Information (latter on changed to the Ministry of Communication and Informatics), commented in the media that the authority of KPI was limited to the monitoring of the standard of the broadcasting content (Tempo 28-11-2002).¹⁶ The government's stance was supported by the decision of the Constitutional Court in 2004,¹⁷ when it ruled that 'as a state institution the KPI did not have the authority to execute legislative, executive and judicial powers, and consequently the authority to draft government regulations should be returned in full to the government' (Kitley 2008:355). In analysing this court decision Kitley (2008) writes,

'the effect of this decision, perhaps unexpectedly and perhaps unfortunately, returned a range of regulatory powers to the executive and removed the transparency and accountability that was built into the process of the independent regulator working collaboratively with the executive.' (ibid)

The KPI disagreed with the regulations issued by the government, arguing that they violated the Broadcasting Law #32. In 2005 the head of the KPI, Victor Manayang,

¹⁶ 'DPR Sahkan RUU Penyiaran'. (The House of Representatives Promulgated the Broadcasting Law) <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2002/11/28/05636652/DPR-Sahkan-RUU-Penyiaran> (accessed 17 April 2011)

¹⁷ This ruling was the result of the same judicial review on the Broadcasting Law asked by a consortium of different associations that represented the television industry, which I discussed earlier in this chapter. The consortium challenged the authority of the KPI as the regulator of the television sector.

stated in the media that the authority to issue a broadcasting license is in KPI's hands, as regulated in different articles in the Broadcasting Law (Article 1 [13]; Article 7 [2] and Article 33 [5]) (Tempo 17-02-2005).¹⁸ In regard to these regulations the KPI twice requested a judicial review by the Supreme Court (*Mahkamah Agung*), in 2005 for government regulations # 11-13 and in 2006 for government regulations #49-52. On 22nd November 2006 the KPI also published a press-released rejecting the government regulations, accusing the government of 'committing public deceit' in the licensing procedures.¹⁹ The decision of the Supreme Court was made known in 2006 and rejected the request of the KPI thus confirming the earlier decision that gave the legislative power in the broadcasting sector to the government.

At the time of writing the conflict between the government and the KPI has not been completely resolved. The contestation of authorities in the television sector continues as parliament is discussing the revision of the Broadcasting Law. By the end of 2012, the distribution of power between the government and the KPI could be summarised in Table 2. Kitley concludes

In the end, the idea of an independent watchdog, able to deal impartially between the industry and the government has been undermined. The KPI retains important responsibilities, but the key areas which are always sensitive and open to abuse such as licensing have been removed from the KPI and delivered to the executive. (2008:357)

Table 2 Distribution of powers between KPI and Depkominfo

Name	Scope	Main regulatory powers
Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Kominfo)	All television services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Proposing legislation and policies on the broadcasting sector - Licensing (including awarding, extension and cancellation) - Management of the frequency spectrum - Technical supervision and inspection - Penalties and sanctions
The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI)	All television services (public, private, community,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Determining broadcasting standards - Monitoring programming - Issuing a recommendation for a license to broadcast (Is now only involved in an advisory

¹⁸ 'Kewenangan Pemberian Ijin ada di KPI' (The Licensing Authority is on the KPI) <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2005/02/17/05756616/8220Kewenangan-Pemberian-Izin-Penyiaran-Ada-di-KPI8221> (accessed 17 April 2011)

¹⁹ 'KPI Tolak Penyesuaian Ijin Lembaga Penyiaran Berlangganan Oleh Depkominfo' (the KPI Rejected the license adjustment for pay television operators by the Depkominfo) www.kpi.go.id. http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php?optin=com_content&view=article&id=2244:kpi-tolak-penyesuaian-ijin-lembaga-penyiaran-berlangganan-lpb-oleh-depkominfo-&catid=14:dalam-negeri-umum&month=12&year=2006 (accessed 17 April 2011)

	pay)	<p>capacity on licensing, and its joint role in determining the licensing process and criteria for the award, extension and cancellation of licenses is taken away)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dealing with complaints from the public on the broadcasting content
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2.2.3 The state of affairs in the implementation of the network system

The resistance of the existing national private broadcasters that culminated in the judicial review process delayed the implementation of the network system for a number of years. Following the decision of the Supreme Court, in 2005 the government, now fully in charge of the implementation of the network system, issued government regulation #50 in which provisions for the implementation were outlined. Article 36 stipulated that a private television broadcaster can form a network with a limited area that can reach up to 75% of the number of provinces [section e]. Such a network consists of a ‘mother station’ (*induk stasiun*) that is located in a provincial capital city and ‘member stations’ (*anggota*) that consist of local stations that are located in advanced economic zones (80%) and less advanced zones (20%) [section g].²⁰ Member stations are allowed to relay programmes from the mother station during particular hours (Article 34[4]). However, there is no further specification on when and for how long. Furthermore, the regulation states that the network stations must broadcast local content, without giving a definition of this or specifying the amount (Article 34 [5]). The relationship between the mother and member stations, in terms of the structure of ownership, is not explicitly regulated. It is not clear whether this network takes forms that are common in other countries, for instance, an affiliation (a network model without any ownership relation) or an owned-and-operated model in which the mother station establishes its own member stations. The article on the restriction of the ownership of local stations within one province (article 32) suggests that a mother station can own only a limited number of member stations. Thus indirectly a network has to incorporate an affiliation model. However, the regulation does not give any further explication. This lack of clarity in the regulation on the network system contributed to many problems in its implementation.

In the first half of the 2000s a few national stations started to collaborate with new local stations (Sudibyo 2004:143). Lombok TV for instance, relayed some programmes from TPI, JTV and TV Manado also had a similar collaboration with Metro TV. Despite these few experiments, cooperation between national and local stations as

²⁰ The regulation does not further specify these different zones, stating that it will be regulated in a ministerial directive.

envisioned by the regulation #50 was never realised. In 2010, following the ministerial regulation issued in the year before,²¹ national stations started the procedures to set up a network. However, instead of forming a network with the existing local stations, national private stations chose to establish their own local stations, forming an owned-and-operated type of a network. Of course this was not the kind of a system that was envisioned by the reformists. With this type of network, the existing national stations managed to retain their privileged position to broadcast nationally. When I started my fieldwork in 2010-2012, these national stations were still operating as before. Although they had started the legal process to form a network to comply with the regulation, in terms of what the audience got to see, there was no difference to the situation before the new Broadcasting Law.

Ade Armando (2011) provides a detailed analysis of the implementation process of the network system in his book *Televisi Jakarta di Atas Indonesia* (literally: Jakarta television above Indonesia). He argues that the network television system, as it was envisioned in the Broadcasting Law #32, has not been realised. This is because until 2010 the existing national private stations were still operating as before: the many deadlines set were simply ignored. He identifies two major problems that contributed to this failure - the resistance of the existing national private stations and the weaknesses of the government in enforcing the Law.

As I have explained earlier, the existing national television stations had opposed the network system from the very beginning. After having their petition rejected by the court, they actively lobbied the government to delay its implementation. In 2007 for instance, ATVSI requested the government to delay the implementation of a network system for five years.²² Their argument was that the formation of such a system would require a great deal of time, as they would have to change the structure of their companies. Furthermore, according to national stations, finding local stations to be part of a network is not an easy task. Of course these are valid arguments, as the shift from a national into a network system would have huge financial and administrative consequences for the existing national private stations. According to Armando, because of this the national stations had never any intention following the regulation. Since the implementation of the Broadcasting Law in 2002 they had done nothing to prepare for the transition, despite various new regulations that set a deadline for the process.

²¹ The Depkominfo derivative No.43/PER/M.KOMINFO/10/2009, issued on 19 October 2009.

²² 'Industri Penyiaran Belum Siap Bangun Jaringan' (Broadcasting industry is not ready to establish a network) <http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/ekbis/2007/05/14/brk,20070514-99966.id.html> (accessed 17 April 2011)

The difficulties in implementing the network system, argues Armando (2011), are also related to the fact that the government, which now holds the authority to enforce the regulation, has been inconsistent and tends to protect the interests of the national private television. This was apparent in the extension of the deadlines to form a network from 2004 to 2007 and 2009. Furthermore, in regulation #50 the government treats the existing national stations differently from new stations, among others things, allowing these stations to maintain the area that they serve as it was before the implementation of the new Broadcasting Law. The existing private stations are allowed to cover up to 90% of the provinces, while the new network is limited to 75% (Article 36 [f]). Furthermore, according to Armando, an important factor that contributed to the problem is the government 'does not have any blueprint on the network system that should be implemented in Indonesia' (2011:278).²³ He writes, 'no one knows for sure what type of network system will be developed' (2011:280).²⁴

The problems involved in the implementation of the network system influenced the development of local television in several ways. First of all, the success of the incumbent national private stations in maintaining their status had some implications for the availability of television channels for new stations. As the number of frequencies made available for television channels are limited, new local stations now have to compete for the channels that are available (Armando 2011:278). According to the regulation on distribution of television channels,²⁵ each service area is assigned a fixed number of television channels, ranging from seven to fourteen. Because the existing ten national commercial broadcasters were the first to be granted a license to broadcast, they have taken most of the channels available in the regions. In Yogyakarta, for instance, while there are 14 frequencies available for television channels, only three channels were allocated to local stations. The same was the case in the cities of Denpasar and Manado. The existence of the national private stations thus limits the growth of local stations.

Secondly, the network regulation has led to the emergence of a new television landscape that consists of national and local stations. While the old national stations still exist, new networks emerged in different forms; as it is now, this is the only way to enter the national terrestrial television market. Big national media companies started to form a national television network by cooperating with the existing local stations. Such

²³ [...] rancangan sistematis tentang siaran berjaringan yang hendak diterapkan di Indonesia.

²⁴ [...] tidak ada yang tahu pasti format sistem berjaringan seperti apa yang akan dikembangkan.

²⁵ Keputusan Menteri Perhubungan Nomor KM. 76 Tahun 2003 tentang Rencana Induk (Master Plan) Frekuensi Radio Penyelenggaraan Telekomunikasi Khusus untuk keperluan televisi siaran analog pada pita ultra high frequency (UHF). (The directive of the Ministry of Transportation on the Radio Frequencies Master Plan for the television telecommunication purpose of analogue broadcasting on UHF band).

cooperation encompasses diverse practices from a limited relay of programmes to taking over of the ownership of local stations. This development impacted on the ownership landscape of local television, which I will discuss further in Chapter 3. Furthermore, the co-existence of national and local television services contributed to a unique economic model of local stations, which will be the topic of Chapter 4. Finally, the regulation on local content that is part of the network system contributes to the dynamics of programming of local stations, which I will discuss in Chapter 5.

2.3 The introduction of licensing procedures

The introduction of a licensing procedure was one of important steps in reshaping the television sector from a centralised to a decentralised system. During the New Order regime, the licensing process was not transparent. 'Licenses were issued without any public tender process and were awarded to close family or cronies of the Suharto family' (Kitley 2006:103). Private stations received a license to broadcast from the Ministry of Information without any limitation on the length of the permit. It was not until 1997, a decade after national private television was introduced, that a regulation on the duration of the license was formulated in the first Broadcasting Law initiated by the Indonesian parliament. However, the law could not be implemented because of the fall of the regime. This lack of transparency in the licensing process was one of the main criticisms of the regulatory practices during the New Order. Another important reason for a new licensing procedure was related to the limited availability of frequency spectrum allocated for television broadcasting. The reformists argued that licensing procedures were necessary to ensure that the use of frequencies for television channels would benefit the public interest (Masduki 2007, Ade Armando 2011).

The Broadcasting Law #32 introduces a licensing mechanism in the articles #33 and #34. It stated that the license can be issued by the state, based on the following steps (Article 33):

1. Public hearing between the applicant and the KPI
2. The issuing of a recommendation by the KPI
3. Joint meeting between the government and the KPI
4. Allocation of radio frequency by the government, based on the recommendation of the KPI

After these steps the applicant must do one year of trial broadcasting before obtaining the permanent license (*izin tetap*). The license would be valid for 10 years and be renewable. The license could be revoked if the holder violated the rules, such as

broadcasting outside the designated frequency and its area, ceasing to broadcast for more than three months and selling the license (Article 34 [5]).

The establishment of licensing procedures was one of the main measures in creating transparency and accountability in the management and monitoring of the television industry. However, the implementation of this new licensing mechanism faced many problems, mainly because of the institutional difficulties. First of all, the KPI, one of the authorities in charge of the licensing procedures, had to be set up. The national commission (KPI) was established in 2004 while the regional offices (KPID) came into being gradually.²⁶ It was not until the end of 2011 that all provinces had a KPID office. Second, the conflict between the government and the KPI about the authority to issue licenses had practically paralysed the licensing process for several years. It was not until 2008 that the licensing procedures, as stipulated in the Broadcasting Law, could be implemented. Until then new television stations were launched without any official license. This situation led to many problems when the authority could finally start the new licensing procedures.

2.3.1 Licensing procedures before 2008

As I have explained in Chapter 1, new television stations started to appear throughout different regions in Indonesia in the early 2000s: by the time the Broadcasting Law was signed in November 2002, there were already dozens of local stations established in different regions. In the years following local stations sprang up throughout the archipelago. In this early period local stations were set up using a permit from local authorities. Following the implementation of regional autonomy in 1999, local government authorities assumed that they had the jurisdiction over the allocation of radio frequencies and thus a permit to broadcast,²⁷ despite the existence of other regulations that stated that the central government was in charge of issuing a license for a radio frequency for broadcasting purposes.²⁸ According to Sudibyo (2004), it was a confusing period where different regulations contradicted each other.²⁹ He writes:

²⁶ Because the provincial government is in charge in funding the regional offices, there are differences between provinces in setting up the structure of the KPID. According to the regulation, the KPID has seven members. Some provinces however, have fewer than seven. Furthermore, each province is free to decide how much funding they want to allocate to the KPID. Regions with a big budget could provide the KPID with infrastructure to monitor television programmes while other offices could not. This affects the performance of the local commissions.

²⁷ Local governments based their decision on the Government Regulation No. 25 of 2000 on the distribution of authority between the central and provincial governments.

²⁸ The Law #36 of 1999 and the Broadcasting Law #74 of 1997.

²⁹ *Tampaknya tidak ada mekanisme koordinasi antardepartemen pemerintah, atau antara pemerintah dan DPR dalam hal ini. Jika pada level undang-undangan tidak terjadi tumpang tindih, tidak mungkin pemerintah daerah mengeluarkan izin frekuensi sendiri.*

Apparently there was no coordination mechanism between government departments, or in this particular case, between the government and the legislator. If there were no contradictions between regulations, it would not be possible that local governments would issue a license to use frequencies. (2004:153)

Bali TV and Jogja TV (the first local television stations founded in the regions that I visited during the fieldwork) for instance, were set up by governor's decree. It is not clear how these early stations could get a license from the local authority. There were no procedures that ensured the transparency of this process. These new local stations probably got a permit because the owners had connections with the local authority. The owner of Bali TV, Satria Naradha, who also owns the biggest local newspaper - the Bali Post, is widely known for his close connection with the provincial government. While in Jogjakarta, the brother of the Sultan (who is also the governor) was one of the founders of Jogja TV. The owner of JTV, the first local station in East Java, Dahlan Iskan has a close relationship with the local authorities (Ida 2011:19).

The absence of the official licensing procedure in this period impacted on the distribution of television channels for new stations. During the New Order, the government allocated limited frequencies only for the national private television channels.³⁰ The opening up of the terrestrial television sector following the implementation of the new Broadcasting Law required the government to formulate a new Master Plan for the distribution of frequency spectrum for television channels. However, many local stations were already established before such a regulation was enacted. When the Master Plan was finally available in 2003,³¹ it took another few years before it could be carried out. As a result, there were some problems in the distribution of channels for the new local stations that contributed to the many uncertainties in the legal status confronting new local stations in this period.

Because many new stations were established on a local permit without reference to the national Master Plan of television channels, there were cases in which local stations were using a channel that was already allocated to national stations. This happened for instance, to JTV in Surabaya that used a channel already allocated to a national private station, Indosiar. A similar situation happened to Bali TV. When first established Bali TV used channel 39 that according to the administration of the central

³⁰ In the 1990s, five channels were allocated for the first private stations. In 1998, at the beginning of the *reformasi*, the government allocated another five channels to accommodate the new national private stations.

³¹ Keputusan Menteri Perhubungan Nomor KM. 76 Tahun 2003 tentang Rencana Induk (Master Plan) Frekuensi Radio Penyelenggaraan Telekomunikasi Khusus untuk keperluan televisi siaran analog pada pita ultra high frequency (UHF). (The directive of the Ministry of Transportation on the Radio Frequencies Master Plan for the television telecommunication purpose of analogue broadcasting on UHF band).

government belong to the national station Metro TV. Sudiby (2004) reported that in this early period some local stations received warnings from the central government authority in charge of monitoring the use of the radio frequencies because they were using channels that were already allocated to the national private stations. In some cases the warnings led to a temporary cessation of broadcasting, as was the case with JTV (Sudiby 2004:135). According to Sudiby (2004), this sanction was detrimental to the new station that had just been introduced on the market. The station had to start again after almost three months without broadcasting. Similar situations were found in many other regions. Numerous stations were using the wrong channel and had to switch to another after receiving a license. Bali TV had to switch to Channel 49. Another problem with the distribution of channels occurred with TATV. When first established the station was assigned to Channel 50. Nevertheless, it operated in the area of Channels 22-48. In the end the station had to move its transmitter to another location suitable to the channel allocated. These problems contributed to the urgent need for a national licensing procedure.

It was in 2005 that both the government and the KPI issued regulations for the licensing procedures. In that year the government promulgated a series of rules for different types of television services, including regulation #50 on private broadcasting (*lembaga penyiaran swasta*) in which a licensing procedure was introduced. According to this regulation, a license to broadcast could be issued only by the Minister of Communication and Informatics (Article 5 [10]). As I explained earlier, this prompted the KPI to ask for a judicial review, arguing that the regulation violated the Broadcasting Law.³² In the same year the KPI issued its own version of the regulation of the licensing procedures³³ and renewed it in 2006.³⁴ In these directives it is stated that the KPI holds the authority to issue a license to broadcast (*Ijin Penyelenggaraan Siaran* or IPP). The government did not acknowledge the KPI's measure and issued its own regulation on the licensing procedures in 2007.³⁵

Aside from the point of who had the final say in granting a license to broadcast, both versions of the regulation issued by Depkominfo and the KPI followed the same licensing procedure, as stated in the Broadcasting Law. The procedures required

³² See footnote 17.

³³ Keputusan Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia Nomor 41/SK/KPI/08/2005 tentang panduan prosedur administratif permohonan izin penyelenggaraan Penyiaran Bagi lembaga Penyiaran Jasa Penyiaran Radio dan Jasa Penyiaran televisi (The KPI's decision on the guidelines on the administrative procedures for a license to broadcast for television and radio broadcasters)

³⁴ The KPI's regulation No. 3/KPI/08/2006

³⁵ Peraturan Menteri Komunikasi dan Informatika RI nomor 08/P/M.KOMINFO/3/2007

Tentang Tata Cara Perizinan dan Penyelenggaraan Penyiaran Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta (The ministerial directive on the licensing procedures and the performance of the private broadcaster).

collaboration between the two instances because the KPI must verify the application and issue a recommendation while the government had the authority to allocate a channel. Because the KPI and Depkominfo were in conflict, such collaboration was impossible: as the result, the procedures could not be implemented. In May 2006 the government and the KPI came into agreement that the granting of a license to broadcast had to be based on the agreement of both parties.³⁶ Despite this however, it took a few more years before the government and the KPI agreed to use one regulation in the licensing procedure.

The differences between the KPI and the Depkominfo were also apparent in dealing with the television stations that were already established before the implementation of the new Broadcasting Law. In 2006, the government decided to grant a new license to television stations that already held a license to broadcast from the Department of Information.³⁷ In practice all national television stations would automatically get a new license because they already held permission from the central government. This measure however, did not apply to new television stations that were established with local permits. The government's stance was that these stations were illegal and had to apply for a new broadcasting license according to the new procedures.³⁸ The KPI disagreed with this ruling and accused the government of trying to deceive the public.³⁹ Beginning in 2006 the Depkominfo had received applications from new television stations - 142 applications in 2006 and 74 in 2007.⁴⁰ These applications however, could not be processed until the government and the KPI agreed to use one regulation, which was not until 2008.

2.3.2 *Licensing practice after 2008*

The licensing procedure that is currently used is based on regulation #28 issued by the Depkominfo in 2008.⁴¹ In the end, the KPI agreed to use the Depkominfo regulation, meaning that the authority to issue a license to broadcast is in the hands of the minister not the KPI. The KPI still plays an important role because they are in charge in the verification of documents, the organisation of public consultation and the issuing a recommendation. The decision to grant a license takes place in the joint meeting

³⁶ 'Pemerintah dan KPI Capai Kesepakatan Soal Izin Penyiaran' (The government and the KPI agreed on the licensing issue) <http://www.tempo.co/read/news/2006/05/28/05578110/Pemerintah-dan-KPI-Capai-Kesepakatan-Soal-Izin-Penyiaran> (accessed 17 April 2011)

³⁷ The Depkominfo Derivative No. 17/P/M.KOMINFO/6/2006

³⁸ '50 Persen Radio dan TV lokal ilegal'(50% of Local Radio and Television Stations are illegal) http://www.indosiar.com/fokus/50-persen-radio-dan-tv-lokal-ilegal_73737.html (accessed 17 April 2011)

³⁹ See footnote 18.

⁴⁰ Available at http://statistik.kominfo.go.id/site/data?idtree=245&iddoc=798&data-data_page=2 (accessed 17 April 2011).

⁴¹ The Depkominfo derivative No. 28/P/M.Kominfo/09/2008.

between the government and the KPI at the national level. An overview of the current licensing process can be seen in Figure 1. In this procedure, the broadcasting commission at the provincial level (KPID) serves as the threshold of the licensing process. Their main role is first of all, to verify the applications to make sure that the applicants fulfil all the requirements, including administrative demands such as ownership and financial data and programming requirements. The verification of the technical requirements, such as the broadcasting infrastructure is carried out by the provincial office of the Depkominfo.

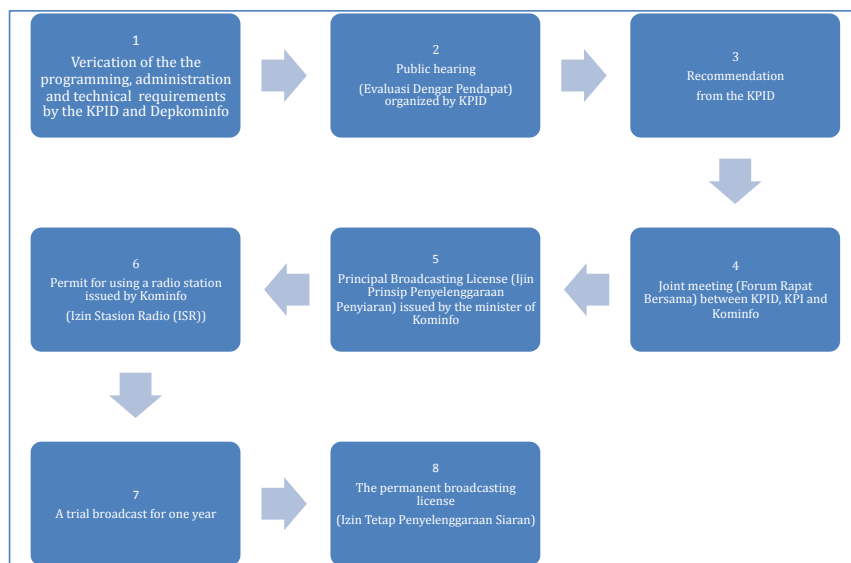


Figure 1 The licensing procedures

The next step after the verification is the public hearing known as *Evaluasi Dengar Pendapat* (opinion hearing evaluation) or EDP. This is a forum to which the applicants have to present their proposal to the public. The EDP is organised by the KPID but funded by the applicants. The venue can be at the office of KPID or in a chique hotel, depending of the financial resources of the applicant. The KPID usually invites representatives of the public such as NGO's, academics, media activists, students, religious organisations etc. There is also a panel of commentators with the task of giving an opinion of the proposal. The public is also welcome to give their feedback. Formally, based on this public hearing the applicant has to adjust their proposal if necessary before getting a recommendation from the KPID, but in practice it is not entirely clear what this EDP actually contributes to the decision of whether or not to give a

recommendation. This is because the recommendation is based on the scoring given by all members of the KPID. Each member of the KPID scores the proposal individually using a set of criteria. In case of more than one applicant for the same television channel, the applicants will be ranked based on the scoring system. The recommendation thus depends on the members of the commission.

The final step is the joint meeting between the KPI and the Depkominfo that takes place in the main office of the latter in Jakarta and is known as *Forum Rapat Bersama* (common meeting forum) or FRB. In this FRB, the scoring process is repeated by a committee consisting of the representatives from both institutions. Because the FRB is closed to the public, it is difficult to gain any insight into what goes on during this stage of the process. When an applicant is granted a license to broadcast it is necessary to apply for another license from another department of the Depkominfo, namely the license to use a radio frequency. While it is only for administrative purposes, this procedure adds more time to the process. When the applicant already holds both the license to broadcast and the license to use a channel, they are allowed to start with a year's trial broadcasting. By the end of the year, a committee consisting of representatives of the KPI and the Depkominfo will evaluate the performance before a permanent permit to broadcast can be granted.

The licensing procedure has been criticised as being 'time-consuming', 'vague' and 'ambiguous' (Nugroho et al. 2011:59). It is time consuming because the applicant has to get through a long process at both regional and national level. Formally the application would take a few months but in practice it can take years. Jogja TV and Bali TV received their licenses in 2011 having started the process in 2008. According to members of KPID whom I have interviewed, the problems lie mostly in the stage of FRB in Jakarta for which there is a long waiting list. As I have explained before, many new local stations established before 2008 had been operating without a license from Depkominfo. With the implementation of the new regulation these stations had to begin their licensing process. This led to an explosive growth in the number of stations applying for a license. The authorities were unable to process the applications according to the formal procedures. Consequently, the number of permits issued each year is much smaller than the number of applicants, as shown in the Table 3. When the licensing procedure was started in 2006, the government issued licenses only to the existing national television broadcasters. Most applications of new local stations, took several years before they finally received their license. In the period of 2010-2012, the KPID in several provinces in Indonesia reported that there were local television stations

operating in their regions with no official license.⁴² Pacific TV in Manado for instance, although it has been operating since 2004, still had not received an official license by the end of 2011. This situation contributed to the legal uncertainties for many local stations. Some have expressed their difficulties in getting a bank loan because they do not yet have a license.⁴³

Table 3 Number of applicants and receivers

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Number of applicants	142	74	118	167	289	161
Number of broadcasting licenses issued	11	1	6	38	56	128

(Source: Depkominfo 2011⁴⁴)

2.3.3 Determining the size of the service area

One of the social functions ascribed to local television, as it is constructed in the dominant discourse explained in Chapter 1, is to develop local potential, both in terms of culture and economy. However, 'local' is hardly defined in a clear geographical terms. The size of the service area can be used as one of the parameters to define the local character of television broadcasting. In the Netherlands for instance, the local character of local television broadcasting is based on administrative criteria because the various stations are based on different administrative levels (provincial and municipal levels). However, this is, not the case in Indonesia. The coverage of television in Indonesia is regulated in the Master Plan of the use of Radio Frequency for analogue television broadcasting through UHF issued by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Depkominfo) in 2003.⁴⁵ According to Setiawan (2010:50), this Master Plan was based on criteria developed during the TVRI period when topographical considerations were used to determine the size of a service area (transmitter was placed at the location which would give the best reception). This map became the blueprint for allocating channels for new stations in the periods following. In the 1990s, when private television was introduced, the map was adjusted by adding more channels. The original TVRI map was retained so that viewers did not have to change the direction of their receiver

⁴² 'Puluhan Lembaga Penyiaran di Kalsel Belum Urus Ijin' (Tens of Broadcasters in South Kalimantan have not taken care of their license) <http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php?etats=detail&nid=1846> (accessed 17 April 2011)

'Seratus Lembaga Penyiaran di Jawa Timur Tidak Berijin' (A hundred broadcasters in East Java do not have a license) <http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php?etats=detail&nid=1797> (accessed 17 April 2011)

⁴³ Interview with Jimmy Silalahi, the operating manager of the Indonesian Association of Local Television (ATVLI), 5 November 2010.

⁴⁴ Available at

<http://publikasi.kominfo.go.id/bitstream/handle/54323613/143/Data%20Publikasi%20PPI.pdf>

⁴⁵ The Ministerial Transportation Derivative No. KM. 76 Tahun 2003

antenna. The same procedure was used during the *reformasi* era to accommodate the emergence of local stations. The history of the allocation of television channels in Indonesia indicates that determining of the area to be served by local stations was not based on any cultural parameters such as common language. Instead, geographical and technical considerations played much important roles.

The determination of the area served by local stations forms an important part of the licensing procedure. According to the Master Plan of 2003 there are 208 areas (*wilayah layanan*) distributed in all provinces.⁴⁶ If such an area includes a provincial capital city it has 14 channels available, while other areas have seven channels.⁴⁷ Each television channel in a particular zone covers the same size of area. The regulation defines the size an area covers based on technical and geographical criteria.⁴⁸ In terms of distance, the broadcasting of a television station in one area formally can reach between 10-90km. Administratively, in Java and Bali, one service area can include several districts or cities, while in provinces outside Java one zone usually covers only one administrative district or city. This difference is related to the geographical size of districts outside Java, which are usually bigger than those in Java.

According to article 3 [h] broadcasting should cover at least 50 percent of the service area and/or 50 percent of the population in that particular area. The same article prohibits broadcasting outside the designated service area. In practice however, local stations do not always follow the regulation as explained above. First of all, many local stations were already established before the regulation on the size of area served was enacted. These stations thus operated without having a clear idea to which area they were assigned. Secondly, conflicts between regulatory bodies in the implementation of the licensing procedure contributed to the poor supervision of whether or not local stations broadcast in the designated zone. In fact, many local stations broadcast beyond their official service area. All four stations that I visited have expanded the area that they serve, as it is shown in the figures (2-5) in the following page.

⁴⁶ By the time this regulation was enacted there were 30 provinces in Indonesia, by 2012 three new provinces were added.

⁴⁷ An exception of this rule is two service areas in West Java (Purwakarta dan Pelabuhan Ratu) that each have only 3 channels. In total, there are 1,725 channels available for television. 282 channels are reserved for the national public television TVRI and digital channels, leaving 1,443 channels available for terrestrial local stations.

⁴⁸To determine the size of a particular area served, the regulation defines outer points of the service area in all directions, which is called the test point (article 3 [f]). In these points, the field strength of the broadcasting should not exceed 65 dbuV/m for channels 22-37 and 70 dbuV/m for channel 38-62 (Article 3 [g]).



Figure 2 Officially, Bali TV uses channel 49⁴⁹ with Denpasar service area (under the line). However, the station claims that its broadcast can be received as far as Mataram in West Nusatenggara and Jember in East Java (these areas are marked with stars).⁵⁰



Figure 3 The official area served by Channel 48 used by Jogja TV is inside the line. Nevertheless, it claims that the broadcast can be reached as far as Kebumen, marked with the star.⁵¹

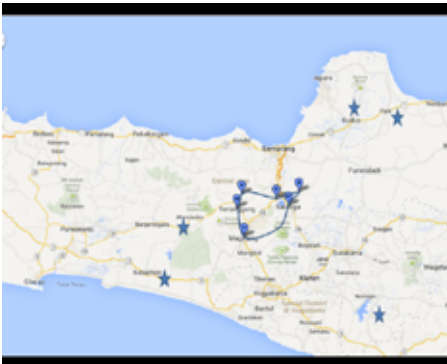


Figure 4 The official service area of Channel 50 used by TATV is inside the line. Nevertheless, it claims that the broadcast can be received as far as the places marked with the star.⁵²



Figure 5 Pacific TV uses Channel 36 with the service area inside the line. In their company profile it claims to cover an area marked with the stars.⁵³

⁴⁹ Bali TV is using two channels 49 and 52, which is against the regulation against one television station using two channels. I will discuss this further in the section on the administration and monitoring of local television.

⁵⁰ Denpasar, Kuta, Nusa Dua, Sanur, Nusa Penida, Badung, Tabanan, Jembrana, Mengwi, Gianyar, Klungkung, Karangasem, Bangli, Ampenan(NTB), Sekotong(NTB), Narmada(NTB), Lembar(NTB), Mataram Timur(NTB), Ketapang(JATIM), Banyuwangi(JATIM), Jember(JATIM) (<http://balitv.tv/btv2/index.php/profil-topmenu-26> accessed 17 April 2011).

⁵¹ Wilayah DIY(Jogja, Sleman, Bantul, Kulonprogo, Gunung Kidul)Wilayah Karesidenan Surakarta (Boyolali, Klaten, Solo, Karanganyar, Sukoharjo, Sragen) Wilayah Karesidenan Kedu (Magelang, Temanggung, Parakan, Wonosobo) Kebumen, Kutoarjo, Purworejo (www.jogjatv.tv/coverage-area#sthash.XtiCRU0z.dpuf)

⁵² Yogyakarta, Kab. Sleman, Kab. Bantul, Kab. Kulon Progo, Kab. Gunung Kidul, Kab. Magelang, Kab. Boyolali, Kab. Klaten, Kota Surakarta, Kab. Sukoharjo, Kab. Wonogiri, Kab. Karanganyar, Kab. Sragen, part of Pati, Kudus, Wonosobo, dan Ngawi (interview).

⁵³ Manado, Bitung, Tomohon, Minahasa, Minahasa Utara, Minahasa Selatan, Minahasa Tenggara, Bolaang Mongondow utara, Sangihe, Talaud, Siau Tagulandang Biaro.

The maps of the service area presented here were based on the statements of local stations in their promotion brochures and websites. It is possible that the area covered might be less than what is claimed. During my fieldwork for instance, I could not always receive broadcasts from local stations operating in the area. The reception was sometimes very poor, especially compared to the national stations. Local stations often claim to cover a larger area than their actual capacity from an economic motive: a larger area could attract advertisers (I will discuss this in Chapter 4). Judging from the capacity of these stations' transmitters, which usually has 1-10 kW power, the broadcasts of local stations in Indonesia can reach a radius of 20 to 60km, depending on the height of the tower. However, some stations have expanded their service area by building extra repeater towers that can extend the broadcasting range. This is the case for instance, with TATV that has built repeater towers along the Northern coast of Java. Bali TV and Pacific TV also have more than one transmitter. This poor implementation of the regulation on the coverage area points to the regulatory problems that characterised the expansion period of local television.

2.4 Conclusion

As was the case in many European countries, the decentralisation process in post-New Order Indonesia might be described as a messy process. In countries like Italy, Greece and many post-communist bloc countries, it was characterised by a chaotic situation due to problems in regulation (Papathanassopoulos 1997; Barca 1999; OSI Monitoring Reports 2005). Regulators failed to keep up with the scope and speed of the development of the industry. As Nugroho et al (2012) put it, in Indonesia, 'in many cases, the government as the regulator finds it difficult to synchronize the regulations with the fast-changing media industry environment, and this has allowed the industry to run loose without firm regulations' (p.5). In my analysis I have identified factors that contributed to such a situation and explained the implications for the development of local television.

The decentralisation process of the television sector in this expansion period demonstrated how the localism principle, as envisioned in the Broadcasting Law, was under pressure by economic interests of television broadcasters. The weak enforcement of the law, due to unclear details in regulations and conflict of interests between regulatory bodies, added to a difficult process of decentralising the television system in Indonesia. This situation has led different scholars to argue that the decentralisation of the television system has failed. For instance, Ade Armando (2011) argues that the failure is indicated by the success of the existing national private television industry in

retaining their position. In this chapter however, I have demonstrated that the reform of the existing national television industry is only one part of the dynamics in the decentralisation process of Indonesian television. Another important part of the process is the emergence of hundreds of new local stations. This is the least investigated part of the decentralisation process in Indonesian television that I seek to explore in this dissertation. In the chapters that follow I will focus on discussing different aspects of these new stations (the ownership structure, the economic models and the programming) to identify their roles in the transformations of locality.



Chapter 3

From Independent to Group Ownership

Identifying the characteristics and changes in
the structure of ownership of local
broadcasters (2002-2012)

3.1 Defining ownership

This chapter continues the discussion on the implementation of the localism principle in the expansion period of local television by scrutinising the ownership landscape of the emerging local television landscape. Ownership serves as an important parameter used in the Broadcasting Law #32 to define local television. The Law stipulates that majority ownership and management of a private television station are prioritised for local people (Article 31 [6]). This ownership regulation formed one of the major shifts from the New Order practices in which there was no transparent regulation on this matter. In fact, under the regime, as I have explained in Chapter 1, regulation of ownership did not exist because the sector was monopolised by President Suharto's family and associates. Other players were simply banned from entering the terrestrial broadcasting sector. The liberalisation of the media sector during the *reformasi* gave rise to the urgency of regulating the ownership of television broadcasting companies. It formed an essential part of the decentralisation process of the television system in post-New Order Indonesia.

In the context of a liberalised television sector, the question of ownership gains its significance because of its link with the output of television (Noam 2009). It is often argued that free and diverse television content is of utmost importance for the functioning of participatory democracy (Napoli 1999, McQuail 1992). The creation of diversity is thus one of the main goals of regulating television ownership. It was with this rationale that the reformists put forward the idea of local ownership in the television sector as part of the media reformation agenda. Importantly, this reflects the changing paradigm in the broadcasting policy from 'centralism' to 'localism', as discussed in Chapter 1. The local ownership was part and parcel of the reformists' agenda to use television as a medium for regional empowerment in political, cultural and economic terms. A decade after the enactment of the new broadcasting law in 2002, what has become of this localism principle? How does this policy shape the structure of ownership of local stations?

In this chapter I scrutinise the contours of ownership of local broadcasters by identifying the ownership characteristics of stations established in the formative years and tracing their changes during the expansion period. As I have argued in Chapter 2, the implementation of new controls on the sector involves a complex process of negotiations between different actors. This also applies to the regulatory practices of television ownership. The implementation of these faced many challenges, mainly due to the rapid development of the television industry and the weak supervision of the sector by the authorities. This led to the emergence of diverse practices that undermine

the localism principle. Before I explain my approach, I will discuss briefly the regulations on television ownership in Indonesia and how this has been studied so far.

3.1.1 Ownership regulations of television stations

Broadcasting Law #32 distinguishes four different categories of broadcasters namely public (*publik*), private (*swasta*), pay (*berlangganan*) and community (*komunitas*) (Article 13 [2]). Each category is subject to different regulations. As the terrestrial local television stations fall under the category of private broadcaster, in this section I will focus on discussing ownership regulations in this particular category that are laid down in some articles in Broadcasting Law #32 and in Government Regulation #50 of 2005. These regulations were set up to create diversity of ownership by prioritising local ownership and restricting multiple and cross-media ownership.¹

As I have mentioned earlier, Law #32 favours the ownership of a private station by local people, defined as people who live in the district in which a local television station is situated or those who come from that specific area (Explanation chapter of Article 31 [6]²). According to this regulation, the owners of a local station do not necessarily have to be a resident of the administrative area in which the station is located as long they can show that they are from that particular region. However, the law does not specify how to define whether or not someone fulfils this criterion. This causes some ambiguities in defining who is a local person. Adding to the ambiguity is a provision in the Law that states that if there are no local people interested in setting up a television station, outsiders are allowed to establish one in that particular area (Explanation section of Article 31 [6]³). As I will discuss in the second part of the analysis, this regulation has not been implemented consistently.

Another important part of the ownership regulation is the provision on multiple-ownership. Law #32 permits multiple ownership of television stations, with some restrictions. Article 18 (1) states that ‘a concentration of ownership and control of a private broadcaster by one person or one institution, in one or more service areas is

¹ The regulations also deal with foreign ownership. During the New Order foreign media ownership was not allowed. The new broadcasting law also prohibits foreign investors from establishing media companies. However, foreign investment is allowed as additional capital. Article 17 of the Broadcasting Law #32 states allows a foreign share in television broadcasters’ ownership up to 20 percent (section 2). Because of this regulation, foreign media ownership has never been a prime issue in the public debate on television ownership in Indonesia.

² Yang dimaksud dengan diutamakan ialah diberikan prioritas kepada masyarakat di daerah itu atau yang berasal dari daerah itu.

³ Mayoritas pemilikan modal awal dan pengelolaan stasiun hanya dapat diberikan kepada pihak dari luar daerah apabila masyarakat setempat tidak ada yang berminat.

restricted.⁴ Furthermore, Article 20 forbids double ownership, i.e. owning two stations in the same service area.⁵ Regulation #50 of 2005 provides more criteria for these restrictions. Double ownership is allowed only when the stations are located in different provinces (Article 31 [1])⁶. Furthermore, the same article states that one owner is allowed to invest in second, third and fourth local stations with a maximum share of respectively 49%, 20% and 5%. However, it does not specify the maximum number of stations in which a person or institution is allowed to have a share that is less than 5%. This percentage-based regulation of ownership creates some challenges in its implementation. As it will become clear in the analysis section of this chapter, this measure can hardly be upheld.

The provision on cross-media ownership also forms an important part of the new ownership regulations. Article 18 (2) of Law #32 states that cross-ownership between television, radio and print media is restricted,⁷ and this is further defined in Government Regulation #50. Article 33 permits cross-ownership in the same service area only between one television broadcaster with one pay television and one print media, or between one television station and one radio station.⁸ The rules fail to anticipate the development of the Internet technologies that characterised the media landscape in Indonesia by the end of the first decade of the 21st century. The expansion of cross-media ownership of the terrestrial television broadcasters and the new on-line media has become a common practice that was not anticipated in the new broadcasting law.

3.1.2 Studies on television ownership in Indonesia

The analysis of ownership has become one of the important strands in the studies of the post-New Order media (Nugroho et al. 2012, Lim 2011, Sudibyo and Patria 2013, Ida 2011). Generally using a political economy approach, these studies reveal the transformations of the Indonesian media ownership landscape following the

⁴ Pemusatan kepemilikan dan penguasaan Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta oleh satu orang atau satu badan hukum, baik di satu wilayah siaran maupun di beberapa wilayah siaran, dibatasi.

⁵ Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta jasa penyiaran radio dan jasa penyiaran televisi masing-masing hanya dapat menyelenggarakan 1 (satu) siaran dengan 1 (satu) saluran siaran pada 1 (satu) cakupan wilayah siaran'

⁶ Article 31 (1): (a) 1 (satu) badan hukum paling banyak memiliki 2 (dua) izin penyelenggaraan penyiaran jasa penyiaran televisi, yang berlokasi di 2 (dua) provinsi yang berbeda

⁷ Kepemilikan silang antara Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta yang menyelenggarakan jasa penyiaran radio dan Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta yang menyelenggarakan jasa penyiaran television, antara Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta dan perusahaan media cetak, serta antara Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta dan lembaga penyiaran swasta lainnya, baik langsung maupun tidak langsung, dibatasi.

⁸ Article 33 (a) 1 (satu) Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta jasa penyiaran televisi dan 1 (satu) Lembaga Penyiaran Berlangganan dengan 1 (satu) perusahaan media cetak di wilayah yang sama; atau (b) 1 (satu) Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta jasa penyiaran radio dan 1 (satu) Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta jasa penyiaran televisi dengan 1 (satu) Lembaga Penyiaran Berlangganan di wilayah yang sama.

liberalisation of the sector after the fall of President Suharto. Nugroho et al. argue that 'the media have become a mechanism by which businessmen and politicians convey their interests while gaining profit from the business' (2012:4). According to them, 'in the past fifteen years, the growth of the media industry in Indonesia has been driven by capital interest, leading to a media oligopoly and the concentration of ownership' (ibid.). Different studies have shown that in post-New Order Indonesia ten to thirteen media groups control the sector, including, broadcasting, print and online media (Nugroho et al. 2012, Lim 2011, Sudibyo and Patria 2013).

The ownership of television broadcasting forms an important part of these emerging media conglomerations. Sudibyo and Patria (2013) argue that in post-New Order television has become part of process of horizontal and vertical integration of media corporations. 'Horizontal integration results in the rise of business conglomerates, a product of amalgamation of a number of companies with different business lines' (Sudibyo and Patria 2013:271). As an example Sudibyo and Patria mentioned MNC Group⁹ that integrated the news portal Okezone with the television station Sun TV and the daily newspaper Seputar Indonesia. Other examples include the Bakrie Group that established the online service VIVAnews, the Jawa Post Group that established JTV [regional television in East Java-BH], the Kompas Group that established Kompas TV, and the Tempo Group that set up Tempo TV. Furthermore, they write, 'Indonesia has also witnessed vertical integration within the media industry whereby media companies are incorporated into larger business groups engaged in number of industries' (2013:271).

This trend of media corporations towards integration and expansion also took place at the regional level. Rachman Ida in analysing regional corporations in post-New Order Indonesia writes,

The expansion of regional autonomy has opened up the possibility for development of more local commercial media. Local and community newspapers, radio stations and television channels competing for local audiences with local content have been established by both local governments and local media business groups. The initiative to establish local media institutions is supported by major private (mostly oil) companies located in provincial areas, and by individuals, especially those with prior interest in local media and other business. (2011:17)

⁹ The group also owns three national private broadcasting stations (RCTI, MNC TV and Global TV).

She argues that in the context of increasing regionalism in post-Suharto Indonesia, new oligarchic alliances, involving particular media owners, emerged at the regional level. As examples she looks at the expansion of regional media in East Java (Jawa Pos Group) and Bali (Bali Post Group) from mainly print media companies into multi-media corporations, including television stations.

Ida's is one of a few studies on the ownership of media at sub-national levels in post-New Order Indonesia. Although local television is often mentioned in the studies of television ownership, to the best of my knowledge, there is not yet a study that looks specifically at the ownership structure of local stations. This is perhaps because local television is a new phenomenon and is still often considered insignificant compared to its national counterparts, both in economic as well as political terms. However, as I will argue in this chapter, in the context of a decentralised television system, the ownership of local stations has become an integral part of consolidation strategies of media corporations. Importantly, in the context of regional autonomy, television has become embedded in local socio-political dynamics, which makes it important to obtain insights in its structure of ownership. Although it has been more than a decade since its introduction, a lot is still unknown. Who are the owners of these emerging local stations? What are the characteristics of their ownership structures and how have these been changing? How does the structure of ownership of these emerging stations shape their role in the construction of locality?

3.1.3 Method

My goal in this chapter is to trace changes in the structure of ownership in a particular period, and as such, I'm inclined to draw upon the historical and legal research methods commonly used in television studies. This entails the analysis of legal documents from different periods. Howard (2006:9) for instance, in analysing the changes in television station ownership in the USA from 1940 to 2005, used such methods by examining the official data from the Federal Communication Commission as the primary source. The analysis is thus dependent on the availability of official data, which presents a problem in Indonesia. First of all, there is no official data available until after 2008 when the licensing mechanism was finally in place. It was then that the details of ownership of television stations were reported as part of the mechanism for obtaining a broadcasting license. Second, even though national data on the ownership stations is available at the Ministry of Communication and Informatics (Depkominfo), since the introduction of the national licensing system in 2008, the access to these legal documents is restricted. My attempts to obtain access to these have failed due to bureaucratic procedures, as did

those of many other researchers. Last, and perhaps the greatest concern, the documentation of the official information is weak, as changes in the structure of ownership are often not reported. Because of these limitations, in my analysis I will modify the historical and legal methods by combining the official data that I have managed to obtain with various media and academic reports. Such reports often provide the background of local stations that include information about their ownership. By combining both sources, I can, to some extent, compensate for the lack of official data and expand the analysis beyond the sample of local stations in order to identify patterns at the national level.

The analysis of the first local stations established mainly during the formative period is based on the official data that I have obtained from the regional broadcasting commission (KPID) in three fieldwork locations (Yogyakarta, Bali and North Sulawesi). I will combine this with media and academic reports from the same period that gave insights into the ownership background of these early stations. In addition, my interviews with key informants in the fieldwork locations have also yielded valuable background information on the holdings of the stations. Based on these various sources, I construct the contours of local television ownership in its early development. Subsequently, I will contrast them with the ownership landscape of local television in 2012 in order to identify the main changes. The analysis of this period is based on the combination between data on the broadcasting licensing of 2013, which I received from the Ministry of Communication and Informatics¹⁰ and secondary sources, including both media and academic sources. In addition to this, the control of local stations that are part of media groups that have gone public (listed companies) can be traced through their published annual reports. I also looked at the official website of various local stations that provide information about the ownership of the station.

Because of the limited availability of official data it is difficult to make a comprehensive analysis at the national level; this particularly applies to local stations established in the formative period because there was no official data available then. My data consisted of a limited number of stations I have investigated during my fieldwork. However, whenever possible I compare my findings with the situation in other regions mentioned in media or academic reports. This way I can argue that my findings are indicative of the patterns of ownership at the national level. For the analysis of the situation in 2012, a national figure can be established more easily because some national data is already available, although this is scattered in different sources.

¹⁰ I received the data from my correspondence with Feriandi Mirza, head of the broadcasting data management, Depkominfo, on 12 January 2013. The data contain ownership information on local stations that are part of the national networks.

The analysis is presented in three parts. In the first, I will analyse the structure of ownership of local stations established before the implementation of the national licensing process. This period saw a rapid increase in the number of local stations, most of the first local stations in the region being set up at this time. I argue that then the ownership landscape of local stations consisted mainly of independent stations owned by local investors from various backgrounds. In the second part of the analysis I will examine the general control of local television based on the situation in 2012, arguing that this has been dominated by group ownership, i.e. groups that own local stations in different geographic areas. In the last part of the analysis, I will discuss the implications of the rise of group ownership for the development of local television.

3.2 Ownership structures of pioneer local stations (2002-2008)

The analysis in this section mostly concerns the first local stations that were operating in the regions before the implementation of the licensing procedures. There are a number of media and academic reports on these stations that contain some information on their ownership (Sudibyo 2004, articles in *Cakram Magazine*, special edition on television December 2005, and various newspaper articles published in the first five years of the twenty-first century available on the Internet, for example, from daily newspapers *Tempo* and *Kompas*). They provide material to construct some ideas about the structure of holdings of the pioneer local stations. The official data on the ownership of these stations became available when they applied for a broadcasting license. I managed to copy some documents of these early stations in the regional broadcasting commission offices in Yogyakarta (Yogya TV, RBTv and ADTV), Bali (Bali TV) and North Sulawesi (Pacific TV and TV 5D). These documents served as the dataset to identify the characteristics of local stations' ownership in this period. Subsequently, I will compare my findings in the fieldwork locations with other cases reported in academic and media reports in order to identify the national patterns.

I argue that most stations established at this time were independent with the majority ownership in the hands of local investors coming from various backgrounds. This was the case in the three locations that I visited; most were independent and locally owned, i.e. they were not part of any group ownership. In Yogyakarta, two out of three stations were independent, and only Jogja TV was related to a group station (Indonesia Network). In Manado, local investors established all stations independently. While in Bali, out of four local stations only one broadcaster was part of a national group station (Bali Music Channel that is owned by Sindo Group). I will first explain the backgrounds

of the owners, then discuss the composition of ownership of local stations established by private investors, as these predominated.

3.2.1 Backgrounds of the owners

Since the opening up of the terrestrial television sector at the turn of the millennium, different local actors have shown interest in establishing television stations. They had a wide range of backgrounds that can be grouped in three categories namely local government bodies, social/religious organisations and private investors.

3.2.1.1 Local government bodies

Local government authorities were among the first to establish local stations. By the end of 2003, Sudibyo (2004:115) identified 17 stations set up by district governments throughout the archipelago (Table 1). These stations were mainly located in prosperous regions outside Java. According to the list provided by Sudibyo, by 2004, from 17 local stations established by such bodies, 12 were located outside Java. Following the implementation of fiscal decentralisation, regions rich in natural resources, for example districts in Kalimantan and Sumatra, received bigger fund allocations than other regions. Establishing a local television station became one of many prestige projects in these areas, serving as one of the important new symbols of local identity (I will elaborate this further in Chapter 7). Furthermore, the rapid development of local television in regions outside Java was also related to the fact that many of these areas, which are usually sparsely populated, could not receive television broadcasts. In some regions the establishment of local stations was aimed at providing television broadcasting to the region that had not yet received any television transmission (Sudibyo 2004).

Through the course of their development many of the stations established by local government bodies faced management and financial problems that threatened their existence. TV Siantar in North Sumatra for instance, was closed because of the conflicts between the mayor, who initiated the development of the station, and the local parliament because they did not agree on the allocation of public funds to finance it (Sudibyo 2004:151). Many local stations established in the formative era are no longer operating. According to the annual report of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission published in 2012,¹¹ by the end of 2011 there were six local public stations operating with a license to broadcast (p.52).¹²

¹¹ KPI's annual report 2011 http://www.kpi.go.id/download/laporan_tahunan/LAT_KPI_2011_Final.pdf (accessed 13 February 2013)

¹² Rianto et. al. (2014:82) provide a list of local public stations that consists of nine stations (Muba TV in Banyuasin South Sumatra, Belu TV in Belu East Nusa Tenggara, Ratih TV in Kebumen Central Java, Televisi

Table 1 Local television stations established by a local government in 2001-2003

	Name	Location
1.	Tanah Grogot TV	District Tanah Pasir, East Kalimantan
2.	TV Pemerintah Kandangan	District Kandangan, South Kalimantan
3.	Buntok TV	District Barito Selatan, Central Kalimantan
4.	Tarakan TV	Public relation department of the city of Tarakan, East Kalimantan
5.	Muara Teweh TV	District North Barito, Central Kalimantan
6.	TV Bulungan	District Bulungan East Kalimantan
7.	Pekanbaru TV (PTV)	District Pekanbaru, Riau
8.	Sangatta TV	District Sangatta, East Kalimantan
9.	Kutim TV	District Kutai Timur, East Kalimantan
10.	Surya Gemilang TV	District Indragiri Hulu, Riau
11.	Bengkalis TV	District Bengkalis, Riau
12.	TV Kota Semarang	City of Semarang, Central Java
13.	TV Pekalongan	City of Pekalongan, Central Java
14.	TV Purworejo	District Purworejo, Central Java
15.	Ratih TV	District Kebumen, Central Java
16.	TV Surakarta Hadiningrat	District Wonogiri, Central Java

Source: Sudibyo 2004:115.

After 2005 these stations were called public local stations (*Lembaga Penyiaran Publik Lokal*), and were subject to different regulations than the privately owned stations (Government Regulation #11 of 2005). They are funded mainly out of the local government budget and are not profit oriented, although they are permitted to receive income from advertisements. The interest of local government in establishing local television has declined since the new licensing procedures were implemented: these ruled that local public television is allowed to affiliate only with the national public television network TVRI. Since then, the development of these stations has followed a different track than their private counterparts.¹³

3.2.1.2 Social/religious organisations

Different religious organisations have also founded local stations. The two biggest Islamic organisations in Indonesia, Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama (NU), have set up local stations in their base cities. Muhammadiyah owns ADiTV in Yogyakarta, established in 2008. According to the document submitted as part of the licensing application in the KPID Yogyakarta, the station was founded with an initial capital of 15 billion Rupiah, with six shareholders, all residents of Yogyakarta and holding positions

Biinmafo in East Nusa Tenggara, Tarakan TV in Tarakan East Kalimantan, Tapin TV in North Tapin South Kalimantan, Televisi Tabalong in Tabalong South Kalimantan, Selaparang Televisi in West Nusatenggara, Batik TV in Pekalongan Central Java.

¹³ For further discussion on public local stations see Rianto et al. (2014).

in the organisation. The major shareholder (20%), HM Muchlas Abror, in 2005-2010 was one of the national leaders of Muhammadiyah.¹⁴ The local branch of Muhammadiyah is also behind the establishment of TV Tegal in Central Java. In Surabaya the Islamic organisation NU established TV9. Other religious based organisations have also set up local stations such as DAAI TV in Medan and Jakarta owned by Buddha Tzu Chi Indonesia, a charity organisation based on Buddhism and part of the international organisation. Dhamma TV in Malang East Java is also related to a Buddhist community as it was founded by Banthe Dhammavijayo, a prominent Buddhist monk in Indonesia. Some local stations are associated to Christian churches. For example, the founders of TATV in Solo are members of a local church (*Gereja Keluarga Allah*). Established in 2004, the station is located in the building that was used as a church. A similar case is Cahaya TV in Banten (*Jemaat Gratia Church*), which was established in 2002.

Apart from religious organisations, there are a few local stations that were established by non-profit institutions. TV Kendari in Southeast Sulawesi for instance, was set up by a local NGO (*Yayasan Cinta Alam*) that is active in environmental issues. Universities have also been involved in establishing local stations, for instance Civica TV set up by Gorontalo University. The participation of non-profit organisations in the development of local television shows that monetary gain was not the only motive to establish a local station. These socio-religious backgrounds of local station ownership indicate the importance of television in the dynamics of identity politics in post-New Order Indonesia. I will go into this further in Chapter 7 when I discuss the embedding of local television in the construction of local identity.

3.2.1.3 Private investors

The majority of local stations established during this period (and in the following period for that matter) were owned by private entrepreneurs with profit as their main goal. 'In regional Indonesia, schemes to bolster regional autonomy have enhanced the bargaining position of local business owners' (Ida 2011:13). In the first half of the 2000s, various media reported that local television became a new business venture for 'rich regional people' (Tempo 12 June 2005¹⁵). These local entrepreneurs can be put into two categories - those coming from the local media sector, such as owners of print media,

¹⁴ <http://www.dikdasmenpwmidy.or.id/biografi-tokoh/243-h-muhammad-muchlas-abror-> (accessed 24 November 2013)

¹⁵ 'Televisi Lokal. Euforia Orang Kaya Daerah' (Local Television. Regional Rich People Euphoria) <http://majalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2005/06/13/EB/mbm.20050613.EB119024.id.html> (accessed 17 April 2011).

radio stations and local cable television services, and those coming from the non-media business sector.

Media corporations were among the first to establish local stations. For instance, JTV in Surabaya, set up in 2001, belongs to Jawa Pos Group, one of the biggest newspaper publishers in Indonesia. Bali TV was established by the Bali Post Group in 2002, which owns newspapers and radio stations in Bali. These two enterprises have now established a group of local stations, which I will discuss further in the next section. Apart from these two rather extreme examples, there are smaller local media entrepreneurs that have extended their business by establishing a television station. Such entrepreneurs include owners of radio stations, cable television providers and internet providers. RBTv in Yogyakarta for instance, when first established in 2004, was owned by Reksa Birama Media Yogyakarta that also owns Radio Retjo Pentung, one of the oldest radio stations in the city. Other owners of radio stations that have established local stations are Favorit Televisi in Padang, West Sumatra (also owner of Favorit FM) and Malang TV in Malang, East Java (owner of KDS 8 FM). In Bali, Alam TV belongs to the owner of Blueline Internet provider that claims to be the largest broadband internet access provider on the island. In Kalimantan some local stations have been set up by providers of cable television service: for instance, Tepian Channel in Samarinda, Senggam TV in Berau and Paser TV in Tanah Grogot. By integrating different media platforms, these local media companies follow the horizontal expansion strategies set by big national media companies.

Local non-media entrepreneurs have also entered the television business. While some stations were established by large companies operating in the region, for instance Esa TV (subsidiary company of PT. Pan China International) in Bengkulu and PKTV (owned by Pupuk Kaltim) in Bontang East Kalimantan,¹⁶ a bigger percentage of local stations are owned by a consortium of local entrepreneurs with smaller business enterprises. These include a bakery, owners of property business and providers of communication infrastructures to companies that deal with natural resources. The major shareholder of TATV Solo for instance, is Justus Budianto, the owner of a famous local bakery company (Roti Dika). In Manado the first private local station TV Manado (TV-M) established in 2003 founded by a group of local business men, with, as the biggest share holder, John Hamenda who owned a variety of businesses particularly agribusinesses (Hill 2007:16). The second station, Pacific TV in Manado was established by Jusak Kereh, who previously was active in the spice business.

¹⁶ Both companies are active in the mining sector.

Many owners of these pioneer local stations were part of the local elites who had close relations with local authorities. The first two local stations in Indonesia, Bali TV (owned by Satria Narada) and JTV (owned by Dahlan Iskan) were founded by local businessmen that had close relationship with the provincial government (Ida 2011:19-21). In Yogyakarta one of the shareholders, GBPH H Prabukusumo, is the brother of the Sultan of Yogyakarta, who is also the governor. As member of the royal family, Prabukusumo also has several functions in the palace. This is also the case in North Sulawesi. Manado TV is owned by the son of the North Sulawesi Governor Sinyo Harry Sarundajang. Televisi 5 Dimensi in Tomohon North Sulawesi was also established by a local politician, namely Linneke Syennie Watoelangkow, who was deputy to Tomohon City Mayor, in the period 2005-2010. Another example is the owner of Gorontalo TV, Hamim Pou, a former television journalist who was elected as the head of District Bone Bolango in 2013. This structure of ownership marks the embedding of local television in local political dynamics. This close relationship between the ownership of a local station and local authorities is important to sustain the existence of local stations, not only to get a license to broadcast (see Chapter 2) but also for economic reasons, which I will examine in the next chapter.

3.2.2 Composition of ownership

The proposals submitted to the regional broadcasting commissions (KPID) as part of the licensing procedures reveal the composition of ownership of these local stations. I have made copies of some of such proposals available in the KPID offices in Bali (Bali TV), KPID Yogyakarta (Jogja TV, ADiTV and RBTv) and KPID North Sulawesi (Pacific TV and TV 5). These documents show that the ownership is in the hands of a consortium of shareholders. Jogja TV, when first established, had six shareholders. RBTv had six, ADiTV also six, Pacific TV three, Bali TV seven and TV5 in Tomohon four. The shareholders in all these stations are residents of the province, except for Jogja TV where one is from Bali province. Interestingly, in some stations the shares are held by family members, for instance, Pacific TV in Manado, Bali TV in Denpasar and TV5 where the spouse, mother, brothers or sisters of the main shareholder are listed as owners. This practice raises some doubts as to whether the proposal reflects the actual ownership structure of a local station. It is likely that such composition of shareholders was set up merely to meet the formal requirements to get a license.

The documents that I have looked at showed some violations of the regulations, including the major control being into the hands of people outside the region. This is the

case for instance, with Jogja TV.¹⁷ The major shareholder (50% of shares) is Satria Narada¹⁸ who is a resident of Denpasar Bali. He is a Balinese businessman who also holds shares in local television stations under the management of Bali Pos Group, which is called Indonesia Network. Other shareholders include GBPH H Prabukusumo, the brother of the Sultan of Yogyakarta, who holds 25% of the shares. Interestingly, 15% of the shares are owned by Anak Agung Sri Utari, the wife of Satria Narada, who also owns a share in Bali TV. One shareholder has a Balinese name (Oka Kusumayuda) although according to the identity card submitted in the proposal he is a resident of Yogyakarta. However, it is well known that Satria Narada always places a Balinese male representative in television stations that he owns. Given the fact that in Indonesia it is very easy to get a residence card, it is plausible to assume that he is not actually a local resident. Based on this composition it is clear that the majority ownership of Jogja TV is not composed of local people as defined in the regulation.

Another example of infringement of the regulations is the cross-ownership criteria. While the Broadcasting Law #32 has clearly stated that an owner of a local television can only have one radio station or one print media in the same service area, many owners of local stations have multiple radio stations. For instance, this is the case with Satria Narada who owns hold a share of more than 50% in Jogja TV and two radio stations in the region. In Bali he owns a television station, radio stations and newspapers, a cross-media ownership that is prohibited in the regulations. Curiously, in Yogyakarta the cross-media ownership data of Satria Narada was reported in the proposal but the authority did not disqualify him as the station was granted permission to broadcast. This is an indication of the lack of transparency in the licensing process that I have discussed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, changes in the ownership structure often take place, especially after the license to broadcast has been issued by the authority. Such changes however, are difficult to monitor because the owners do not always report them. The difficulty in monitoring the actual structure of ownership of a local station will become apparent when I discuss the emergence of acquisition practices of local television by group stations in the next section.

The analysis of the ownership structure of local stations established in the formative period and the first half of the expansion period reveals that the local television landscape in Indonesia consisted mainly of independent local stations established by local investors from various backgrounds. It was mainly local actors that

¹⁷ Proposal for broadcasting of Jogja TV submitted to the KPID Yogyakarta.

¹⁸ He was a journalist who now invests in different media enterprises from newspaper (Bali Post), radio (in Banyuwangi and Yogyakarta) and television (in Bali, Bandung and Yogyakarta).

initiated the founding of local stations in their regions. Looking back at the history of Indonesian television, the interest in local television was already apparent since the inception of the state television TVRI in the 1970s (Kitley 2000). Regional television stations were commissioned on the initiatives of several provincial governments with different companies operating in the region. When the government introduced a private television service at the beginning of the 1990s there were proposals from local media companies in different regions (Armando 2011:127). The regulations on local ownership facilitated these already existing interests.

3.3 The ownership landscape in 2012

By 2012 the ownership landscape of local television in Indonesia showed a different pattern than in the formative period due to the rise of groups that own local stations in different areas. From 443 stations licensed by 2013,¹⁹ 70 per cent, are part of group ownership. This is a major shift from the early period when most were independent stations. In this section, I will examine the changes in the ownership structure of local television in the period following the implementation of the licensing procedures. The focus is on the rise of group ownership by identifying its contributory factors and considering its impact on the development of independent local stations.

3.3.1 The rise of group ownership

Herbert H. Howard, in his analysis of television station ownership in the United States, defines group ownership as follows:

The term group ownership is used primarily when referring to geographically separated stations under license to the same organization. Such ownership may be held by the networks; by independent firms whose primary activity is broadcasting; by publishing, media, or film organizations; or by broadcasting subsidiaries of firms with other diversified business interests. (2006:3)

This definition refers specifically to the situation in the United States where group ownership 'is a long established characteristic of broadcasting' (ibid.). In Indonesia, group ownership of television station is a new phenomenon that began to take shape in post-New Order era after the liberalisation of the broadcasting sector took place. This is part of the emerging trend towards consolidation of media corporations. In the second half of the 2000s Indonesia witnessed the acquisition and mergers of the ten existing

¹⁹ This is based on the data from my correspondence with Feriandi Mirza, head of the broadcasting data management, Depkominfo, on 12 January 2013.

national private stations. As the result, the ownership of these stations has come into the hands of only five groups. MNC group holds the ownership of RCTI, Global TV and TPI, making it the biggest player in the market. Emtek group, owner of SCTV, took over Indosiar. Group CT, the owner of Trans TV has also consolidated its position by the acquisition of Lativi (now Trans7). The same strategy also employed by VIVA group that owns ANTV and Global TV. The ownership landscape of local television stations has been shaped by this consolidation trend.

Although the rise of groups that own multiple local stations became most apparent by the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, such groups have been part of the ownership landscape of local television in Indonesia ever since local stations started to appear at the beginning of the millennium. Various groups have shown interest from the very beginning. Jawa Pos Group and Media Bali Post Group are the pioneers of station groups. Jawa Pos Group, Indonesia's largest newspaper network with more than 80 regional dailies in major towns and districts across the archipelago (Ida 2011:18), started by setting up JTV in Surabaya in 2001 followed by other stations in different regions. In 2008, the group established Jawa Pos Media Corporation (JPMC), a holding company for its 43 local stations (by 2012). Media Bali Post Group of Satria Narada, with Bali Post daily and other local newspapers and radio in the region, has also founded a group of local stations called Indonesia Network. After establishing Bali TV in Denpasar in 2002 the group started to expand in different regions. By the 2012, the group had seven stations. MNC group has also been active in establishing local stations in different regions (Ida 2011:15). By the end of the decade new groups were emerging. As the number of local stations grew, so did group ownership.

In recent years some academic reports have been published that contain information about television group ownership (Nugroho et al. 2011, Lim 2011, Sudiby and Patria 2013 and Rianto et al. 2014). The most recent and comprehensive report on the topic is published by TIFA Foundation and PR2Media and based on the data from the Depkominfo, financial reports and the official websites of these groups (Rianto et al. 2014). I will rely on these reports when analysing the rise of multiple ownership of local stations and combine it with my own data that consist of the document I received from the Depkominfo and interviews with members of regional broadcasting commissions (KPID) in Yogyakarta, Bali and Manado. In 2014 there are at least 14 groups that together own 311 local stations, or 70 percent of local stations that have received a

broadcast license.²⁰ I divide these groups in three categories, namely the groups of existing national private stations that had to form a national network of local stations, the groups of the new national television networks and the non-network groups, i.e. groups that own multiple local stations but do not form a national broadcasting network.

3.3.1.1 Local television groups of the existing private national stations

Following the implementation of the network broadcasting system (SSJ), as discussed in Chapter 2, the existing private national stations have formed a network by establishing their own local stations. The latest data (2013) shows that all ten existing national private stations have established member stations in various regions (see Table 1). By the end of 2013, these groups consisted of 230 local stations.

Table 2 Local stations of the existing national networks

Groups	Networks	Number of licensed local stations	Total
MNC	RCTI	18	50
	MNC TV	15	
	Global TV	17	
Emtek	SCTV	27	50
	Indosiar	23	
CT Corp	Trans TV	24	52
	Trans7	28	
VIVA group	ANTV	23	49
	TV One	26	
Media Indonesia	Metro TV	29	29
Total			230

Source: Data Depkominfo 2013

Officially, these stations are registered as local stations that are members of a network with the existing stations in Jakarta as their parent stations. They are thus comparable to the owned-and-operated type of local stations in the United States where national networks own some stations. These networks are exempted from the regulations that restrict multiple-ownership. The regulations only apply to new players in the sector, i.e. those established after the implementation of the new broadcasting law in 2002. The existing national private stations are allowed to hold up to 90% of the shares in local stations in the area in which their relay stations were located before the

²⁰ This number is based on the data gathered from the data on the distribution of broadcast license from the Depkominfo and from other official sources of the groups that include information in their official websites and financial reports.

implementation of the government regulation in 2005.²¹ As I have explained in the previous chapter, this indicates the government's many inconsistencies in implementing the new regulations in the television sector. Because of this, the number of local stations owned by these networks will continue to grow as part of their expansion strategies.

Because they are licensed as local stations, i.e. allocated a channel in a particular service area, they are subject to the same regulations as other local private stations, both in terms of ownership and content. However, it is an open secret that the establishment of these stations is only a formality for the existing national stations to meet official requirements. In terms of ownership, Rianto et al. (2014) who have looked at the financial reports of some networks found that the local share of these stations is minimal, in some cases even zero (p.20). There are some doubts that the ownership of local stations that are officially registered under the name of local owners really reflects the actual ownership (ibid.). Furthermore, as a local station they are obliged to broadcast local content (at least 10 percent of their overall programming). However, these stations broadcast a much smaller percentage of local content than the required 10 percent. These programmes are broadcast in off-peak viewing hours such as very early in the morning and are often repeated. Hence, in practice, these local stations function merely as relay stations. They are therefore different from local stations that exclusively produce and broadcast their own programmes.

Since it was not until 2011 that the existing national networks started to establish local stations, it remains to be seen how these will develop further. The emergence of local stations that are part of the existing private national stations will inevitably shape the development of local television in the coming years. First of all, they will affect the growth of local television as new applicants have to compete with these existing networks in order to get a television channel, leaving a few channels over for independent local stations. In fact, in densely populated regions, such as in Java and Bali, most local channels have been filled by these networks. Furthermore, their operations in the region might lead to some changes in the economic practices of the existing local stations, the topic that I will discuss in the next chapter.

3.3.1.2 *New national network stations*

Apart from the existing private national stations that have turned their legal status into networks, new national private station networks have been established in the beginning

²¹ Article 31(3): [...] pengecualian terhadap ketentuan dimaksud pada ayat (1) [...], memungkinkan kepemilikan saham lebih dari 49% dan paling banyak 90% pada badan hukum ke-2 dan seterusnya hanya untuk Lembaga Penyiaran Swasta yang telah mengoperasikan sampai dengan jumlah stasiun relay yang dimilikinya sebelum ditetapkan Peraturan Pemerintah ini.

of the 2010s. The list of these networks is presented in Table 2. These groups formed an owned-and-operated type of network similar to the existing private national stations, in which they established or took over local stations in order to form a network with a national coverage. The local member stations function merely as relay stations, as is the case with the existing private national stations.

The first of new national network is Kompas TV, launched in 2011 by the Kompas Gramedia Group. It is the biggest print-media company in Indonesia with Kompas, the biggest daily national newspaper, and Gramedia (book stores and publisher) as its leading brands. The Group had attempted to build a national television broadcaster at the beginning of the 2000s by launching TV7 but not long after its establishment the station was taken over by Trans Corp, owner a national station, Trans TV. In 2011 it started again with KompasTV, first limitedly distributed through pay television channels but soon expanded in the terrestrial sector by setting up a network of local stations. The launch of Kompas TV by Kompas Gramedia Group marks the expansion of the biggest print media corporation into the broadcasting sector. By 2013 the network consisted of 12 stations.

Table 3 New network groups

Group	Network	Number of licensed stations
1. Kompas Gramedia	Kompas TV	9
2. Indika	NET.	4
3. Rajawali	RTV	18
4. VIVA	Viva Sport	3
5. DAAI	Buddha Tzu Chi Indonesia	2

Source: Depkominfo 2013

In 2013, a national network, NET., was launched by its owner, Indika Group that is active in the energy and natural resources sector (Rianto 2014:47). The group has a subsidiary company in media and communication technologies with production houses, radio stations and promotional companies in their portfolio. In establishing the television network, the group has taken over the Spacetoon groups (*TV Anak Group*) of PT Duta Visual Mandiri, a group of local stations that used to broadcast programmes for children. There are four local stations of Spacetoon group that have received a broadcast license. However, in their website NET. claims to have nine local stations that cover 25 cities throughout the country.²²

²² <http://www.netmedia.co.id/about> (accessed on 11 November 2014)

Following the launch of these two new networks, other groups have established a national network as well. These include RTV of Rajawali Group of Peter F. Sondakh that is mainly active in mining, agricultural and property. The group was involved in the establishment of RCTI, the first private station established in Indonesia. The group started by establishing a television station called B-Channel in Jakarta in 2009. In May 2014, the group changed the name to RTV. There are 18 stations licensed under the name of B-Channel station. Another group that has started a network station is VIVA Group, the same owner of two existing national networks (TV One and ANTV). They established a sport channel Viva SportTV that by 2013 consisted of three licensed local stations. Initially distributed through pay television providers, the group has expanded to terrestrial television market. Furthermore, DAAI TV, owned by Buddha Tzu Chi Indonesia with two local stations in Jakarta and Medan, also falls under this category although unlike the other groups, it focuses mainly on religious and social programmes.

There are some controversies around the foundation of these new networks. First of all, they are not licensed as network stations. According to the regulation, a network station has to be licensed as such. Both Kompas TV and NET TV have not received any official license. The member stations of RTV are licensed under the name of B-Channel. Following the launch of KompasTV, the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission issued a legal statement declaring that the station does not have permission to operate as a national network. Its cooperation with local stations is considered illegal. However, this statement did not lead to any legal action. In order to avoid this controversy, KompasTV proclaimed itself as a content provider instead of a television broadcaster. This way, it is not illegal for local stations to relay its programming. The network continues to exist and has grown in terms of member stations since it was established in 2011. Secondly, there has been some criticism of the alleged transfer of ownership between local stations and these new national networks. There is evidence that these local member stations have been taken over by the parent stations. I will come back to this in the section 3.3.

3.3.1.3 Non-networks group ownership

The last category of group ownership is that of groups that own local stations in different geographical areas but do not necessarily form a network station with uniform programming, as it is the case with the two previous categories. The member stations have a certain degree of independence in producing and setting-up their own programming. By 2013 there were at least five of these non-network groups, presented in Table 3. In contrast to the network groups, this last category gains much less

attention in public debates. There are several reasons for this. First of all, in terms of ownership, these groups usually form a consortium with local partners. This is the case for instance, with Jogja TV, as I have explained earlier. The same strategy is applied by MNC group (Ida 2011:15). However, it is difficult to verify the accuracy of the ownership of shares in these groups. Second, because these groups do not broadcast the same programmes, they attract less public attention than the network type of groups. Member stations have a certain degree of independence in producing and setting up their own programming. Some groups produce a few programmes that are broadcast by their members.

Table 4 Non-network station groups

Groups	Owner	Number of licensed stations
JPMC	Jawa Pos Multimedia Corporation	20
Sindo	MNC Group	12
Indonesia Network	Bali Post Media Group	7
Cahaya TV Network	Cahaya Televisi Indonesia	4
Top TV Network	PT Jayapura Televisi	2

Most of these groups are new players in the terrestrial television market and entered the sector after the fall of the Suharto regime. From the list above, only Sindo TV group is part of an 'old' player, namely the MNC Group. The group also has three national terrestrial stations in its portfolio (RCTI, Global TV and MNC TV), making it the biggest television corporation in Indonesia. While JPMC, Indonesia Network and Sindo TV were established by multimedia corporations, other station groups came into being as an expansion of a single local station, including Cahaya TV Network and TOP TV Network. CahayaTV Network began with Cahaya TV in Banten, established in 2002, and now has added four new stations to the group. Another combination that started from a local station is Top TV Network in Papua, which started with a station in Jayapura and has added a few more in the region.

The emergence of local station groups in the second half of the expansion period is part of the consolidation trend that characterised the media sector in post-New Order Indonesia. This trend will most likely continue in the coming years as there are big media corporations that have started a television service, such as Tempo TV (group of Tempo magazine and daily) and Berita Satu Group (owned by Lippo Bank group that has a business line in pay television). The broadcasts of these groups are accessible mainly through pay television service. However, not long after I finished the fieldwork in 2012,

they also started to build affiliations with independent stations that broadcast some of their programmes.

3.3.2 *Contributory factors in the rise of group ownership*

In explaining the consolidation of station groups in the USA in the late 1990s, Howard writes:

In part, the long-term trend toward consolidation of stations into larger groups resumed as television stations found a renewed optimism for competing successfully in the multimedia era. Indeed, enlarging a group of stations was viewed by many broadcasters as a necessary means toward becoming more competitive. Part of the impetus for expansion also came from the inherent economies of operation and profit opportunities available to multiple-station owners. In this sense, economics was the driving force behind the impending wave of consolidation in the television business. (1998:30)

Similar to the situation in the USA, economics is the main factor that explains the rise of group ownership in Indonesia. The strategic economic position of the terrestrial television market has led to the consolidation of local stations' ownership. Furthermore, weak law enforcement has made it possible for media corporations to pursue their economic interests with minimal interference from the authority.

As I have stated earlier, television plays an important role in the media convergence process of the national media corporations. Print media companies started to enter the sector in order to strengthen their market position, such as *Kompas* (the biggest national daily), *Bali Post* (based in Bali), *Jawa Pos* (based in East Java) and *Suara Merdeka* (based in Central Java). Considering the fact that television in Indonesia serves as the main medium for entertainment and information (Lim 2011), it has become the major source of advertisement income. In Indonesia, spending on advertising has grown significantly in recent years as the market for consumer goods is expanding (see Table 4). Television absorbs the biggest part of the media advertising. In 2012, 64% of media advertising spending went to television, followed by 33% to newspapers and 3% to magazines.²³ Because of this, television forms an important sector for media companies. The establishment of group stations is one of the strategies employed by such companies to strengthen their market position. The more stations a group owns, the

²³ 'Belanja Iklan Selama 2012 Naik 20%' (Advertising Spending in 2012 Increased by 20%)
<http://www.metrotvnews.com/metronews/read/2013/03/06/2/136204/Belanja-Iklan-selama-2012-Naik-20> (accessed 14 November 2013)

greater the chance that it will attract advertisers. In the competitive media market where corporations are horizontally and vertically expanding this consolidation of ownership is necessary to survive.

Table 5 Growth of advertising spending, 2006-12

Year	Spending (in trillion rupiah)	Growth (%)
2007	35,088	17
2008	41,708	19
2009	48,585	16
2010	59,287	23
2011	72,680	23
2012	87,471	20

Source: Nielsen, as cited in Sudibyo and Patria 2013:271 and in Indonesia Finance Today.²⁴

Importantly, the rise of group stations is also partly related to the weak law enforcement that characterised the regulatory practices in the television sector in post-New Order era. Although some legal frameworks have been set up to restrict the concentration of television ownership, as I have explained in the introduction of this chapter, by the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century group and cross-media ownership is pervasive. Two regulatory bodies that oversee the sector, Depkominfo and the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission, are often in conflict in enforcing the regulations. In the case of Kompas TV for instance, although the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission has declared the station illegal, because the power to take a legal action lies with the government, it cannot take any further action. The government, on the other hand, tends to protect the interest of big media corporations. As a result, Kompas TV continues to operate and expand. This weak law enforcement has opened the door for media corporations to pursue their economic interests with a very little interference. The authorities have failed to prevent the concentration of ownership of television broadcasters both at the national as well as the regional level.

The rise of group ownership of local television is very likely to continue in the coming years as the competition between media corporations is increasingly fierce. Because the terrestrial television market still forms the biggest television market in Indonesia, local terrestrial broadcasters will still form a pivotal part of both the vertical and horizontal consolidation processes of media corporations in the coming years. The anticipated digital switch in 2018 will open more space for the growth of local stations, especially in the densely populated regions where no more analogue channels are

²⁴ 'Sektor Telekomunikasi Pengiklan Terbesar' (Telecommunication sector is the biggest advertiser. <http://www.indonesiainancetoday.com/read/42108/Sektor-Telekomunikasi-Pengiklan-Terbesar-pada-2012> (accessed 14 November 2013)

available. As the number of local stations grows, these emerging groups will have more chances to consolidate their position in the market.

3.4 Implications for the development of local television

In the United States of America, where local stations have historically constituted the television landscape and on which Indonesia modeled its decentralised television system, the tendency of consolidation of local television ownership has been part of the dynamics of the television sector. Group ownership is a long established practice that had developed after the post-World War II licensing of TV stations (Howard 1998:23). Such groups continue to expand into new markets or add stations in existing markets in order to increase revenues. In his analysis of television station ownership in the United States, Herbert H. Howard (2006) concludes that 'with 85.9% of all television stations in the United States now under multiple-station ownership (beginning of 2003), group ownership of stations has become the "norm" for the television industry' (p.74).

My analysis shows that the consolidation trend of local television ownership has become apparent in Indonesia. The rise of group ownership in the second half of the expansion period demonstrates the seemingly inevitable development of the television sector in the context of a decentralised liberalised television system. Various critics have voiced their concerns (e.g. Nugroho et al. (2012), Ida (2011), Haryanto 2011). Nugroho et al (2012) for instance, argue that "The concentration of the media industry through mergers and acquisitions (M&A) between media companies has threatened the spirit of 'diversity of ownership' and 'diversity of information' in the media' (p.4-5). Ignatius Haryanto, in his study on the implication of media concentration (focusing on national media) for journalists and journalism, concludes that

the concentration of media ownership effectively into the hands of a relatively small number of major media groups has created a situation where media collude with business and political interests. It has resulted in a diminution of the quality of journalism, surpassed by media bias towards the economic and political interests. (2011:114)

In this last part of the chapter, I would like to deal with the question of how this rise of group ownership shapes the development of local television. Despite the fact that this trend only started to gain significance towards the end of the last decade, during my fieldwork in 2010-2012, some immediate impact on the existing local private stations could already be observed, namely the take-over practices on independent local stations and their ramifications on the programming of these stations.

3.4.1 *Acquisition practices of independent stations*

Since the implementation of the decentralised television system, local television has become the only way to enter the terrestrial television market. So a television broadcaster wanting to enter the national market has to establish stations in different locations or to form an affiliation with the existing stations. However, as I have explained in Chapter 2, the procedures for obtaining a broadcast license are time-consuming. Furthermore, the most desirable areas, i.e. areas with large population mainly in the cities, are already running out of available channels. Therefore, it has become common practice for new television networks to take over the existing independent local stations with broadcast licenses.

These take-over practices were apparent in my fieldwork locations where Kompas TV has taken over some independent local stations. In Yogyakarta it recruited RBTv, in Bali Dewata TV and in Manado Pacific TV. By the end of 2012 the network consisted of 11 local stations of which only one was officially owned, namely Kompas TV Surabaya. The trend is also apparent in other regions. Asep Cuwantoro (2013), a specialised advisor of the Central Java Broadcasting Commission, stated that in his province the majority of local stations have been taken over by group stations. In Semarang TVB has already been taken over by Kompas TV; Pro TV is part of Sun TV; TVKU has joined Suara Merdeka Group (newspaper publisher) and Cakra TV has gone in with Nusantara Group of Bali TV. In Magelang MGTv has been taken over by SUN TV, as is the case with BMS Purwokerto. In Purworejo, Tanah Liat TV has joined Kompas TV. Four new stations in Pati that are in the trial period are also part of group stations. These include Kartika TV (B Channel Group), Simpang Lima TV (JTV Group), Kudus TV (Lippo Group), SMTV (Suara Merdeka Group).

It is difficult to discover the actual share of the group in the ownership structure of these local stations. This is because it is illegal to trade television licenses. When asked for clarification by the authority, local stations that are being taken over by a big group maintain that they still hold the majority of shares. This is the case for instance with Dewata TV in Bali. Following the broadcasting of Kompas TV programmes on its station, the regional Broadcasting Commission (KPID) summoned the representatives of the station to account for this. According to the member of KPID whom I interviewed, the station explained that the cooperation with Kompas TV is limited in programming. After this meeting, the commission did not take any further action. It is however, an open secret that the take-overs mean changes in ownership. The Director of Manado TV, Harry Vanderslot, told me that his station was approached by Kompas TV. The network offered to take over 70% of the ownership (Interview 9 February 2012). Furthermore,

the changes in the infrastructure facilities of the stations that become part of the network support this argument. Stations that are taken over by Kompas TV for instance, receive new facilities such as new offices, a website and are starting to change their programming. RBTv in Yogyakarta moved to a new office in 2012 after the station was taken over by Kompas TV. The structure of the organisation of this station has also been transformed as the representative of Kompas holds a board position (Rianto et al. 2014). All these changes point to the transfer of ownership.

The rise of group ownership poses challenges to the existence of independent local stations. Undoubtedly they have to compete with group stations that have a stronger financial position. Consequently many smaller independent stations are potential prey for group stations that want to expand. However, a few stations manage to retain their independence and even manage to expand. TATV for instance, has developed into a local cross-medial corporation by establishing different lines of business including a tabloid (TA Tabloid), a radio station (TA Radio), an online news portal (Manteb.com) and an event organiser (TA Enterprise). For many local entrepreneurs, local television has become the foundation of a local multi-media corporation. However, TATV is an exception rather than a norm.

3.4.2 Implications for programming

One of the rationales behind the policy on local ownership was the creation of diversity of ownership that was assumed would lead to diversity of content. The consolidation of local television ownership has given rise to concerns about the social role of local television in supporting locality. This is not a baseless fear, of course. Various studies in the USA show that there are correlations between the structure of ownership of local stations and their programming. Scott et al. (2008), for instance, found that the ownership structure of local stations (chain or independent television station ownership) influences the ways in which local stations produce local news. 'The findings indicate that the news department operated by a small media group produced more local news, more locally produced video, [...] than the larger chain-based broadcast groups investigated, suggesting a deeper commitment to local news quality' (Scott et al 2008:84).

Compared to the United States, the situation in Indonesia is relatively new. It might take several more years before we can make a comprehensive analysis of the impact of the rise of group ownership on the programming practice of local stations. However, there are some indications that show that the shift in ownership from an

independent station to control by a group affects the programming of local stations.²⁵ There are indeed, some groups that started to create a national network with uniform programming, such as Kompas TV, NET TV and Sindo groups with SINDO TV programming. As part of the networks, local stations are turned into relay stations by broadcasting uniform national programming. This construction inevitably reduces the portion of local programmes, which, in the public discourse, are seen as one of the characteristics of local television.

However there are also groups that implement different programming strategies. Local stations of JPMC and Bali TV groups for instance, have their own programming. The only common programmes that are broadcast by all member stations of Nusantara Network of Bali Post Group for example, are national and international news produced by Bali TV. Most local members of these groups are still operating 'independently', at least in terms of programming. Thus, the take-over practice does not automatically lead to uniform programming, although it remains to be seen whether or not these emerging station groups will turn into an owned-and-operated type of network and implement uniform programming.

The proponents of the affiliations between local stations with national networks argue that cooperation can help to increase the quality of the programming of local stations. Some of my informants in Bali for instance, explained that the affiliation of Dewata TV with Kompas TV has made the channel more interesting than other local stations. Rianto et al. (2014:50) also state in their report that the affiliation of independent stations with group stations can benefit the local stations in terms of variety and quality of the programming. Nevertheless, they have also raised concerns about the decrease in the portion of local content. I will discuss the topic of local content in more detail in Chapter 5.

3.5 Conclusion

According to Eli M. Noam (2009), 'the issue of media concentration has a long past and will have an even longer future. It is one of those fundamental issues of distribution of power and wealth that every generation needs to resolve' (p.9). Less than a decade after the fall of President Suharto the media sector that was monopolised by the regime has turned into a vibrant and highly competitive sector in which media ownership has become one of the central issues with which the post-New Order generation has to deal. In this chapter I have focused on scrutinising the ownership aspect of the

²⁵ Information about the network affiliation and local news content of each station was determined by viewing station web sites and checking local programming listings in newspapers.

decentralisation process of the television sector. I have demonstrated that although localism has been translated in the regulations on television ownership, it remains vulnerable and is under pressure due to the consolidation trend of media corporations. By examining the contours of the ownership of the emerging local stations I have shown that the ownership landscape of local television in post-New Order Indonesia has undergone changes since its introduction at the beginning of the twenty-first century. A decade after the decentralisation television system was institutionalised the landscape has changed from a plethora of independent stations with diverse ownership backgrounds into a one that is dominated by group ownership, due to the economic importance of terrestrial television and weak law enforcement.

As is the case in many liberal democracies, the consolidation of media ownership has led to fears that ‘communications media are increasingly controlled by an ever-shrinking number of firms, and that those firms are capable of affecting public opinion, the national agenda and democracy itself’ (Noam 2009:9). In this respect Indonesia is not an exception. I have discussed how the consolidation trend of media corporations impacted on the development of local television. The acquisition of the existing independent stations by group stations is the immediate visible result in the second half of the expansion period. In the new regulations the local character of television was defined by its ownership, based on the assumption that local ownership would lead to local content. The take-over trend therefore has led to fears that local television will no longer broadcast local content. My analysis however, showed that in practice this does not automatically lead to uniform programming. Although some groups have indeed turned their member stations into nothing but relay stations, other groups maintain the independence of their members producing their own programmes. As this is a very recent development that took place after I finished my fieldwork, I cannot cover this topic thoroughly in this dissertation. It is definitely an urgent and important subject that needs to be investigated in future research.

Chapter 4

In Search of a Viable Model

Economic practices of local television



As explained in Chapter 3, the landscape of local television in post-New Order Indonesia is dominated by commercial broadcasters. Because the main concern of these emerging local stations is profit making, it is important to investigate the way they conduct their business. Their economic practices impact on how television programmes are selected, financed and produced, and therefore how these stations interact with their public. In this chapter I discuss the economic model of local stations in the first decade of their development (2002-2012) by identifying the contours and explaining factors that shape them.

Media reports during the expansion period of local television provided some idea of the economy of these new local broadcasters. Their first decade of development was characterised by financial difficulties. An article in a financial/economic magazine SWA for instance, explained that after operating for a number of years many stations had not been able to generate sufficient income to cover their expenses.¹ According to the association of local television ATVLI, by 2005 of their 18 members only two stations had almost reached a breakeven point, i.e. paying back their investment cost, namely Bali TV in Denpasar and JTV in Surabaya.² Most other stations were struggling to make a profit. Some stations were even forced to close down.³ Despite this however, most stations continued to broadcast and the number of new stations continued to increase (see Chapter 2). On a positive note, in 2007 Nielsen reported that most local stations in the cities reviewed⁴ increased their revenues by 11-18 per cent on the previous year (Nielsen 2007:2). While these media reports provide some ideas about the general financial situation of local stations, much is still unknown about their economic practices. What are the mechanisms by which they finance their operation and what contributory factors have shaped the economic model?

Apart from media reports there has been little attention paid by media scholars to the economic practices of these emerging local stations. Studies of Indonesian television economy focus predominately on national television (see, for instance, Sudibyo and Patria 2013). This can be partly explained by the relatively marginal position of local television in a landscape dominated by national (network) broadcasters that together claim more than 97% of television viewership in Indonesia (Nielsen

¹ 'Sampai Kapan TV-TV Lokal Tekor Terus?' (How long will local stations continue to loss?) In <http://swa.co.id/listed-articles/sampai-kapan-tv-tv-lokal-tekor-terustanya> (accessed 3 Februari 2005).

² Televisi Lokal. Euforia Orang Kaya Daerah' (Local Television. Regional Rich People Euphoria) <http://majalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2005/06/13/EB/mbm.20050613.EB119024.id.html> (accessed 17 April 2011).

³ These are for instance, TV Papua and TV Siantar and Deli TV in North Sumatra.

⁴ These include 10 big cities: Jakarta and its surrounding areas, Surabaya and its surrounding areas, Bandung, Semarang, Medan, Makassar, Yogyakarta and its surrounding areas, Palembang, Denpasar and Banjarmasin

2011:3-4). Furthermore, because of its constructed social identity as an instrument to further local democratic processes (see Chapter 1), studies on this television service have focused mostly on its socio-political and cultural dimension. This chapter offers the first attempt to document economic practices of local stations in the first decade of their development.

I have developed a model of television economy that is inductively based on my fieldwork findings, but also borrows from literature on television economy (Magder 2004, Barwise and Ehrenberg 1988, Curtin and Shattuc 2009; Doyle 2010). The analysis relies predominantly on interviews with (former) managers and marketing staff of the local stations investigated (Bali TV, Jogja TV, TATV and Pacific TV). The interviews were conducted in the period 2010-2012. Furthermore, to complement the interviews, the analysis is also based on the data from one week viewing the broadcasts of the four stations, in which I identify different advertisement-related practices (see Table 1 for the viewing dates). Thus the figures presented in the analysis are based mainly on the estimations made by the interviewees and data from the viewing week. I realise that these figures are open to question as I cannot crosscheck them since I was unable to gain access to their financial data. However, my focus is not so much on assessing the financial situation of these stations but rather on identifying different ways they finance themselves and explaining their underlying mechanisms. These insights are important in understanding their relationship with other social actors, and therefore their embedding in local political, social and economic dynamics.

Table 1: Dates for the viewing week in four stations

Station	Dates
Jogja TV	16-22 September 2010
TATV	5,6,7,10,11,15,30 October 2010 ⁵
Bali TV	22-28 October 2011
Pacific TV	13-20 January 2012

The four local stations that I investigated can be classified as big local broadcasters because they have full day and evening broadcasting.⁶ Except for TATV, all stations are located in the provincial capital city. At the time of the fieldwork period, TATV and Pacific TV were independent stations, while Jogja TV and Bali TV belonged to

⁵ For this station, I had to construct a week programming by using two dates from different weeks (15 and 30) as the records for these two days were missing due to electricity cut outs during the recording.

⁶ There are local stations that operate only for a few hours a day. RBTv and ADiTV in Yogyakarta, for instance, only operated for about six hours a day during my fieldwork in 2010. The same case applies to Manado TV in North Sulawesi. Other local stations in Bali (Dewata TV, BMC and Alam Semesta TV) had shorter broadcasting hours than Bali TV.

the same group ownership. They all had been operating for more than five years, with Bali TV as the oldest station, on the air since 2002. The stations investigated are often mentioned in the public discussions as an example of a successful local television station and often serve as the model for smaller and newer stations.

I argue that in the first decade of the development of local television, local stations in Indonesia have been experimenting with various economic models. Unlike most commercial television broadcasters that rely mainly on *the two-market model* (Barwise and Ehrenberg 1988; Magder 2004), in which income is generated from advertisements shown in television programmes, local broadcasters rely on an array of business practices that include, but go beyond, the spot advertisements. This economic model is characterised by its 'open' character, as it relies on sponsorship in various forms. I will explain first why local stations in Indonesia fail to implement the usual two-market model of television economy, suggesting that this is caused mainly by the existence of the national television commercial broadcasters. Afterwards, I will discuss strategies employed by these stations to generate income that are borrowed from practices of the older local media. Finally, I will discuss the implications of this economic model in understanding the embedding of local television in the networks of local actors.

4.1 The failed adoption of the two-market model

When first introduced, as I have explained in Chapter 1 and 2, local television was envisioned as operating according to the two-market model. However, it soon became clear that such a model is not appropriate for these emerging stations.

4.1.1 Two-market model of commercial television

According to the two-market model, a commercial television broadcaster is dealing with two distinct but closely related markets, namely the advertisers and the viewers (see Figure 1). The distinction between these markets lies mainly in their function for the broadcasters: the viewer market provides the means to generate an income from the advertiser market.

In the viewer market commercial broadcasters compete for viewers' attention. Nevertheless, this does not yield any income for the broadcaster directly. While viewers might have to pay for a television license or a cable subscription to have access to television at all, essentially they pay nothing for watching a television programme. For television broadcasters the importance lies in the time that the viewers spend watching television programmes. It is this viewing time that becomes the main product offered by

commercial broadcasters in the advertiser market. Jenness and Pierson (2013:191) term this process as ‘the commodification of audiences’. Therefore broadcasters are willing to invest in the production or acquisition of programmes that can attract a large number of viewers.

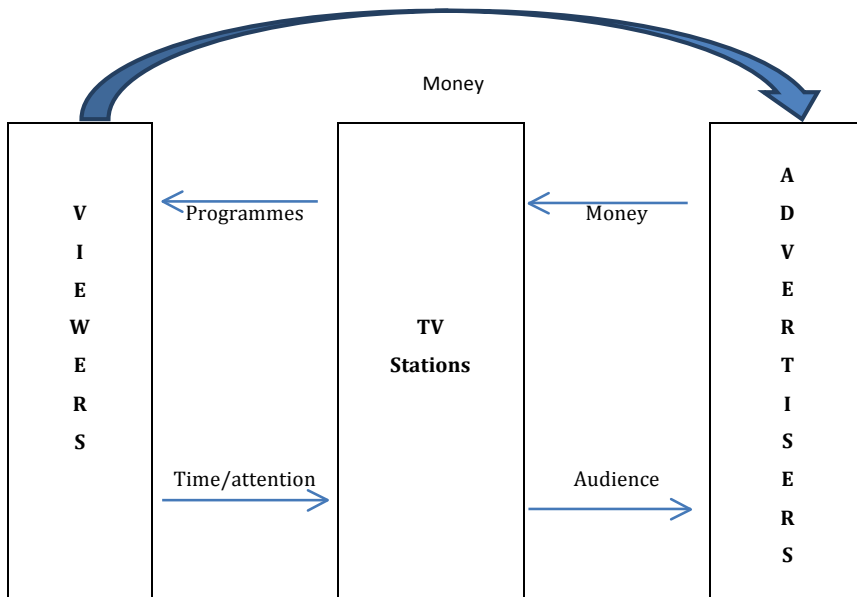


Figure 1 The two market model of commercial television

The advertiser market is crucial to the broadcaster because it is this that generates an income. In this two-market model, ‘the commerce is between advertisers and broadcasters, not viewers and broadcasters’ (Barwise and Ehrenberg 1988:113). While commercial broadcasters might receive income from various sources, such as sponsorship, subscription and copyrights, advertising revenues serve as the main income for these stations. They sell a time-slot in television programmes to advertisers, usually in the form of a commercial spot. For the advertisers however, it is not the programme that becomes their concern but the attention of the viewer. Consequently, the more viewers watching a particular programme the more money advertisers are willing to spend. ‘As a result, the number of “eyeballs” watching a programme drives a broadcaster’s revenues’ (Liu et al. 2004:120). The more popular the programme the more advertising revenues it can generate.

The relationship between commercial broadcasters, viewers and advertisers in the two-market model is sustained by a rating system. This is an audience measurement system that reflects the percentage of all TV-owning households tuned to a television programme. According to Vogel (2001:177), 'the methods used by ratings services to sample homes using television [...] vary to a degree and are sometimes subject to dispute. But the methods will generally provide consistent trend results over time'. The rating is used by both advertisers and broadcasters to determine the price of the advertisement in a television programme. The higher the rating of a programme, the more likely it will attract advertisers.

First developed in the USA, the two-market model has become the standard for the commercial television system in most parts of the world (Magder 2004:142) and has also been adopted in Indonesia. Although television advertising was not an entirely new concept,⁷ it was the introduction of the free-to-air private television service at the beginning of the 1990s that marked the establishment of the two-market system in Indonesia. The introduction of audience measurement system in 1991 completed the adoption of the model. The service is provided by Nielsen Audience Measurement Indonesia, the same rating company that operates in the USA and more than 100 other countries worldwide.⁸ The measurement includes a panel of 2,423 households with a television set in 10 big cities (Jakarta and its surrounding areas, Surabaya and its surrounding areas, Bandung, Semarang, Medan, Makassar, Yogyakarta and its surrounding areas, Palembang, Denpasar and Banjarmasin).⁹ Thus the economic structure of the national commercial television in Indonesia does not differ from most parts of the world.

During the *reformasi* era the number of national television broadcasters doubled, going from five during the New Order period (RCTI, SCTV, TPI (now MNCTV), Indosiar and ANTV) to ten by 2002 (Trans TV, Trans7, Global TV, TVOne, Metro TV). All of these stations are located in Jakarta and target the national audience. By 2009 the two oldest stations (RCTI and SCTV) reached more than 91% of the television audience each week (Intermedia 2010). In the same period all private broadcasters had a greater audience reach than the public television TVRI, despite the fact that it has the widest geographical broadcasting coverage (ibid.). Apart from Metro TV and TVOne that

⁷ Before the banning of advertisement in 1980 the state television TVRI was partly funded by advertising revenues (see Chapter 1)

⁸ For a detailed discussion on the history of rating system in Indonesia see Loven (2003:218-221).

⁹ The television population in these 10 cities is 52 million or more than 20% of the total national television population. Website of Nielsen Audience Measurement <http://www.agbnielsen.net/whereweare/dynPage.asp?lang=english&country=indonesia&id=321> (Accessed 12 November 2012).

specialise in news programmes, all other stations rely on entertainment programmes that target a general audience (Hollander et al. 2009). Since their introduction in the 1990s national commercial television broadcasters absorb the largest portion of media advertising income. 'By 1995, private television had secured 50 percent of total advertising' (Lindsay 1997:115). The trend continued. Sudibyo and Patria (2013:271) note that in 2010 television absorbed Rp37 trillion from Rp59 trillion of advertising spending. Hence, by the time the decentralisation of the television system took place in Indonesia, the two-market model of commercial television was already well established.

4.1.2 The difficulties in adopting the model for local stations

As explained in Chapter 1, the decentralised television system introduced by Broadcasting Law #32 was initially designed as a network television system following the US model. Then it was taken for granted that these local commercial stations would rely on advertising revenues as the general commercial broadcasters do. Such an idea was apparent in both public discourse as well as early practices of local stations. In a newspaper article published in 2005¹⁰ for instance, the authors discuss the financial situation of the nascent local stations by assessing their ability to attract advertising. They conclude, 'No one can predict yet what the ideal number of local stations in Indonesia would be after the license to broadcast is thrown open. Nevertheless, what is clear is that the advertisement cake won't be as sweet as today when it is surrounded by more than 70 stations.' Investors in local television were indeed hoping to profit from the advertisement cake that for almost a decade had been monopolised by the private national stations. The plan to implement the network system, which many thought to be the end of the national television era, was interpreted by local investors as an opportunity to make money from television advertising revenue. This stimulated local stations to open marketing offices in Jakarta, the centre of the advertising industry. Furthermore, some local stations, for instance Bali TV and Jogja TV, have used the rating service provided by Nielsen.

However, as explained in Chapter 2, the network television system did not materialise the way the reformists had envisioned it. National commercial broadcasters continue to exist and retain their dominant position in the Indonesian television landscape. As a result, local stations can scarcely attract big advertisers, as these prefer the national broadcasters that have much greater audience reach. Compared to the national stations, the audience share of local stations is very small. The survey of Nielsen

¹⁰ Televisi Lokal. Euforia Orang Kaya Daerah' (Local Television. Regional Rich People Euphoria) <http://majalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2005/06/13/EB/mbm.20050613.EB119024.id.html> (accessed 17 April 2011).

in the period of 2005-2010 shows that local television's audience share was between only 2-3 per cent (see Table 2).

Table 2 Audience share national and local television in the period of 2005-2010

Year	National	Local
2005	97.9	2.1
2006	97.2	2.8
2007	97.5	2.5
2008	96.8	3.2
2009	97.4	2.6
2010	97.5	2.5

Source: Nielsen 2011:3-4.

Managers of local stations that I investigated explained that their stations rarely get spot advertisements from national advertisers. Ferry Rende, who was involved in the establishment of two local stations in Manado at the beginning of the twenty-first century (TV Manado and Pacific TV), explained that his stations had only one or two national advertisers per month (Interview 21 January 2012). Uud Iswahyudi, the production coordinator of TATV explained to me that selling a programme to advertisers has never been a successful strategy for the station (Interview 18 September 2010). Based on my review of the week's programming of Bali TV, Jogja TV, TATV and Pacific TV, there were only one or two spot advertisements from national advertisers broadcast by these stations, and none at all on Pacific TV and Bali TV.¹¹

Because of the difficulties in attracting spot advertisements from national companies local stations started to turn to local advertisers. These however, are equally difficult to get. Local business and companies that advertise were not accustomed to using local television as their advertising medium. Eko Susanto, the programming manager of Jogja TV, explained that in the beginning they had to convince local companies about the advantages of television advertisement (Interview 23 September 2010). According to him, there was an assumption among local advertisers that television advertising must be very expensive. They prefer to advertise on older media platforms such as radio and local print media. Another problem is that many local companies that are considered big enough to be able to advertise are usually part of

¹¹ A common type of advertisement from national companies, other than spot advertisement, that can be found on local stations is infomercial, also known as home shopping in which products are advertised on television and the audience can order the product directly by calling a hot line. The same company that sells pans advertised on all four stations during the week of observation. The midday programming of all four stations investigated included an infomercial programme. Some producers explained to me that such advertising can bring tens of millions Rupiah per month for the station, thus forming one of the major advertisement sources for local stations.

national companies that are located in Jakarta or other big cities. These local branches do not have any authorities to decide whether or not to advertise.

In order to attract local advertisers local stations offer alternatives to the advertisement spot, such as still images and running texts. The price of these forms of advertising range from tens to a few hundred thousand Rupiah, a lot cheaper than the 30 second advertisement spot on national television that can cost tens of millions Rupiah (see Table 3 for the list of prices of on-air advertising on local television). According to the general manager of TATV, Yasinta Titi, the revenue from local advertising cannot cover the operational cost of her station (Interview 5 October 2010).

Table 3 Range of prices of advertisement in local stations (in thousand Rupiah¹²)

Station	Spot¹³	Still image	Running text	Other¹⁴
Bali TV	100-600	100-600	480	600
Jogja TV	250-600	100-600	250-400	200-1.500
Manado TV	100-275	200-275	100	50-200

Sources: rate cards of Bali TV (2011); Manado TV (2011); Jogja TV (2013)

The scarcity of spot advertisements indicates the difficulty faced by local stations in Indonesia in adopting the two-market model. Furthermore, the absence of a rating system also characterises the economic model of local television. As I have explained earlier, the rating system is pivotal in the television economic model that is based on the commodification process of the audience. It is used to quantify the audience attention, which can then be sold to the advertisers. As a measurement mechanism, the rating system has become an integral part of the two-market model of commercial television. This mechanism however, does not apply to local stations in Indonesia. In the list of clients published by Nielsen on their website, there are only four local (group) stations (3 of them are part of a station group) that use their services, namely O Channel in Jakarta, Sun TV (now Sindo TV that is part of MNC Groups), Space Toon (in 2013 became NET.) and Nusantara TV (local television groups of under Bali Post Group of which Bali TV and Jogja TV are part). Bali TV and Jogja TV, two of the few local stations in Indonesia that have used the Nielsen rating service, decided to terminate the service in 2010.

There are at least two practical reasons why local stations in Indonesia do not use the rating system. First of all, local stations find it too expensive. The manager of Jogja

¹² Rp 15000 is approximately 1 Euro.

¹³ Rate cards of these stations do not mention the duration of these spot advertisements. Data from the viewing week show that the duration of spot advertisements on Bali TV, Jogja TV, TATV and Pacific TV are between 20- 60 seconds.

¹⁴ This includes product placement, display, backdrop, etc.

TV explained that a rating service can cost his station up to tens of millions Rupiah/year (Interview 23 September 2010). Secondly, the survey conducted by the Nielsen only covers ten big cities in Indonesia ((Jakarta and its surrounding areas, Surabaya and its surrounding areas, Bandung, Semarang, Medan, Makassar, Yogyakarta and its surrounding areas, Palembang, Denpasar and Banjarmasin). The PR manager of Jogja TV said that the service did not cover the target group of Jogja TV that, according to her, live in rural areas (Interview 23 September 2010). Because of this limitation of the survey area, many local stations cannot use the service, even if they want to and can afford to do so. The more fundamental reason why local stations in Indonesia do not use a rating system is related to the nature of the economic practices of these stations. Because they cannot compete with the national broadcasters, they have to resort to other sources of income by adopting the business model of older local media, mainly newspapers and radio. I will discuss these practices in the following section.

4.2 Practices borrowed from older local media

When first introduced, local television entered an already established local media landscape as a new player. Therefore its economic practices are also shaped by the practices of older local media. Local stations adopt strategies implemented by established local media in order to generate income, such as organising off-air events, sponsorship and 'invitation' practices. Before I discuss this further I will first explain the local business environment in which local television is embedded.

4.2.1 Local media landscape

When local television entered the scene the local media landscape in Indonesia consisted of mainly print media and radio, and in some regions regional state television TVRI stations (see Chapter 1). These local media have a history that stretched back to before the New Order period. The liberalisation of the media sector following the fall of the New Order was followed by the rapid increase in the quantity of local media and also some changes in the scale on which they operate. According to Hill (2011:26) 'the opening up of local media markets to new players might have stimulated greater competition and a diversity of voices in some regions', although he notes that 'the forces prevailing vary enormously from region to region'. Here I will discuss two such local media that play a role in shaping the economy of local television, namely newspapers and radio broadcasters.

Print has been part of the local media landscape. Regional newspapers can be found in almost every province, although many of them are part of national newspaper

chains (for the discussion of the development of press in Indonesia see Sen and Hill 2000). The scope of these local newspapers was mainly at the provincial level. For instance, *Bali Post* in Bali, *Kedaulatan Rakyat* and *Bernas* in Yogyakarta, *Suara Merdeka* in Central Java and *Manado Post* in North Sulawesi. During the New Order, print media was subject to strict control by the regime. Publishers were obliged to obtain a permit to publish (SIUPP). According to Sen and Hill (2000:51), 'the press in Indonesia was transformed in the New Order from a medium of political discourse to a commercially significant industry'. Because of its long and influential history, newspapers appeared as the main media for advertising at sub-national level. Following the reforms the SIUP requirement was revoked, leading to the explosive growth in the number of local newspapers. 'Initially, the number of periodicals surged from about 300 when Suharto fell to a peak of over 1,500, although by 2007 data from the Indonesian Press Council indicates only about 516 publications had survived' (Haryanto 2011:105). This led to the emergence of a competitive local media environment.

The same occurred with another important local medium, namely radio. This has a history that goes back to the colonial period (for a discussion of the history of Indonesian radio see Lindsay 1997). Unlike television, which adopted a centralised system, radio in Indonesia consisted of local stations. The radio landscape since the New Order era is made up mainly of commercial stations, with income earned from advertising. During the New Order a radio station was not allowed to have a national coverage, which was the monopoly of the state radio Republic Indonesia Radio (RRI). The broadcasting reach of these radio stations includes sub-provincial areas (cities/districts). The *reformasi* brought changes in the radio landscape. The number of radio stations grew tremendously: during the New Order there were around 300 private stations, the number reached 740 in 2003 (Suryadi 2005). During the New Order radio was not allowed to broadcast news and current affairs programmes, which according to Sen (2003) was part of the 'depoliticization' of the medium, whereas in the post-New Order period such programmes have become an important part of the programming of radio stations (Jurriens 2009). This, according to Jurriens (2009:13), is the result of segmentation practice that serves as the main force behind the structure of the contemporary Indonesian private radio scene. There are more than 1,000 officially registered private stations, 'which create their own segments by focusing on themes as diverse as current affairs, business information, pop music, jazz, youth culture, regional identity, women's affairs, humour and religion' (ibid.).

Local television was thus introduced in an already established media environment that had become very competitive due to the liberalisation of the sector

following the fall of the New Order. As a new player, local television had to find its way around in the local media constellation. Since the older local forms have developed their positions in the market by targeting particular segments of the population and have built a relationship with local companies/institutions that need media exposure, local television stations have to find their way in relation to these media. Because many local stations were established by people who owned local newspapers or radio stations (see Chapter 3), they implemented strategies that they were already using. The difficulty in attracting spot advertisement has led local stations to resort to alternative sources that were inspired by the practices of established local media. These include organising off-air events, producing sponsored programmes and accepting 'invitations' from different local actors to report their events on television.

4.2.2 Off-air events as a strategy to attract advertisers

Local stations often organise functions outside the studio known as *off-air events* (original term). The events include a range of activities from music concerts to competitions. An off-air event is usually organised in a public place, such as a public square, traditional market or in the shopping mall. The practice is already common among older local media in Indonesia, such as newspapers and radio stations. Edwin Jurriëns (2001:60) for instance, in his dissertation on the electronic media in West Java explained that the regional television TVRI and private radio stations in the region often organised off-the-air activities. TVRI Bandung was involved with the regional arts through off-the-air activities. He also gave an example of a private radio station in Bandung that set up off-air events in the late 1990s, for instance aerobics with musical accompaniment and a picnic gathering to meet a famous singer. These activities were sponsored by manufacturers of sweets and painkillers (Jurriëns 2001:70).

During my fieldwork I visited some off-air events organised by Jogja TV and Bali TV. On 16 October 2010, I attended such a function run by Jogja TV in a square next to a market in the area outside the city of Yogyakarta. The event was sponsored by a cosmetic product. It started around 11am and consisted of a karaoke competition and other games. Two presenters of Jogja TV hosted the event. People could just drop by and register their participation by buying one of the products sold during the event (see figure 2-7 for some images of this event). The producer told me that this off-air event was part of series that had been organised for several weeks in different places around Yogyakarta. It was recorded and broadcast in a special programme. Another example of an off-air event sponsored by a commercial company is the series of concerts organised by Bali TV in November 2011. The concerts, sponsored by a cigarette company, showed

local bands competing by giving live performances in the square in front of the building of Bali TV during which around 40 local bands performed in a day.



Figure 2 The presenters and a local singer



Figure 3 The sponsor's stand, where products are sold, next to the main stage.



Figure 4 The spectators



Figure 5 People can buy the products of the sponsor



Figure 6 A visitor is interviewed as part of the on-air program



Figure 7 The stage bus of Jogja TV

By setting up an off-air event local stations generate revenue from the sponsors. According to the managers of TATV and Bali TV, an off-air event can generate up to hundreds of millions Rupiah. Local stations use them to attract national advertisers, i.e. companies that advertise on national commercial broadcasters. According to Gayatri, the programming coordinator of Bali TV, from the very start of the station the main income did not come from on-air advertising but from off-air events (Interview 5 October 2011). The General Manager of TATV explained that national advertisers prefer to sponsor an off-air event rather than paying for an on-air advertisement (Interview 5 October 2010). According to her, the reason is because they already have advertisements on national stations. Off-air events are more attractive to them because they address the audience directly. The marketing manager of Bali TV said that a big off-air event can attract up to 10 thousand spectators (Interview 19 October 2011). Local television appears to be an attractive event organiser because it can also broadcast the events on-air. The off-air events are usually broadcast by local stations either live or as part of a particular programme. Furthermore, local stations usually broadcast some advertisement spots of the sponsors as a 'bonus' for the sponsors. This way the sponsor gets more exposure. In addition, local stations can also generate income from people who want to participate in the off-air events by selling tickets to spectators and charging money to the performers.

During my visit to Bali TV by the end of 2011, the owner of the station had decided to step up the off-air events by obliging the programming and marketing divisions to organise as many of them as possible to increase the income of the station. During this period the station set up events such as drawing competitions for children, traditional dancing performances for students and various workshops (See Figure 8 for some leaflets for the events). These events were then broadcast in various programmes. For these functions the station charged 50 to 200 thousand Rupiah for each participant. Small off-air events like these were not sponsored. However, the programme coordinator of Bali TV explained to me that the profit from them might be small (only around five millions Rupiah each) but, according to her, this is better than no income because many programmes do not attract any advertising at all (Interview 5 October 2011).

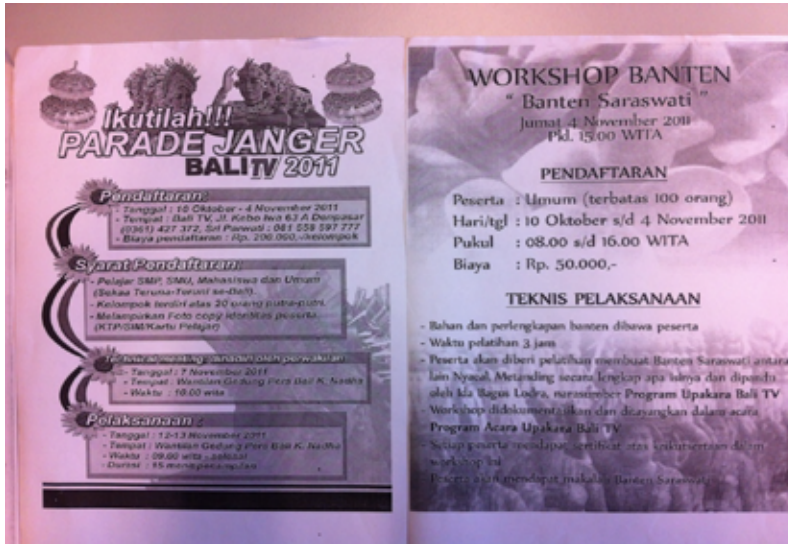


Figure 8 Leaflets announcing off-air events organised by Bali TV

Left: Traditional dance (Janger) parade for students and general participants. The registration fee is 200 thousand Rupiah. The event took place in the auditorium of the station.

Right: Workshop on how to prepare religious offerings (Banten). The participant was charged 50 thousand Rupiah and there was a maximum number of 100 participants. The event was then broadcast in the programme on religious activities Upakara.

Local stations use the practice to distinguish themselves from the national broadcasters. The fact that they can offer an on-air programme as a bonus to the sponsorship offers local stations a unique selling point compared to the ordinary event organisers. That off-air events form an important business strategy of local stations can be seen by the development of some local stations that are focusing on organising them. TATV for instance, has launched an event organiser as part of their company, TA Enterprise. On their website they promote this service as follows:

As a trusted local television, TATV also has an event organiser called TA Enterprise with all facilities, including a bus that can be immediately transformed into an event stage. This bus is called TATV Stage Bus and is specially designed for socialisation and promotion. It is very suitable for a product campaign in different regions and in public places (outdoors) such as city parks, car parks of malls or supermarkets, campuses or schools, traditional markets and many others.¹⁵

¹⁵ 'Sebagai Televisi Lokal, yang telah dipercaya TATV juga memiliki Event Organizer yang bernama TA Enterprise. Dengan berbagai fasilitas pendukung yang dimilikinya seperti sebuah Bus yang dalam waktu singkat bisa disulap menjadi panggung untuk sebuah Event. Fasilitas ini dinamakan Bus Panggung TATV yang merupakan sebuah armada Bus yang disetting secara khusus untuk keperluan sosialisasi dan promosi.

The potential of the television broadcaster as an event organiser has been acknowledged in other countries as well. For instance, in the USA the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (2012:37) in their report mentions off-air events such as concerts and conferences as one alternative to generate income.¹⁶ In the Netherlands the commercial broadcaster RTL took over an event organiser in 2010 and turned it into one of its business divisions called RTL Live Entertainment.¹⁷ In this regard, the practice of the *off-air event* in Indonesia reflects a broader development in the television industry.

4.2.3 Sponsorship practices

The practice of sponsorship, i.e. the funding of some or all of the costs involved in producing a television programme by sponsors in return for advertising, forms a major source of income for local stations. Sponsorship plays a pivotal role in the economic model of local television in Indonesia. According to managers whom I interviewed, this activity can yield considerably more income for the station than on-air advertisement spots. The price of the sponsorship ranges from hundreds of thousands to tens of millions Rupiah, depending on the duration and the type of the programme for which the sponsors are willing to pay (see table 4 for the range of prices of sponsored programmes in three stations).

Table 4 Range of prices of sponsorship in two local stations (in thousand Rupiah)

Station	Part of a programme	Talk show	Blocking time
Bali TV	500-3.000	7.000-10.500	45.000-55.000
Jogja TV	400-5.000	6.000-15.000	10.000-40.000

Sources: rate cards of Bali TV (2011); Manado TV (2011); Jogja TV (2013)

The eventual cost is usually decided by both parties, according to the cash available in the budget of the sponsors (thus this could differ from the published rate). According to producers of local stations whom I interviewed, the station is usually willing to accede to the request of the sponsors in terms of the timeslot and the format of the programmes. The producer coordinator of TATV, Uud Iswahyudi, told me that for his

Sangat cocok untuk kegiatan kampanye produk didaerah dan dipusat-pusat keramaian (out door) seperti taman kota, halaman parkir mall atau supermarket, kampus atau sekolah, pasar tradisional, dan lain sebagainya' in <http://manteb.com/profile> (accessed on 27 May 2012).

¹⁶ 'Alternative Sources of Funding for Public Broadcasting Stations' Corporation for Public Broadcasting June 20, 2012.

¹⁷ 'RTL Neemt Eentink Events Over' in <http://www.villamedia.nl/nieuws/bericht/rtl-neemt-wentink-events-over/47793/> (accessed 23 April 2011)

station the clients have the last say. They can decide what kind of programmes they want. He said that ‘the producer’s job is to realise the client’s requests’ (Interview 5 October 2010).

The sponsorship practice in television is not new in Indonesia. It started in the 1980s when advertising was banned from the state television, TVRI. In order to cover their production costs regional stations started to produce programmes sponsored by government institutions and sometimes also by local commercial companies (Sen and Hill 2000). The local government institutions therefore are familiar with the practice. This is confirmed by my sources in Bali. The manager of the former regional state television TVRI Bali¹⁸ for instance, explained that TVRI often produced programmes sponsored by government institutions (Interview 25 November 2011). Until the appearance of local commercial stations TVRI Bali held the monopoly in the regions, but now they find it difficult to compete with the local commercial stations to obtain sponsorship.

The sponsors come from various backgrounds, including both commercial and non-commercial enterprises. Local companies such as hotels and restaurants often pay to be on local television programmes. Some local stations broadcast programmes that are designed to accommodate these sponsors. Interestingly, all the stations that I have visited broadcast talk shows sponsored by alternative healing clinics. These clinics specialise in non-medical treatments, such as herbal remedies or using supernatural power. In the talk shows the healers promote their clinics by allowing the audience to consult them live by telephone. Such shows can be seen on local stations almost every day.

Apart from commercial companies, government institutions are among the main sponsors of local stations. Local governments, regional and national government institutions such as tax offices, transportation departments and many others have become important sponsors for local television stations. The marketing manager of Bali TV stated that 80 percent of the sponsorship income comes from local government institutions (Interview 19 October 2011). The implementation of fiscal decentralisation in 2001 allowed local governments to manage their own budget (*Anggaran Belanja dan Pembangunan Daerah* or APBD). Local governments allocate a budget for communication through the media. For instance, in 2012 the municipality of Denpasar in Bali allocated almost 1 billion Rupiah for media spending.¹⁹ The public relation department of the municipality of Denpasar, for instance, in the annual budget of 2012

¹⁸ The station was founded in 1978.

¹⁹ Annual budget of City Denpasar 2012

allocated a budget for 'the socialization of development results through the electronic and print media'.²⁰ The Communication and Information Department also allocated a fund for the production of government advertisements to be distributed through electronic media. The public relation department of the Municipality of Manado allocated more than 2 billion Rupiah for media spending (Interview with the head of media and press centre, 7 February 2010). It is this media budget of local governments and other government institutions that has become the target of local stations.

Sponsorship on local television can take different forms. The sponsors can pay to appear on the existing regular programmes, such as news programmes or other promotional programmes, such as business profiles, education, tourism or other theme programmes. Another form of sponsorship that is common among local stations is a practice known as 'blocking time', in which the sponsors buy a timeslot to broadcast any programme they want such as a live coverage of an event or interactive talk shows. An example of blocking time is the programme called '*Dialog Khusus*' (special dialogue), a live talk show with the regional police chief of North Sulawesi on Pacific TV on 26 January 2012 (see figure 4).



Figure 9 A sponsored live talk show 'Polisi Menjawab' (The police answers) featuring the head of the provincial police office.

In this one-hour show viewers can phone in to ask questions or give suggestions to the police. Based on my correspondence with the marketing department of the station, such a talk show can generate between 7 and 15 million Rupiah, depending on how frequently the sponsors want to have the show broadcast (Correspondence 11 January 2012).

²⁰ Ibid.

The decision to sponsor a certain programme is not necessarily based on its 'popularity.' In fact most local stations do not know how many people watch their programmes because of the lack of any measurement mechanism. Some stations conduct sporadic surveys but these are usually general inquiries as to respondents' perception of the station rather than specific programmes. Therefore the sponsors have insufficient data to base any decision on a quantitative measurement mechanism. The decision to sponsor a local television programme is based on less concrete criteria, particularly in the case of sponsorship by government offices. My interviews with local government officials (in Manado and Denpasar) reveal that they are not really concerned about how many people watch the programme. In fact, there is hardly any evaluation after the broadcast. The relationship between the sponsors/advertisers and local stations is built on a different system. It is not based on any quantitative measurement but mainly on interpersonal relationship between the station (owners or staff) and the sponsors/advertisers.

In the regions in which there are more than one television station, these have to compete for the income from government institutions. However, there is no transparent government mechanism in allocating sponsorship for a particular station. There is no tender system or clear selection procedure for choosing a television station. The public relations of the City Denpasar explained that tendering is not necessary because the amount is usually below the amount that is required by law to be put out to tender (Interview, 29 November 2011). The mechanism is based mainly on interpersonal relationship between the marketing personnel of local stations and the government officials. As Franky Mocodompis, the head of the press and media centre of the city of Manado, puts it, 'Whoever regularly visits (us) would get it (the sponsorship)' (Interview 7 February 2012). Such a relationship can be motivated by mutual benefits. It is common practice that government officials get a 'bonus' from the television station when they agree to sponsor a certain programme. The money is not from the television station, but part of the amount of the money from the government that is allocated for a media campaign, known as 'cash back' (*original term*) [backhander]. This bonus can reach up to 20 percent of the sponsorship value.

A local station can also obtain sponsorship because of the interpersonal relationship between the owner of the station and government officials. This is the case for instance, with the owner of Bali TV and the deputy governor of Bali who sponsored the programme *Wirasa* (a programme about poor people who receive financial help for education or medication) as part of his campaign for the governorship. Another example is the decision of the city of Manado to allocate a sponsorship contract to all local

stations in the region, except with Pacific TV. The head of the press and media centre explained that the city decided to terminate the contract with Pacific TV because the station had made some negative reports about local government (Interview 7 February 2012). Through this sponsorship practice, local television is involved in a client relationship with local politicians. The practice of sponsorship thus entails a wider activity than just advertising strategy as it involves political considerations. Many politicians, city mayors/heads of districts/governors and parliamentary candidates use the practice to appear on television. It indicates the embedding of local television in local political dynamics, a topic that I will elaborate in Chapter 6.

4.2.4 Invitation practices

Another way of generating income for local stations is known as '*undangan*' (literary means invitation), whereby people or institutions 'invite' a local station to cover and broadcast their activities/events on television. Those issuing the invitations have to pay for this service of course. This invitation practice is unique to local television being unknown among the national broadcasters. Ferry Rende, ex-director of Pacific TV who has worked in national broadcasting before managing a local station, explained to me that at first he was surprised to find out that many people in Manado often invited the station to cover their activities in return for payment (Interview 21 January 2012). In Bali, this invitation practice had been widely known before the introduction of local television. According to my interlocutors, the local newspaper Bali Post, which is part of the same group that owns Bali TV, introduced the practice. Bali TV thus profits from a practice that is already common in the region.

The amount of money paid is usually determined by negotiation between the two parties. Each television station has its own rules for this. In Bali TV for instance, depending on the nature of the event, the length of the item and the programme in which the item will be broadcast, the payment ranges from hundreds of thousands to a few million Rupiah (see Table 5 for examples of invitation prices in Bali TV and Jogja TV).

Table 5 Prices of 'invitation' practice (in thousand Rupiah)

Station	News programmes	Other programmes
Bali TV	500-1.000	2.000-3.000
Jogja TV	400-800	5.000

Sources: rate cards of Bali TV (2011); Jogja TV (2013)

In Jogja TV, Bali TV and Pacific TV, people can pay to be on news programmes and there are periods where local stations are flooded with invitations. These include the period leading to regional elections when candidates are campaigning in the local media. During religious celebrations such as the end of Ramadan or Hindu celebrations in Bali for instance, local stations often get invitations from various institutions or individuals who organise special activities for these days. National celebrations, such as Independence Day, are also the time when local stations receive invitations from different institutions that organise activities to celebrate the occasion. At these times news programmes on local television are usually full of sponsored items. This practice plays a role in determining the kind of news that is broadcast by local stations (this will be elaborated in Chapter 6). Apart from news items, there are also programmes that are specially designed to accommodate the 'invitations', for examples programmes on education usually feature schools that have paid to be included: programmes on tourism usually contain sponsored items as well. This invitation practice opens the door for different local actors to make television part of their activities. As I will elaborate further in Chapter 7, this influences the embedding of local television in the practices of local identity by various religious and cultural communities.

4.3 The two-market model revisited

New technologies contribute to the transformation of the television industry worldwide. Recent studies show that the advertisement-based model of commercial television has been undergoing some changes (see, for examples, Magder 2004; Curtin and Shattuc 2009; Doyle 2010). The emergence of pay television, i.e. a television service that requires subscription made possible by the satellite and internet technology for instance, has offered an alternative source of income to commercial broadcasters. In the pay television business model, unlike the dominant free-to-air model, the viewer market serves as the source of direct income (Peitz and Valletti, 2008:949). The adoption of shared digital technologies has further transformed the business strategies of commercial broadcasters. Television broadcasters are now able to expand their business platforms beyond the television screen. As Doyle (2010) puts it, 'television is changing in ways that make it increasingly difficult to consider linear broadcasting in isolation from other modes of distribution to audiences, as Internet and mobile' (ibid.). In the context of the American television industry Curtin and Shattuc (2009:175) argue that it has entered the matrix era. 'It was no longer a broadcast medium or a network medium or even a multichannel medium; television had become a matrix medium, an increasingly flexible and dynamic mode of communication'. In this matrix model the

advertising revenues can be generated from different platforms other than conventional on-air commercial spots, such as websites and other internet applications. With the emergence of digital television commercial broadcasters are challenged to find new ways to benefit from this technology.

Most of the studies on the transformation of the economic structure of commercial television however, focus on the western context with the emphasis on the impact of technological developments. Of course, such developments as digital technologies play a pivotal role in transforming the economic practices of commercial television. Nevertheless, this is not the only factor that plays a role. The development of local television in Indonesia is a case in point. It demonstrates the emergence of an economic model of commercial television that is mainly influenced by older media practices rather than technological developments. Importantly, it contradicts the assumption of the universality of the two-market television model. The case of Indonesian local television demonstrates the limitation of the model in accounting for the myriad ways in which commercial broadcasters exploit the economic potentials of television.

Based on his analysis of the production process of the reality television format on American television, Ted Magder (2004) argues that the production of reality television has altered one of the most fundamental principles of the two-market system, namely the integration between the commercial and editorial process. Magder explains that in the dominant two-market model the advertisers are not directly involved in the production process of a television programme, which he calls *editorial time*. They are indirectly funding the programme by buying commercial spots during the programme, called *commercial time*. According to Magder, in the production of reality programmes (supported by the development of internet and mobile technologies), the editorial and the commercial time are merging as advertisers are now involved in the production phase through practices of direct sponsorships and product placement or product integration (p.148). In the context of declining revenues from on-air commercial spots, Magder argues, these new practices offer television broadcasters new revenue opportunities (p.149). The practices of *off-air event*, *sponsorship* and *invitation* in Indonesian local television fit into the new integrated model of television financing as proposed by Magder in which the commercial and advertorial time are merging.

The practices of local stations in Indonesia show that advertisers and sponsors are directly involved in the production phase of a television programme. The relationship between advertisers and broadcaster entails a broader activity than merely the broadcasting of an advertisement spot. Sponsors do not only play a role by funding the

programme but they also become the content providers, for instance by providing topics, speakers and studio audiences for sponsored talk shows. The people who invite local stations to cover their activities also indirectly provide materials for the programming of local stations. The television crews usually come to the location with only a camera and a producer to film the activities, and which are then edited to be part of a programme.

Because of these processes the economic value of a television programme in the economic model of local television in Indonesia follows a different logic than the usual advertisement-based model. In the dominant two-market model of commercial television, the rating determines the economic value of a television programme -the more popular the programme i.e. a programme with high ratings, the greater the chance of it attracting advertisers. Therefore it is extremely important for a station to broadcast programmes that can attract many viewers or a particular target group. For local stations in Indonesia however, the value of a programme is determined by how much direct sponsorship it can generate. How many viewers who eventually watch it is of less importance because it was already sponsored before it was produced and broadcast: this renders the rating mechanism irrelevant for local stations and their clients. A programme is made because it generates direct income and not because of its popularity among the audience. In fact, a popular programme is subordinate to sponsored ones. The programming coordinator of Bali TV, Gayatri, said that sponsored programmes have priority in the programming. Other programmes can be moved when necessary (Interview 5 October 2011). The same policy is also implemented by TATV. The station for instance, was willing to move a news programme (which according to the producers was very popular) to another timeslot to make way for a sponsored programme (Interview with news producers 6 October 2010). This example would sound illogical if we follow the two-market model reasoning because a popular programme would automatically generate advertising revenues: but because this model does not apply in Indonesian local television, the decision to replace the popular programme with a sponsored one becomes comprehensible. Due to this economic model the relationship with sponsors is much important for local stations in Indonesia, than their relationship with the audience. Television programmes are there to serve the sponsors instead of attracting audiences.

4.4 Conclusion

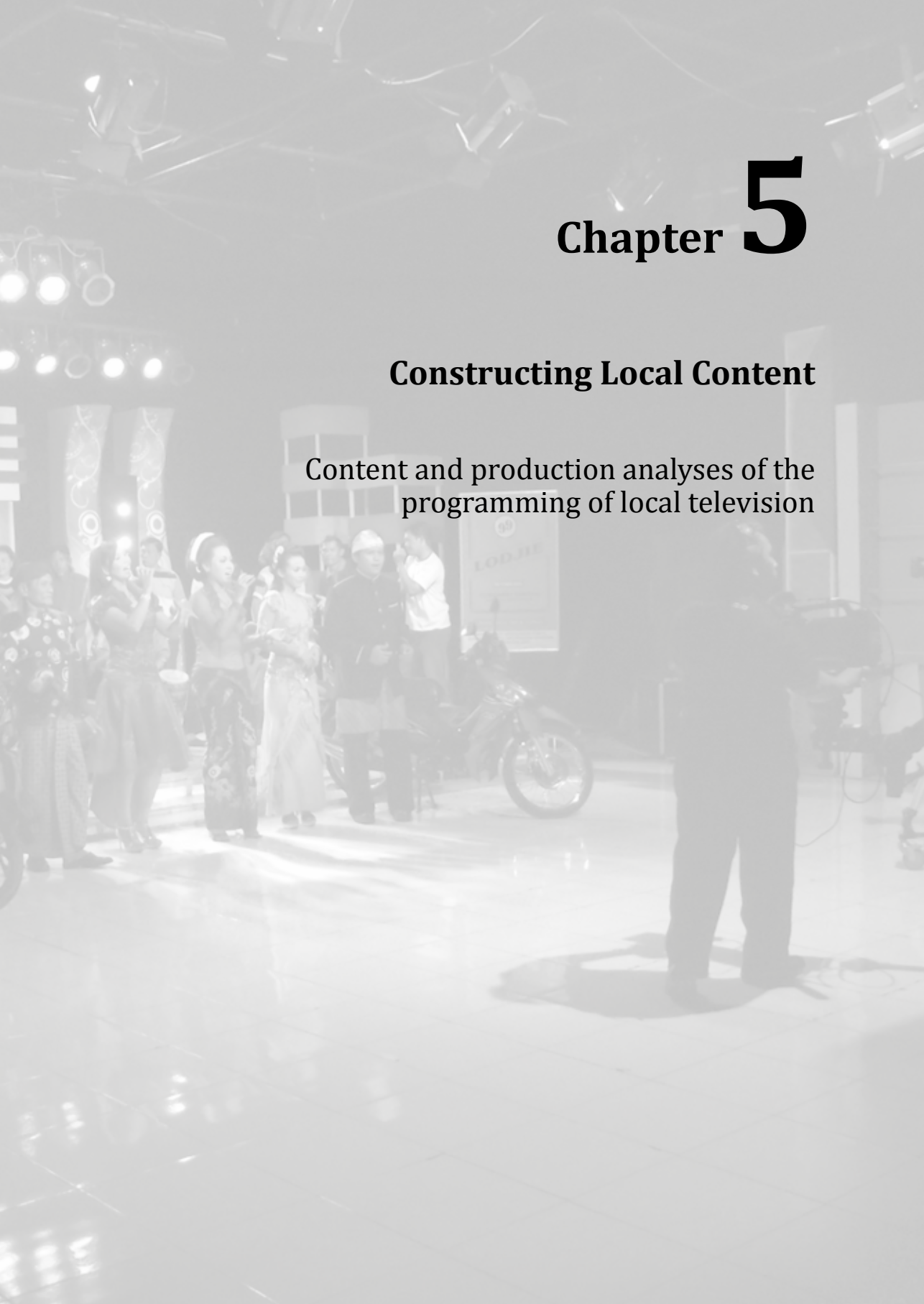
In this chapter I have explained the specifics of the economic model of local television in Indonesia. Comparing the practices of local stations with the two-market model of

commercial television, I have argued that these nascent local commercial stations rely on different mechanisms to generate income. Unlike most commercial broadcasters spot advertisement is only one of many sources of income for these stations. The economic model of local television in Indonesia is mainly built on practices such as *off-air events*, *sponsorship* and *invitation* that were initiated by older local media. These economic practices are unique to local stations and have developed partly due to the difficulties in generating income from spot advertisements. Because of its dependency on various local sources of income, local television has become deeply involved in the network of local actors that shape their role in the construction of locality. Various social actors such as government officials, politicians, religious groups and other community groups have made regular appearances on local television. As I will show in the following chapters, these economic practices of local television shape the production process of programmes (Chapter 5) and define the way in which television is embedded in local public communication (Chapter 6) and cultural dynamics (Chapter 7).

Chapter 5

Constructing Local Content

Content and production analyses of the programming of local television



5.1 Defining television local content

Apart from the size of the area served (Chapter 2) and the ownership structure (Chapter 3), programming is another important parameter that defines characteristics of local television. In the dominant discourse in post-New Order Indonesia, as I have explained in Chapter 1, local television was envisioned as a service that broadcasts programmes about local dynamics. In celebrating the sixth anniversary of the Indonesian Association of Local Television (ATVLI) in 2008, the operational director Jimmy Silalahi for instance, stated that ‘in general, the mission of local television is to broadcast all matters related to local ‘wisdom’ or interest (*kearifan lokal*)’. According to him, each region in Indonesia has specific characteristics that should be mediated by local stations. Silalahi’s statement is exemplary in illustrating that from the very start post-New Order local television has been envisioned as the platform for local cultural and political expressions. What does this local content programme entail? What mechanisms explain its construction? In this chapter I scrutinise the contours of local content in the programming of local television and explain factors that shape it.

The term ‘programming’ encompasses the scheduling or the distribution of various types of programmes at different times of the day. Therefore here I will not analyse an individual programme but investigate the landscape of programmes. This includes a discussion of its characteristics, such as formats, topics, and importantly, its production processes. To obtain an impression of typical programming of commercial local television in Indonesia, consider a daily schedule of Jogja TV in Figure 1. The station broadcasts for about 18 hours a day; this is less than the national broadcasters that transmit almost 24 hours a day. Nevertheless this is quite a lot for a local station, as many broadcast for fewer hours.¹ At first glance, the programming shows typical commercial broadcaster programming, consisting of various genres such as news programmes, magazines, live music shows, cartoons and talk shows. Like its national counterparts, the station offers a generically diverse programming in which information, education and entertainment are mixed for different segments of the audience.²

¹ During my fieldwork in 2010 another local stations in Yogyakarta, RBTv and ADTV, only broadcast from noon to 22h.

² For a discussion about the programming of national private broadcasters in post-New Order Indonesia, see Hollander et al. (2009).

Table 1 A Weekday Programming of Jogja TV

Time	Programmes
06.00	Seputar Jogja Pagi (Local news in Indonesian)
06.30	Lintas Mancanegara Pagi (World news in Indonesian)
07.00	Pawartos Enjing (Local news in Javanese)
07.30	M File Chatting (Music programme)
08.00	Good Morning Jogja (Local news in English)
08.30	Lejel Home Shopping
09.30	Langen Swara (Music programme-Javanese music)
10.30	Klinik Totok Perut Mega Power (Health consultation programme)
11.00	Yo Ngiklan (commercials)
11.30	Nyasar di Rolasan (Live music programme)
13.00	Mozaik Nusantara (Documentary about different regions in Indonesia)
13.30	Lejel Homeshopping
14.30	Film Anak Ini Mimipet (Cartoon)
15.00	Dialog Interaktif (Talk show)
16.00	Seputar Bisnis (Business programme)
16.30	Icip-icip (Culinary programme)
17.00	Dialog Interaktif (Talk show)
18.00	Galeri Mode (Fashion programme)
19.00	Pawartos Ngayogyakarta (Local news in Javanese)
19.30	Adiluhung (Documentary in Javanese language about local traditions in Yogyakarta)
20.00	Lintas Mancanegara (World's news in Indonesian)
20.30	Klinong-Klinong Campursari (Live Javanese music show)
21.30	Empu (Documentary on prominent local artists)
22.00	Suluh Indonesia (National news in Indonesian)
22.30	Seputar Jogja Malam (Evening local news in Indonesian)
23.00	Wayang (Javanese shadow puppet show)

Source: Kompas, Thursday 14 October 2010.

While in terms of formats and genres the programming of this local station shares some similarities with the national commercial broadcasters, in terms of content however, it shows a significant difference as the biggest part of its programming consists of locally oriented programmes. For instance, there are programmes about Javanese music with local performers (Java is the dominant ethnic group in Yogyakarta where the station is located). News programmes consist predominantly of local news about events that took place in the regions. Furthermore, many programmes are in Javanese, the main language in the region. In Indonesia such programmes are known as *'muatan lokal'* (literally local content), a term that started to gain significance during the formative period of local television. This type of television content is pervasive in Indonesian local television. In its August 2005 edition the Indonesian magazine *Behind the Screen* published an article³ that contains interviews with managers of the three

³ 'Film Impor Bahasa Lokal' (Imported film in local language), *Behind The Screen* August 2005. http://www.atvli.com/index.php/home/detil_berita/61 (Accessed 12 April 2011).

biggest local stations at that time - JTV in Surabaya East Java, Bali TV in Denpasar Bali and Jogja TV. These managers claim that a big portion of their programming consists of local content. According to the marketing manager of JTV, 90% of the programmes of his station 'accommodate the diversity of East Javanese culture'. The article states that Bali TV allocates 80 percent of its programmes to local content, while in Jogja TV it is 45 percent.

There is only a handful studies that have looked at the programmes of local television in post-New Order Indonesia (Arps and Van Heeren 2006, Putra and Creese 2012, Barkin 2013). These studies show that programmes on local stations appear as a site of local identity practices (I will come back to this topic in Chapter 7). However, because these studies concern only a single programme, it is unclear why and how local content has become part of the programming of local stations. Although the term is frequently used in the public debates on television in post-New Order Indonesia, both by policy makers and local television professionals, there is no consensus on what the concept actually entails. Its meaning is highly contested. However, as yet there is no study that deals specifically with this topic. This chapter therefore offers the first attempt to investigate the construction process of local content on post-Suharto Indonesian television. Before I explain the methods employed, I will first clarify my definition of local content.

5.1.1 A constructivist definition of local content

The concept of local content often serves as an important provision in the broadcasting policy in many countries. In the United States of America for instance, localism is one of important goals of broadcasting policy. 'Essentially, localism requires a broadcaster to serve the interests of the community covered by its transmission signal' (Scott et al. 2008, p.85). This requirement obliges television stations to broadcast local news and current affairs programmes. In order to realise the local content requirement, countries employ various mechanisms such as the implementation of a local content quota (for instance as a requirement to qualify for a broadcasting license), the allocation of subsidies and other incentives to stimulate the production and broadcasting of local content. This is used in such diverse countries as Canada, Australia, South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Korea and many more (GATT, doc. DS4/4, 8 November 1989 in Bernier 2012:11).

The local content policy in television has at least two motivations. First of all, it is part of the propagation of localism in order to protect the local cultural identity and to foster democratic processes. The flow of cultural products in the globalised world often

gives rise to the fear of losing distinctive local television programmes that are considered as significant markers of cultural identity. Local content is seen as an important medium for the expression of local cultural identity. Moreover, local content is necessary for the functioning of democracy. The availability of television programmes that reflect local dynamics is important to create informed citizens and greater democratic dialogues. The second reason that justifies the policy on local content is related to economic considerations: it aims to boost local television industry. As is the case in many countries, all three reasons have also been mobilised in the public discussion on local content on Indonesian television, which I will elaborate further later.

The term local content is used for different purposes. In regard to the scope, the concept refers to different geographical categories. In the discourse on globalisation its scope usually includes a nation state. 'Local' here is the opposite of the 'global'. In many other instances however, it refers to an area within a nation state, 'local' as opposed to 'national'. Furthermore, in terms of programmes, i.e. what we see on television, local content can include a wide range of topics, stories and formats. In fact, the concept can mean different things in different contexts, as my analysis of the Indonesian case will demonstrate. Therefore in this chapter I propose a constructivist definition of local content. Instead of perceiving it as merely an end product, i.e. the programme broadcast on local television, in my definition, local content is seen as a 'construct' that is contingent on specific discursive and production practices. The discursive practices include public debates and regulations. The production practices include business strategies, production routines and television professionals' views and behaviours. Both forces work dialectically to shape the meaning and contours of local content of television. By treating it as a construct, it is possible to account for various ways in which the concept is developed, mobilised and contested by various actors in different historical contexts.

In television studies research on local content has been conducted mainly in the context of the USA. The centrality of the concept of localism in the American broadcasting policy has given rise to many studies that look at the commitment of television broadcasters in implementing local content requirement. The dominant approach has been the political-economic approach in which researchers investigate the relationship between the ownership and market structure and the commitment to local content requirement (see for instance Napoli 2004, Smith 2008, Bishop and Hakanen 2002, Slattery and Hakanen 1996, Napoli and Zhaoxu Yan 2007, Scott et al. 2008). The method employed in these studies has been mainly quantitative content analysis, involving counting the proportion of local content in the overall programming in order

to analyse the impact of changes in broadcasting policies. This method can be fruitful in identifying the general characteristics of local content programmes, particularly in analysing the case in Indonesia. Because there is no empirical data available on how local content programmes on local television actually look, it can be useful to chart the characteristics of such programmes.

However, the content-analysis based approach has been criticised for its lack 'of attention to specific case studies of organization, process and how individual decisions are taken' (Roberts 2010:763). It does not explain the underlying mechanisms and factors that shape the construction of local content. Therefore, here I propose to combine content analysis with production analysis, which relies on the premise that television programmes are a result of production practices. By including the production analysis, the focus is shifting from analysing the *end* product, i.e. the programmes, to the investigation of the *process* of which such a programme is the result. Following Havens et al. (2009) this approach aims to understand how television as 'a site of artistic and social expression as well as a business concerned with maximization of markets and profits' works 'within actual practice; and, more importantly, what implications these practices- and the texts they generate- hold in terms of larger social and cultural process of representation and power' (p.249). This way one can have a better understanding of how and why particular local content is constructed.

The chapter consists of two parts. In the first I situate the concept of local content in the specific Indonesian context by analysing how it has manifested itself in different periods of Indonesian television history. By analysing public discussions and regulations, I argue that although the concept has been known since the era of state television TVRI during the New Order, during the post-New Order era it has gained new importance and meanings as an integral part of the localism principle (discussed in Chapter 1). In the second part I will analyse the construction of local content in the programming practices of local television by using four stations as case studies (Jogja TV, Bali TV, TATV and Pacific TV). I argue that local content serves as the building block of local television programming that is shaped mainly by business considerations.

5.2 Local content from a discursive perspective

As a construct, the concept of local content is contingent on specific historical contexts. Throughout the history of Indonesian television locally oriented content has been part of the programming of television broadcasters. However, the meaning and importance of such programmes have undergone transformations due to the changing broadcasting policies and the rapid development of the television sector. In this section, I trace the

discursive construction of local content during and after the fall of President Suharto, arguing that the decentralisation of the television system has given rise to new ideas about television local content.

5.2.1 Local content during the TVRI Era

During the TVRI era regional stations were allocated a restricted time to broadcast local programmes, known as '*acara daerah*' (literally regional programmes). Practices of regional stations during the New Order point to a centralist articulation of regionalism in which they broadcast limited programmes under the supervision of the central station. With a narrow budget and the obligation to follow the central government's guidelines, regional TVRI stations produced and broadcast regional programmes for only a few hours a day (Sen and Hill 2000:110). Because of this limitation, the programmes were confined to regional news (*Berita Daerah*) and ethnic entertainment, which Sen and Hill term as the 'sphere of traditional culture' (2000:120). TVRI Yogyakarta for instance, broadcast traditional Javanese performance genres such as *ketoprak* and *wayang orang* as part of their cultural programmes. They mostly told stories of ancient kingdoms, some based on historical figures and some allegorical. In Bali TVRI Denpasar had a regular weekly slot for traditional Balinese performances such as dances, music and rituals. Hughes-Freeland (1996) observed that 'these performances are sometimes studio productions, but more recently there has been a tendency to show performances from live contexts such as temple festivals or the annual Balinese Festival of the Arts' (p.254). Some programmes of TVRI Daerah were quite popular in certain regions. *Drama gong* (a performance genre that combines traditional and modern stagecraft, telling stories of ancient kingdoms in Balinese, accompanied by traditional Balinese music) for instance, was a very popular programme in Bali (Putra 1998:30). TVRI Jogjakarta's programme *Ketoprak Sayembara*, a series of traditional plays in Javanese where audiences were invited to participate in a sort of quiz by guessing, for instance who the murderer is. It was an early form of interactive television in which audiences participated by sending their answers on a postcard.

The limitations imposed by the Central TVRI Jakarta on the programming of *TVRI Daerah* impacted on the variety of regional programmes. Linus Suryadi (1994) for instance, reports that programs of TVRI Yogyakarta 'were monotonous and not so much different from the National TVRI' (p. 165). He writes,

There are so many activities in different fields that took place in different parts of Yogyakarta, such as culture, science and education. TVRI Yogyakarta has nevertheless failed to cover this. So many things happened on the streets such as fatal traffic accidents, but TVRI seems to ignore them. There were several bank robberies in the region but the television audience did not get the chance to witness it through the TVRI camera. (p.166)

Such criticism points to an already existing demand for locally oriented television programmes that could not be met by the state television. According to Sen and Hill (2000), such a demand also came from the programmers of regional TVRI stations. 'Even in the early 1980s there were internal documents pleading for more provincial autonomy' (p.125). However, because of the regime's centralistic policy, local programming was discouraged in favour of the national ones. During the New Order local content broadcasts were secondary to the national programmes and were produced merely to support the regime's top-down national policy.

5.2.2 Post-New Order discourse on local content

In post-New Order Indonesia new ways of thinking about local content on television emerged as an integral part of the localism principle. During the reform period after the fall of the regime the importance and meanings of local content on television became a subject of public scrutiny. The reformists viewed the concept as a means to create a diversity of ideas on television, which was considered one of important pillars of democratic processes. Public discussions on local content were most prominent during the preparation of the new Broadcasting Law in the beginning of the 2000s. The proponents⁴ of the new law used the term '*muatan lokal*' to refer to the programmes that should be broadcast by local stations.

In the public debates, the notion of local content refers to television programmes that reflect local characteristics, something that is considered lacking in the programming of national television broadcasters. One of the criticisms of the centralised television system of the New Order was the domination of Java-oriented programmes on television. The statement of Djoko Susilo, a member of the parliamentary special committee that prepared the Broadcasting Law #32 of 2002, is a good example of such criticism:

⁴ These included reformist policy makers, representatives of local television associations (ATVLI) and owners of the emerging local stations.

The gulf between Jakarta and the region in terms of broadcasting has been most extraordinary. Furthermore, the region is treated only as an object of broadcasting. The result is a mass culture characterised by Jakarta's people taste, mainly the Javanese one.⁵

A similar objection was advanced by the Director of JTV Surabaya,⁶ the first commercial local station, who stated that 'all this time all is taken and exploited by Jakarta. All (television) is dominated by television programmes about Jakarta'.

These criticisms have to be read in the context of the emerging regional identity following the implementation of regional autonomy in 1999, as I have explained in the Introduction of this dissertation. From this perspective, the criticism was not merely an expression of a dissatisfied television audience, but more than that, it was part of the emerging demand for the acknowledgement of regional differences that had long been suppressed by the New Order regime. Television served as an important site where the process of redefining the relationship between Jakarta and the rest of Indonesia was taking place. The programmes of the national television stations were seen as a symbol of the hegemony of Java over the rest of Indonesia. As it was in the political and social spheres, television content was oriented towards Java, Jakarta in particular. While this bias can partly be explained by the fact that the biggest television audience population is in Java, during the reform period this argument was used by the reformists to criticise the New Order ideological practices. Local content was seen as an alternative to the national television programming. It appeared as a new symbol of regional sovereignty. The statement of the Director of Lombok TV,⁷ one of the first commercial local stations, embodies such an argument: 'It is not only Jakarta that we have to see on television. We have strong ideals about what we can have from our own region, Indonesia is not only Jakarta.'⁸ The availability of local content on television was considered crucial to accommodate diversity that characterised Indonesian society.

Furthermore, the advocates of a decentralised television system argued that local television would benefit the economy of the regions. Local content was seen as a means to achieve such a goal. The assumption was that the production of television

⁵ Ketimpangan antara Jakarta dan daerah dalam bidang penyiaran selama ini sudah sangat luar biasa. Selain itu, daerah hanya dijadikan obyek penyiaran. Yang terjadi memang budaya massal dengan citarasa orang Jakarta dan khususnya Jawa.

⁶ 'Seribu Televisi Lahir di Daerah' (A thousand television is born in the region) in <http://majalah.tempinteraktif.com/id/arsip/2002/11/25/NAS/mbm.20021125.NAS82784.id.html> (accessed on 12 March 2012).

⁷ 'Perkenalkan, Kami Televisi Lokal' (Introducing [ourselves], We are Local Television) in Majalah Behind the Screen issue 099 available at http://www.atvli.com/berita_Jul03.asp (accessed in 12 March 2012)

⁸ Bukan Jakarta saja yang harus kita lihat di televisi. Kami punya idealisme yang tinggi tentang apa yang bisa kita peroleh dari daerah kita sendiri, Indonesia bukan hanya Jakarta.

programmes by local television stations would contribute to the local economy, for instance by creating job opportunities for local people. This idea was in line with the argument that the decentralisation of television would lead to the diffusion of advertising revenues from Jakarta to the regions. Local content in this argument thus refers to the origin of the programmes: local stations produce it.

Furthermore, apart from economic benefits, programmes such as local news, talk shows and other current affairs programmes were considered important to further democratic processes at the local level. Ade Armando (2002),⁹ for example, writes:

If local stations flourish regional communities would learn about candidates for the regional parliament or public officials through television. Local issues can be debated on the television screen [and] more importantly political control could be developed through television, which would be able to reach ordinary people.¹⁰

The inclusion of a current affairs element in the concept of local content reflects the emerging discourse on the role of media in democratic processes following the democratisation of Indonesia after the fall of President Suharto (see Chapter 1). In the public discourse an instrumental idea of local content was advanced, i.e. local content is a means to achieve particular democratic values.

5.2.3 *The institutionalisation of local content*

Despite its prominence in the public debate, local content was not specifically regulated in the new Broadcasting Law #32 of 2002. Although the term '*muatan lokal*' is mentioned in the article on the use of local language (Article 38 [1]¹¹), the law does not make further rules on the topic. Regulations on the definition of local content and its quota requirement came much later in lower-level directives. They came gradually and are scattered through various measures issued by different regulatory bodies. In 2005 the government issued regulation #50 on commercial broadcasting in which Article 34 [5] obliges local stations that are part of a network to broadcast local content. However there is no further definition of what local content entails. The quota requirement for

⁹ 'Menumbuhkan Stasiun Lokal dalam Sistem Jaringan Televisi' (To develop local stations in the network television system'
<http://majalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2002/06/17/KL/mbm.20020617.KL120199.id.html>
(accessed 17 April 2011).

¹⁰ Bila stasiun lokal tumbuh, masyarakat daerah bisa mengenal kandidat anggota DPRD daerah atau pejabat daerah lewat TV. Isu-isu lokal bisa diperdebatkan di layar kaca, bahkan kontrol politik pun diperkaya lewat TV, yang lebih mampu menjangkau rakyat kecil.

¹¹ It is stated that the use of local language is allowed for local content programmes.

local content (10 percent of the overall programming) was enacted in the Ministerial Regulation of the Ministry of Communication and Informatics issued in 2009 (#43/PER/M.KOMINFO/10/2009). The first formal definition of local content can be found in the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission's regulation #02/P/KPI/12/2009 on the Broadcasting Behaviour Standard (*Pedoman Perilaku Penyiaran*). Article 1 [12] defines local programmes as 'a broadcast programme with local content, including both factual and non-factual programmes that cover events, issues, background stories and human resources, in order to develop the culture and potential of the region.'¹² The diversity and empowerment theses clearly have shaped the definition of local content in this first ever regulation on the topic in Indonesia. Although the definition sets some parameters to define local content, it is still broad and open to different interpretations. This is apparent when the existing national broadcasters started to televise local programmes in order to meet the quota of local content.

In the period of 2010-2012 the incumbent national commercial broadcasters started to air local content as part of their transformation into network stations.¹³ The regulation obliged them to have at least 10 percent of local content in their overall programming, in which 30 percent of it has to be broadcast during the prime time (The Indonesian Broadcasting Commission's regulation #03/KPI/12/2009 article 52[1]). Despite this they did not meet the local content obligation. Some stations that indeed had programmes that they considered to have local content, broadcast them in a timeslot with the smallest audience, for instance at 3 or 4 am in the morning. However, such programmes were produced centrally in Jakarta. National broadcasters objected to the local content obligation because of the cost and technical considerations.¹⁴ They argued that it would be very costly to produce programmes in every region in which they broadcast instead of producing them centrally in Jakarta. Furthermore, national broadcasters are reluctant to produce local content programmes because, according to them, such programs cannot attract enough advertising.¹⁵

Because of these practices, there has been a demand for better regulation of local content from both media activists and media professionals. This was apparent for

¹² Program lokal adalah program siaran dengan mautan lokal, baik program factual maupun non-factual, yang mencakup peristiwa, isu-isu, latar belakang cerita, dan sumber daya manusia, dalam rangka pengembangan budaya dan potensi daerah setempat.

¹³ For the discussion on the implementation of the network television system during this period see Chapter 2

¹⁴ Such an argument for instance, was made by the corporate secretary of SCTV Hardijanto Saroso in 'Televisi Nasional Wajib Siarkan Program Lokal 10 persen' (Nasional television is obliged to broadcast 10 percent of local programme) <http://www.tempointeraktif.com/hg/ekbis/2007/07/31/brk.20070731-104652.id.html> (accessed 12 March 2012)

¹⁵ In my interview with the corporate secretary of RCTI Gilang Iskandar for instance, he stated that his station has experimented with a local programming in East Java but it cannot generate enough income to cover the production costs (8 November 2010).

instance, in the discussion on the new standard television regulations organised by the KPI in 2010 in which media activists and representatives of the media sector participated.¹⁶ According to the participants, the absence of clear regulation made it difficult for television broadcasters to produce programmes that qualified as local content. In response to this situation, in 2012 the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission revised the definition of local content. The regulation #01/P/KPI/03/2012, article 1 [15] provides a detailed definition of local content that includes the types of the programmes and their production process:

A local programme is a broadcast programme with local content including journalistic programmes, non-fiction programmes and fiction programmes in order to develop that region's potential, for which the production is carried out by local resources and station.¹⁷

In this new definition, a new parameter is added to the original definition made in 2009, namely the production origin. Local content has to be produced by the local stations that broadcast them. This new consideration is clearly a reaction to the practices of the incumbent national broadcasters. However, the definition does not provide clear delineation of what the notion 'local' entails. What is the scope of such programmes in terms of geographical scale, topic and production process? It is yet to be seen whether this new regulation will improve the situation, considering the lack of clear guidelines to what constitutes a local content programme. The reluctance of the established national broadcasters to adopt the network system (see Chapter 2) also adds to difficulties in implementing the regulation.

These chaotic regulatory practices on local content point to the broader regulatory problems in television I have explained in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, the enactment of these regulations marked the institutionalisation process of local content in Indonesia. From a legal point of view, the concept of local content has been gradually developed from merely quota requirement into a definition that contains more specific criteria that include quantity, types of programming and the origin of the production.

¹⁶ 'Definisi Konten Lokal Perlu Dipertegas' (Definition of local content needs to be sharpened) in <http://www.kpi.go.id/?etats=detail&nid=2227>, (Accessed 11 March 2011)

¹⁷ Program lokal adalah program siaran dengan muatan lokal yang mencakup program siaran jurnalistik, program siaran faktual, dan program siaran non-faktual dalam rangka pengembangan potensi daerah setempat serta dikerjakan dan diproduksi oleh sumber daya dan lembaga penyiaran setempat.

This added a new dimension in the development of the concept of local content television in Indonesia.¹⁸

So far I have shown how and why the concept of local content has gained importance in post-New Order television policy. The question remains however, what is actually local content? What does it look like? To answer these questions, in the next section I will turn to the practices of local television in producing and broadcasting local content programmes. For the emerging local stations, the regulations have not played a significant role in shaping their programming. There are two reasons for this. First of all, the rules on the subject came late, much later than the establishment of many local stations. Although the local content requirement has been included in the selection criteria for a broadcasting license, such a procedure was not properly in place until 2009. Thus, in the boom-period of local stations (2002-2009) there was practically no regulation of this matter. Second, the measures only oblige local station to broadcast 10 percent local content in their overall programming. Therefore it is interesting that most local stations in Indonesia use local content as the main building block of their programming, as I have briefly illustrated in the introduction of this chapter. What are the contours of these local content programmes? What mechanisms explain their existence?

5.3 Local content from an industrial perspective

In this section I aim to examine the construction of local content from the perspective of local stations by analysing the programming of four local stations (Bali TV, Jogja TV, TATV and Pacific TV). As I have explained in the introduction to this chapter, I am combining content and production analyses in order to identify the characteristics of local content programmes and explain the mechanisms that underlie their production. For the purpose of content analysis, I consider a week's programming (Monday-Sunday) by four sample stations. This choice of a week's programming was based on the assumption that these stations have a strict programme structure, 'in which one day differs from the next, but in which the programs on the same weekday over the months are very similar' (Heidt 1984:4). The dataset was based on video recordings combined with published scheduling. The dates of the recording were chosen randomly and are presented in Table 1.

¹⁸ Starting in 2010, various regional broadcasting offices organise an annual award for the best local programmes of radio and television stations. In the long run, this activity could play a role in shaping local content programs on local television.

Table 1 Dates for the recorded week in four stations

Station	Dates
Jogja TV	16-22 September 2010
TATV	5,6,7,10,11,15,30 October 2010 ¹⁹
Bali TV	22-28 October 2011
Pacific TV	13-19 January 2012

For the production analysis I rely on interviews and observations I conducted during my fieldwork in Jogjakarta/Solo (September-December 2010), Bali (October-December 2011) and Manado (January-March 2012). In total, I interviewed 25 television professionals²⁰ who work (or have worked) in local stations in the three locations. The observation includes attending the broadcast of live programmes in the studio, joining the production teams 'hunting' for items and attending various off-air events.

In order to identify what is entailed in local content programmes in these stations, I start by categorising the programmes into three broad groups namely local, national and international. Afterwards, I further scrutinise these locally oriented programmes in order to identify their characteristics and explain factors and mechanisms that shape them.

5.3.1 Local content as the main building block of local television programming

Apart from media reports that are based on interviews with television professionals, there is no empirical data available on the actual percentage of local content programmes on local broadcasting stations. Therefore my first step was to identify the percentage of local content in the overall programming of the sample stations. In order to define what local content is in my interviews with television producers I asked their views on the topic. They were unanimous in giving a broad definition of local content as a programme that is locally oriented. The notion of local however, encompasses a wide range of parameters, including the geographical area in which the station is located, events taking the place in the region and cultural symbols. Harry Vanderslot, a former programming manager of Pacific TV who is now the director of Manado TV for instance, explained that local content concerns any topics about Manado and areas in North Sulawesi province, the area in which the station operates (Interview 21 January 2012). Dewi Tika, the news director of Bali TV, stated that local content concerns events that happened in the Balinese community (13 October 2011). Another parameter that is

¹⁹ For this station, I have to construct a week programming by using two dates from different weeks (15 and 30) as the records for these two days were missing because of power failure.

²⁰ I have interviewed a wide range of television professionals including directors, programming and marketing managers, producers, reporters, presenters, cameramen and marketing staffs.

often used to define local content by these managers is cultural symbols of the region in which the station is located. The general manager of TATV, Yasinta Titi, for instance, explained that local content is anything that is related to the '*kearifan lokal*' (local genius) of Javanese culture (Interview 5 October 2010).

In order to gain further insights into the characteristics of these locally oriented programmes in terms of formats, topics, the scale of locality and the use of local symbols, I conducted a textual analysis of the programming of the four stations. I used a broad definition to categorise television programmes based on their orientations. 'Local programmes' are those that have a local orientation, meaning the topics concern issues or people in the geographical area round the station. The national category consists of programmes that concern national issues, either produced by local stations themselves or other producers. There are some programmes that are produced by local stations but the content does not concern local people or issues. For example, Jogja TV and Bali TV as both are part of the same group broadcast the same national and international news programmes produced by Bali TV. The same applies to infotainment programmes of TATV that show gossip about national celebrities. Similarly, some talk shows that are produced by local stations deal with national topics such as constitutional court or taxes/customs, often with guests from Jakarta. These types of programmes I do not consider to be local because they can also be produced and broadcast by national stations. Finally, the foreign category includes programmes that are originally from abroad. The result of the analysis is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 The percentage of programmes by the orientation parameter

Category	Jogja TV	TATV	Bali TV	Pacific TV
Local	83%	87%	83%	65%
National	13%	11%	6%	12%
Foreign	4%	2%	11%	23%

The content analysis of the overall programming of the four stations shows that the largest portion of the programming consists of locally oriented programmes. This finding confirms the claims of the proponents of a decentralised television system that local television would lead to local content programmes. They are the foundation of these local stations' programming. In order to further identify the characteristics of these local content programmes, I conducted content analysis of their format and topics, the use of language.

5.3.1.1 Format and topics of local content programmes

Unlike local programmes of the regional TVRI stations during the New Order, which were limited to a few formats and topics, the programming of local content of the four stations show much wider variations. I have categorised the local content programmes in the investigated week according to different formats that can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3 the broadcasting hour percentage of local content by formats in four stations

Format	Jogja TV	TATV	Bali TV	Pacific TV
News	21%	40%	39%	32%
Feature/magazine/Doc	17%	13%	11%	27%
Talk show	20%	12%	13%	13%
Music	21%	19%	7%	21%
Stage	14%	3%	8%	-
Religious sermons	-	3%	10%	5%
Other	7%	10%	12%	2%

The news category includes newscasts and other current affair reports. This format is the biggest portion of local television. All stations broadcast local news programmes at various times of the day (morning, midday and evening). Although the majority of the news programmes deal with general news items, some stations broadcast news programmes that deal with a specific theme. TATV and Bali TV for instance, televise local crime news programmes. Jogja TV and Bali TV have a local news programme that deal specifically with cultural news. Furthermore, these news programmes are broadcast in different languages. Jogja TV, TATV and Bali TV air local news programmes in local language. There is also an English language local broadcast by Jogja TV and Bali TV.

The talk show category refers to talk programmes in which guests are invited to discuss a particular topic. Such programmes are also televised daily; some stations even broadcast them several times a day. The topics discussed cover a wide range of themes from politics, health issues, government policies and environmental and cultural issues. Most talk show programmes are live with an interactive session when viewers can phone-in to participate in the discussion (I will discuss this further in Chapter 6).

Another category that forms a large percentage of the overall programming of these stations is that of feature/magazine. It applies to programmes on human interest, business profiles and documentaries. A programme in this format usually focuses on a specific theme, for instance education, life style, travel, sport and health, usually lasting 30 minutes.

Music programmes are also very common in local stations. All four station broadcast music programmes that show a compilation of local artists' video clips. They sing local variations of pop music in a local language. In Yogyakarta and Solo such music is known as *campursari* (the mix of Javanese gamelan music with modern instruments such as electric guitars, drums and piano). While in Bali and Manado the genre is known as *Pop Bali* and *Pop Manado*, is a mix of different pop genres such as rock, ballad and house, combined with local instruments, with lyrics in a local language. Local stations have also adopted popular radio formats as part of their programming. Greeting programmes on the radio in which listeners request songs and send greetings to friends or family are very common on Indonesian radio stations (Arps 2002). Jogja TV, TATV and Bali TV adopt the format in their music programmes. This consists of an interactive live programme using one or two presenters. The audience can phone-in or send an SMS to request songs and send greetings. In some programmes the format has been modified by including a live performance of local bands.

While the first four categories might be common in other countries, there are some formats that seem to be specific to a particular region. In Jogja TV, Bali TV and TATV, what I call 'stage performance programmes,' are common. This includes showing traditional performances either on the stage in the studio or outside. While some are made especially for a television broadcast, most of them originated from a live performance as part of a particular event such as weddings, anniversaries and other social events. This stage format usually uses shots from a single angle, which leads to static images (See Figure 1). This format has its origin in the regional TVRI stations. For example, in Yogyakarta, central and east Java provinces, it includes various traditional performance genres such as *ketoprak* (Javanese traditional play), *wayang orang* (Javanese classical dance theatrical performances) and *karawitan* (traditional Javanese music). In Bali the format includes traditional dancing and singing performances. This type of programme is not found in Manado.



Figure 1 Images from a *Ketoprak* performance broadcast on Jogja TV on 17 September 2010. The programme was recorded at a live performance in a theater. All images are taken from the same angle, zoom-ins and -outs are the only variations used in the format.

Another specific category that is typical of a particular region is what I call ‘religious sermons’. It refers to programmes that broadcast sermons either in the studio or places of religion (mostly in churches and temples). Such programmes are prevalent on Bali TV and Pacific TV. On Bali TV they are exclusively about Hinduism, while on Pacific TV they are mainly about Christianity. Some shows are broadcast live in the studio where the audience can phone in (see Figures 2), but most programmes are recorded from sermons that were given outside the studio (see Figures 3).

A small percentage of local programmes consist of quizzes, comedy, cartoons and music video clips, which I place in the ‘other’ category. Interestingly, while television drama is very popular on national television, none of the four stations broadcast such a programme.



Figure 2a A sermon from outside the studio in the programme Darma Wacana of Bali TV.



Figure 2b The speaker, a prominent local Hindu preacher.



Figure 3a The presenter and speakers of the Christian sermon programme *Suara Kasih* (the voice of love), broadcast live on Pacific TV.



Figure 3b A speaker who is a pastor. A hot-line number is constantly displayed so that audience can phone in.

5.3.1.2 The use of local language

As part of the content analysis, I grouped all programmes broadcast in the week recorded based on the language used - local, Indonesian and foreign. The local category includes programmes that use languages spoken in the area served by the station - Balinese for Bali TV, Javanese for TATV and Jogja TV (including *Banyumasan* dialect) and a dialect of Indonesian/Malay spoken in Manado for Pacific TV. The Indonesia category refers to programmes that use the national language *Bahasa Indonesia*, including foreign programmes that are dubbed in Indonesian. The foreign category consists of programmes in foreign languages with subtitles in Indonesian. The result of the analysis is presented in Table 4.

Table 4 The percentage of broadcasting hour by the language in the overall programming

Category	Jogja TV	TATV	Bali TV	Pacific TV
Indonesian	57%	63%	59%	79%
Local	38%	34%	31%	10%
Foreign	5%	3%	10%	11%

In all four stations the largest part of the overall programming is devoted to broadcasts in the Indonesian language. The same figure is also apparent in the locally oriented programmes (Table 5). Although the percentage of locally oriented programmes using local language is slightly higher in most stations (except in Jogja TV) than the overall programming, the biggest percentage of these programmes is still in the Indonesian language.

Table 5 The percentage of broadcasting hour by the language in locally oriented programmes

Category	Jogja TV	TATV	Bali TV	Pacific TV
Indonesian	60%	59%	59%	82%
Local	36%	41%	35%	12%
Foreign	4%	0%	6%	0%

Considering the dominance of the Indonesian language in its overall programming, local television in Indonesia cannot be categorised as vernacular television, i.e. a television service that uses a local language as the main language in their programming. Vernacular television characterises a local television service in many countries such as India, Spain and other multilingual countries in Europe. Despite the existence of more than 300 local languages, some with millions of speakers, there is not yet any local station that uses a local language as its main language. The prominence of Indonesian on local television can be explained by the language policy during the New Order regime. Although in some regions a local language is taught at school, it is mainly used in informal occasions (daily conversations) and is often associated with cultural traditions. This is also reflected in the programming of local stations. In Jogja TV, Bali TV and TATV, local language is mainly used for cultural programmes such as traditional plays, dances or rituals. Although all three stations have news programmes in a local language, according to the producers, these focus on soft news related to cultural affairs and traditions. This is different from the local news in the Indonesian language that also includes politics and other current affairs items. The producers explained that local language is used only limitedly because the target audience is mixed with other ethnic groups.

However, with more than 30% (except on Pacific TV), these local stations have a much higher percentage of programmes in a local language compared to any of national commercial broadcasters. Compared to the situation during the New Order regime the use of local language on local television has shown a significant change. Under President Suharto its use was restricted in order to suppress regional identity in the name of the national unity (Sen and Hill 2000). On the four local stations investigated

local language is used in different programmes, including newscasts, talk shows, music programmes, traditional plays, comedy, religious sermons and many more. It has to be noted that many of them used a mix of language, both Indonesian and local language.

5.3.2 Production processes of local content programmes

How can the domination of locally oriented programmes on these four stations be explained? What factors and mechanisms underlie their production? By combining a content analysis of the local programmes I have identified in Table 2 with the production analysis, I argue that local content programmes in these four stations are mainly the result of business practices. They are part of the marketing strategy of the stations that provide a direct source of income with a low production costs.

5.3.2.1 Local content as a marketing strategy

When local stations started to emerge in the first decade of the new millennium, national commercial broadcasters had dominated the television landscape in Indonesia. As part of their attempts to attract audiences, the emerging local stations had to differentiate themselves from the existing national broadcasters. They do this by relying on local elements to construct their identity as a television station. The production and broadcasting of local programmes are part of this marketing strategy.

As part of their branding strategy, local stations claim to represent a certain local identity. This can be seen for instance, by the name of many stations that is derived from the name of a certain region, such as Bali TV, Jogja TV, Lombok TV, Manado TV, Bandung TV and many more. Furthermore, local stations often use regional characters as part of their branding. This is apparent in the slogans and teasers of some stations. For example, Jogja TV uses the slogan '*tradisi tiada henti*' (unending tradition) that refers to Yogyakarta's status as the 'cultural' city of Indonesia. Another example is Bali TV that uses a traditional Balinese dance in their teaser clip to promote the station. The commitment to a certain local identity is also reflected in the mission statement of some stations. Jogja TV and TATV state on their website that their aims are to develop local cultural and economic potential. TATV declares that their mission is to 'contribute to the development of the region and community of audiences in every aspect of life' (www.tatv.co.id). Television professionals also acknowledge the social function of local television as it is constructed in the dominant discourse. The programme manager of Jogja TV explains that the aim of his station is to become a medium to express local culture and realise the local potential such as tourism. "The establishment of Jogja TV is not solely to gain profit but to realise a particular idealism. Especially in the beginning it

is more about the idealism of promoting local potential' (Personal interview, 23 September 2010). These stations clearly shared the instrumental idea about local content constructed in the public discourse, as explained in the previous section. Ideals such as safeguarding local culture, contributing to local development and offering an alternative to national television have obviously made a contribution to shaping the programming of local stations in Indonesia. This factor partly explains the dominance of local content programmes in these stations.

In addition to the social factor, the reliance on local content has also been motivated by the promise of profit from such programmes. The potential of locally oriented programmes have been acknowledged in the public discussions on local television. The success story of JTV Surabaya, the first local commercial station established in the formative period, with their local news programmes in local dialect and imported films dubbed in the dialect is often used as an example of the success of local programmes. In the media experts often emphasised the importance for local stations of being creative in producing local programmes if they want to be successful.²¹ The possibilities of local content programmes are also recognised by local television professionals. The PR manager of Jogja TV told me that her station had once broadcast the NBA basketball league, but it did not last long because according to her, the audiences did not respond well (Interview 23 September 2010). The programming manager of Bali TV provided another example when she told me that her station prefers to use local Balinese bands because they are much more popular than the bands from Jakarta. This is often apparent in the off-air events that the station had organised (Interview, 5 October 2011).

Thus, by relying on local content these stations do not only aim to meet their social role but more importantly they are convinced that local programmes have the potential to generate profit. In other countries the commercial success of local television has been proven. In India for instance, regional vernacular television, i.e. broadcasters that target a specific language group, has been considered to be one of the most successful new players in the television sector since the implementation of the open-sky policy in the 1990s (McMilin 2001). The choice of broadcasting local content is also related to the fact that these local stations are targeting a particular group; they have found a niche in the market. Other than the national broadcasters that have a national reach, local stations broadcast for a specific audience in a limited geographical area.

²¹ See, for instance, in 'TV Lokal Harus Kreatif dan Lepas dari Ketergantungan' <http://www.kpi.go.id/index.php/lihat-terkini/30905-tv-lokal-harus-kreatif-dan-lepas-dari-ketergantungan>, (Accessed on 30 Oktober 2012)

5.3.2.2 Local content as a direct source of income

As part of the content analysis, I have categorised the locally oriented programmes based on their production origins - local, national and imported. The local category includes programmes produced by local stations themselves and those by local/regional production houses. The national category is applied to programmes that come from other places in the country: and the import category consists of foreign programmes. The result of the analysis is presented in Table 6.

Table 6 The percentage of programs by production origin parameter

Category	Jogja TV	TATV	Bali TV	Pacific TV
Local	85%	89%	86%	74%
National	12%	6%	3%	9%
Imported	3%	5%	11%	17%

The result reveals that the biggest percentage of the programming of these four stations is produced by themselves (in-house production). It is a common practice in the television industry elsewhere to broadcast programmes from production houses, but this is not the case with these four local stations. TATV and Pacific TV do not even have any shows produced by a local production house. Furthermore, in these four stations, programmes in the national (produced in Indonesia by other production house or TV stations outside the region) and international (imported programmes) categories form a low percentage of the overall programming. How can this be explained? The answer is related to the fact that local programmes serve as a means to generate direct income for these stations.

Local programmes have proven to be profitable because they can generate direct income through the practices of sponsorships and ‘invitations’ that I have explained in the previous chapter. Many sponsors are local, such as local government institutions, universities, schools, restaurants, hotels and alternative clinics. Local content shows are often produced to accommodate the requests of these sponsors. This explains why local broadcasting in these four stations is dominated by similar formats, namely news programmes, talk shows and magazine/feature programmes. These formats are most suitable to accommodate local sponsorships.

The content analysis of the format of local stations (Table 2) reveals that in all four stations the biggest portion of broadcasting hours is devoted to news programmes. In TATV, local news programmes form almost 50 percent of its local content. All four stations have at least four daily news broadcasts (excluding breaking news), in the morning, in the afternoon, in the evening and at night. With the exception of Pacific TV, all stations also broadcast news in the local language: Jogja TV has two programmes

(*Pawartos Enjing* [morning news] and *Pawartos Ngayogyakarta* [News around Yogyakarta]), TATV has four (*Trang Sandyakala* [evening news], *Kabar Wengi* [night news], *Joglosemar* [an acronym of three neighbouring cities of Yogyakarta, Solo and Semarang] and *Kecrek* [handcuff]) and Bali TV has one (*Orti Bali* [Bali news]). The duration of these programmes varies from 30 to 60 minutes (including commercial breaks).

The economic benefits of news programmes began to be recognised in Indonesia during the reformation era. In the context of political turmoil that preceded and followed the fall of President Suharto, news broadcasts became very popular, as people were eager to watch or listen to political news. All national stations started to use news to compete with each other. The same happened at the local level (Gazali 2002). Local stations followed the trend of the national stations. The producers of local stations whom I have interviewed all claimed the popularity of their news programmes. Furthermore, for many stations, local news programmes form the source of direct income through the practice of 'invitation' (see Chapter 4). By paying a certain amount of money, people can have their activities covered by local stations. Such practice is common in Jogja TV and Bali TV.

The prominence of the feature/magazine format is also related to the fact that it generates direct income for local stations in a form of sponsorship. There are magazine programmes about business profiles sponsored by local hotels, spas or restaurants. Programmes on education also usually contain items sponsored by educational institutions that want to promote themselves. Compared to the news or talk show format, this feature/magazine format requires more production time and is more expensive to produce. This explains why such a format applies mainly to weekly programmes.

Another set-up of local content programme that often generates income for local stations is the talk show. In all four stations this forms one of the biggest percentages of local content broadcasts (see Table 2). Local stations usually offer this as a sponsored package, meaning that the sponsors can appear as the guests in the show and decide which topics they want to discuss. In the four stations investigated almost all talk shows are sponsored, for instance by local governments, universities and health clinics. The talk show format offers advantages for local stations. First of all, it does not require a lot of production process. Local stations do not have to look for the guests, as they are usually already provided by the sponsors. The sponsors often bring their own studio audience as well. Furthermore, because the programme is usually live, there is no need for an editing process. Talk shows are one of the most popular programmes on local

television. This can be seen by the many phone calls that such a programme receives. I will discuss talk shows in more detail in the next chapter.

5.3.2.3 Local content as a way to minimise production costs

Considerations of cost also play an important role in the production of local content. Most local stations in Indonesia are facing financial constraints due to several problems. First of all, many stations were established with a relatively small investment capital. Ideally, according to different experts, the initial investment for a local television should be between 50 and 100 billion Rupiah (Tempo 13 June 2005²², Kompas 24 April 2008²³), but many local television stations, including the four stations investigated, were set up with less than this ideal amount. Second, the difficulties in generating income have also become a widely-felt problem of local stations in Indonesia. This financial predicament has affected the production of programmes. Local programmes have become the choice as they can be produced at low cost.

To minimise the cost local stations rely on non-fiction programmes. During the period of fieldwork no local stations broadcast a locally made film or television drama series.²⁴ This is in contrast to the national commercial broadcasters that rely heavily on the popular *sinetron* (Indonesian version of television soap drama). Such shows are known for their high production costs.²⁵ Local television producers whom I interviewed admitted that their stations do not have the capacity either in financial or human resources to produce programmes such as those of the national broadcasters. The general manager of TATV for instance, explained that her station implemented a 'zero-budget' policy, meaning programmes have to be produced with the lowest cost possible (Interview 7 October 2010). This explains why many programmes on this station are produced in the studio with the same properties, as recycling the props offers some savings in the production cost.

The popular formats on local stations (news programmes and talk shows) are relatively cheap to produce. The talk show on local stations usually has a very simple setting - a studio with a few chairs and a painted backdrop. The shows rarely use any sophisticated animations or effects and usually do not contain any extras such as

²²Televisi Lokal. Euforia Orang Kaya Daerah' (Local Television. Regional Rich People Euphoria) <http://majalah.tempointeraktif.com/id/arsip/2005/06/13/EB/mbm.20050613.EB119024.id.html> (accessed 17 April 2011).

²³'Perencanaan Bisnis TV Lokal Belum Matang' (Local television's business planning is not yet well developed) <http://regional.kompas.com/read/2008/04/24/1810086/perencanaan.bisnis.tv.lokal.belum.matang> (accessed on 12 March 2012)

²⁴ Bali TV has had an experience of broadcasting a local drama series produced by local production house. The experiment, however, did not last for long because of financial difficulties that the production house was facing.

²⁵ For the discussion on the production of *sinetron* see Loven 2003.

reports, clips or any other entertainment elements. News programmes are also popular among local stations in Indonesia because of their low production costs. As a manager of a local station in Manado told me, 'unlike expensive entertainment programmes, for news you only need a table and a visual effect' (Interview, 11 January 2012). TATV uses freelance reporters, known as video journalists, in gathering news items. Compared to a national broadcaster that is specialised in news programmes, the production cost of a news item on TATV is much lower. While the production of a news item by a national news broadcaster would be budgeted at around 200 thousands rupiah per news item, in TATV the budget for an item is only around 15 thousands Rupiah (interview with a news correspondent, 6 October 2010).

Although most local stations produce weekly features and magazine programmes, these are often marginalised. Because many such shows do not generate income (no sponsorship or advertising), they are not the priority for the stations. Producers of magazine programmes in Bali TV and Jogja TV explained to me that they face a lot of difficulties in producing them regularly because of the limited availability of cameras and editing facilities. The priority is given to the programmes that are sponsored. Therefore, according to these producers, it is not a problem if they have to rerun a previous programme once in a while. This explains why rerun programmes are very common among local stations.

As part of their strategy to minimise the production costs, local stations adopt formats that have been used by older local media. These include borrowing those from the state regional television *TVRI Daerah* and popular radio formats. Regional TVRI stations are the pioneers in transforming local traditional stage performances into a television programme. Such performances include traditional dances, plays, puppet shows and stage comedy. These are usually arranged by individuals or organisations to celebrate important events. In Bali and Yogyakarta events like these are often organised. In Bali dance performances are often a part of religious rituals. In Yogyakarta the shadow puppet performance (*wayang*) is usually performed at the weddings of wealthy people. Local stations in Jogjakarta and Bali adopt this stage performance format because such shows are relatively easy and cheap to produce. What is needed is a camera crew to attend the event to film it and a simple editing process afterwards. The stations do not have to pay the performers, as they are usually paid by the organisers of the events. In Bali it is very common for the organisers of local events to pay local stations to have their events broadcast on television, for instance in programmes such as *Nangun Yadnya* and *Lila Cita* (both based on performances as part of religious rituals). In Jogja TV, the stage performance shows include *ketoprak* (traditional Javanese

play) and *wayang kulit* (shadow puppet), which are usually organised by individuals or institutions as part of particular celebrations such as weddings, anniversaries and commemorations of important events. The station films the event and broadcasts it. Jogja TV also broadcasts *Ketoprak* performances that are produced by a local production house. Interestingly, this local production house usually has to pay the station for the air-time (interview with an actor of a production house in Yogyakarta 8 October 2010). This explains the small percentage of local station's programmes that are produced by external production houses. Thus, for local stations these stage performances do not only provide ready-to-broadcast entertainment but more importantly they serve as a source of income as well.

Another example of a low cost local content programme is TATV's midday music show *Nyampursari*. Inspired by local performances of *campursari* (a Javanese popular music genre) at weddings in the region, the producers of the programme developed the show by combining this with the popular national formats of live bands (Interview, 7 October 2010). The programme is hosted by a comedy group with studio audiences in the background. It includes the greetings section when people can phone or SMS to request a song and send greetings to friends or families. The producer explained that they have to stick to the zero-budget policy of the station. Therefore they have to be creative in reducing the cost. The local musicians who perform are not paid but their contact details are displayed. Furthermore, the presenter uses his own mobile phones to receive SMSs from the audience. In terms of production, the practice is similar to the idea of community television, where different groups in a community work together to produce a programme. Despite this low production cost, the programme is popular among audiences. When I visited the station in 2010, it had been on air on a regular basis for several years. Because of its success TATV broadcast the off-air format of the programme called *Nyampursari Mampir* [Nyampursari visits], where the presenters visited traditional markets to meet their fans. Because of this show, according to the producer, the presenters and local bands performing in the show have become local celebrities.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined the specificity of local content as part of television programming in post-New Order local television from two perspectives, namely the discursive and the industrial practices. I started by tracing the discursive construction of the concept in different periods of Indonesian television, arguing that the changing political and social dynamics after the fall of President Suharto has given new

importance of local content on television. It has become a significant aspect of television policy in order to create diversity of content as a way to empower the now decentralised regions. The institutionalisation of the concept of local content in the post-New Order broadcasting policy marked a new phase in the programming practices of Indonesian television in which the broadcasting of local content has become an obligation for television stations through the quota regulation. Local content has thus gained political importance as part of local identity politics following the decentralisation process and as a means for constructing local public spheres as part of the democratisation process of the country. However, as is the case of ownership, the regulation has been poorly implemented due to the lack of clear definition and weak law enforcement, as it is evident in the practices of the national broadcasters that resisted complying with the regulation.

I have argued that this new regulation has not played a significant role in shaping the programming of the emerging local stations because it came late and has not been consistently implemented. The emerging local stations developed their programming in the absence of the local content regulations. Thus there were no legal barriers to these stations broadcasting programmes with national or even global orientation. Even when the quota regulation was implemented, it only requires local stations to have local content in 10 percent of its overall programming. However, the content analysis of the four stations reveals that the largest portion of the programming is devoted to locally oriented programmes. By combining content and production analyses of four sample stations, I argued that the domination of locally oriented programmes on these stations is related to the economic model of these stations. The production and broadcast of local content is part of the strategy to survive in the competitive television landscape dominated by national broadcasters. Local content is part of the marketing strategy of these stations. It serves as one of main sources of income and can be produced at relatively low cost. These economic practices shape the characteristics of local content programmes.

In examining the practices of the four local stations, I have put the emphasis on the similarities between them rather than their differences. The reason for this is because my goal is to investigate the underlying process of the construction of local content in these stations. Although these four stations show some variations in terms of local symbols that are used, my analysis shows that the underlying process that explains the production of these programmes is the same. For instance, religious programmes are more prominent on Bali TV and Pacific TV than on Jogja TV and TATV. On Pacific TV Christian religious sermons form a significant percentage of the broadcasting hours,

while on Bali TV it is Hindu religious programmes and rituals. This difference shows that the specific socio-cultural and religious background of different regions play a role in shaping the content of local broadcasts. The production analysis however, revealed that the underlying process that has given rise to such programmes is the same in all four stations, namely the sponsorship/invitation practices. The prominence of religious programmes on Bali TV and Pacific TV can be explained because of the existence of religious organisations and communities that 'invite' local stations to cover their activities.

Programming is central to understanding the social role of local television. It is a public space where events that took place in the regions are reported and where issues of public interests are presented and debated. What is interesting about the production of local content shows in Indonesian local television is how its programming practices connect different local social actors. Local content programmes on four stations are characterised by active participations of local people and institutions, including government bodies, politicians, commercial companies, schools, universities, various religious and cultural communities. Not only do they sponsor the programmes, many of them perform as well. Most locally oriented programmes share this community-based character. The content and production analysis of local content of the four stations reveal the deep embedding of local television in the social and political constellation of local actors. This opens up a new area of investigation to understand how local television plays a role in the local political and cultural transformations in the context of a decentralised Indonesia. In the following two chapters I will zoom in on the political and social processes of the construction of locality in which local television has become entangled as both a facilitator and an active participant.



Chapter 6

Transforming the local public sphere

Local television as a medium of
public communication

6.1 The transformation of local public communication

The implementation of regional autonomy and local elections has led to the emergence of new public communication practices at the local level (Rose 2004, Piper 2009). Under President Suharto the central government kept tight control of political and government communication, characterised by a top-down and closed system that lacked transparency. Through its control of media, the government shielded itself from public scrutiny. Rose (2004) explains that during the New Order there was a gap in the communication process between the government and its citizens. The government, she writes, 'which was supposed to involve citizens and provide public information, including all government information, did not perform this as it should' (Rose 2004:220). With the implementation of regional autonomy the tasks of providing information regarding governmental issues and public interests have been delegated to local government (Rose 2004:219). With this came a demand for a more open model of government communication in which various actors can participate as part of the emerging discourse on good governance. In response, different initiatives have been taken by local government authorities to improve their communication with the public. This is apparent for instance, in the implementation of e-government in almost every local authority both at the provincial and sub-provincial levels (Rose 2004). Moreover, the implementation of direct local elections for the heads of the local government and members of the local council has led to a very competitive local political environment. This has raised the importance of public communication at the local level. For local politicians, media campaigns became an important part of their strategy to win and maintain electoral support.

Local media are involved in this process due to the liberalisation of the media sector. The performance of government becomes a subject of media scrutiny. Piper in researching the role of local media in ensuring government accountability in Indonesia writes:

The end of authoritarian rule meant the chance, for the first time, to report accurately on the workings of the government, and both national and local pre-existing media seized eagerly on the chance to do so. Topics such as local government corruption and parliamentary inaction, the appropriate role of the military in politics, and a whole host of issues previously deemed by the authorities to be taboo, were suddenly daily fodder for the media throughout the country. (2009:7)

Some local government authorities have even established radio and television stations (Sudibyo 2004, Piper 2009). The pervasive government sponsored programmes on local television are also an indication of these changing practices in government communication. Piper (2009) suggests that in post-New Order Indonesia there is a greater awareness among government officials of the importance of engaging in open communication processes with the public. Their appearance in local media by giving interviews in news programmes or talking to the audience in a live talk show is often seen as a way to meet the demand for accountability and transparency in governance processes.

Furthermore, local media have become a space for political campaign for local politicians (Hill 2009, Lindsay 2009). In all locations of my fieldwork there was evidence of this process. Jogja TV for instance, in September 2010 during the campaign period for the election of the head of district (*bupati*) of Klaten, broadcast advertisements from the incumbent *bupati*. Another example can be found in Bali TV when Vice-Governor Puspayoga became a sponsor of a reality show, *Wirasa*, broadcast weekly in October 2011, in which he gave donations to the poor in various villages in Bali. By then it was already known that he had the ambition to run for governor in the election in 2013. Moreover, the newly elected heads of districts and city mayors often have a talk show programme on local television. For example, the talk show *Dialog Interaktif* (Interactive Dialogue) with the head of district of Gunung Kidul broadcast by Jogja TV on 23 September 2010, and a similar programme called *Forum Solusi* (Solution Forum) with the mayor of Semarang broadcast by TATV on 6 October 2010. This chapter examines the embedding of local television in these transformations of government and political communication.

6.1.1 Public communication and the concept of the public sphere

As I have explained in Chapter 1, local television was envisioned as a platform for local public communication as part of the empowerment thesis that underpinned the decentralisation of the television system with the idea of television as a space of the local public sphere. The concept of the public sphere gained its significance in Indonesia during the *reformasi* period and was an important justification of the transformation of the media system. According to Jurriëns, 'many of the 'Indonesian' public sphere, public media and civil society concepts have their roots in Habermasian thought' (2009:26). The notion of the public sphere has migrated to Indonesia, among others, through scholars in the University of Indonesia, which Jurriëns called the Depok School, referring to the location of the university. These scholars disseminated the concept through

numerous research projects and workshops. The Depok School defines 'the public sphere (*ranah publik*) as a 'public space' (*ruang publik*) independent of the economic system and the state, where members of the public conduct rational discussions, formulate their opinions and monitor the government' (ibid.). This definition indicates the importance of the concept of the public sphere in the constitution of public communication system in post-New Order Indonesia.

The idea of the *public sphere* is perhaps the most widely used concept to explain the role of the media in the public communication processes in the context of liberal democracy. Jürgen Habermas (1989) theorised the concept as a modern category of publicness specific to eighteenth century Europe. Since the publication of the English version of his book *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, it has been employed to investigate the conditions of mediated public communication processes beyond the context of Western democracy, as its migration to Indonesia attests.

The concept of *the bourgeois public sphere*, which according to Habermas exemplified the ideal form, entails a public communication space where 'private people come together as a public [...] to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor' (1989:27). Importantly, Habermas suggests that such a sphere is characterised by critical rational debate to form public opinion. He writes

The model of a public sphere in the political realm that claimed the convergence of public opinion with reason supposed it to be objectively possible (through reliance on an order of nature or, what amounted to the same, an organization of society strictly oriented to the general interest) to keep conflicts of interest and bureaucratic decisions to a minimum, in so far as these could not be completely avoided, to subject them to reliable criteria of public evaluation. (1989: 130-131)

Developed from Habermas's definition, the concept of the public sphere has been adapted by media scholars to analyse the present conditions of public communication as part of democratic processes. Although the concept of the bourgeois public sphere has been much criticised, among other things, for its failure to acknowledge the plurality of public communication spaces, the idea that such a space exists '- a discursive, institutional, topographical space - where people in their roles as citizens have access to what can be metaphorically called societal dialogues, which deal

with questions of common concern,' is widely acknowledged as an essential condition for democratic processes (Dahlgren 1995:9). 'One could say that a functioning public sphere is the fulfilment of the communicational requirements of a viable democracy' (ibid.). Importantly, the constitution of public sphere is contingent to specific socio-historical contexts: it is subject to continual change as social and economic-political forces in society alter. As Dahlgren suggests 'there is no single universal model which is possible or even suitable for all historical circumstances' (1995:11). The development of television as a medium of public sphere in Indonesia illustrates such an argument.

6.1.2 Television as a medium of public sphere in Indonesia

Although television had been widely received in Indonesia since the late 1970s, it can only be considered as a medium of public sphere after private stations started to broadcast news programmes in the mid 1990s. Until then television was the domain of the state and was used mainly as a propaganda tool to maintain the New Order's hegemonic ideology of development and national unity (Kitley 2000; Sen and Hill 2000). For instance, although the state television TVRI broadcast news programmes, these were reserved exclusively for the purpose of government communication, leaving very limited space for other social actors to participate. In analysing news bulletins of TVRI argues Philip Kitley that 'news is part of the public relations activities of state officials and departments, who use it to promote aspects of the national culture project for which they are responsible' (2000:190).

The state's monopoly of television as a public communications space continued even after the introduction of private stations in the 1990s. These new stations were not allowed to broadcast any programmes that contained political discussions. According to Kitley, 'it is not only politics-as-news that is denied to commercial channels. Any programming that specifically addresses political activity is considered to be beyond the brief of both commercial and state television' (2000:253). This was part of the regime's policy to depoliticise the media. Private stations were obliged to relay news bulletins of the state television TVRI. Kitley argues that 'government restrictions on the production of news can be interpreted as signifying a struggle over the roles, rights, and opportunities for social groups to participate in the framing of issues of public concern and to influence political processes and decision making' (2000:250).

The role of television as a space for public sphere during the New Order started to change when private stations were allowed to produce their own news bulletins, albeit under the strict requirement not to broadcast any politics-related news. Kitley (2000) in analysing first news programmes ever produced by private stations in the second half of

the 1990s argues that these programmes introduced new values in the public communication on television. He argues that the popular evening news bulletin *Seputar Indonesia* (Around Indonesia) of RCTI, 'constructs a mediated space that acknowledges viewers as members of the national public, but also as private citizens, living in specific, named locations, with a rich array of interests, pressures, problems, desires and attachments to local places and traditions' (2000:262). In this period, the potential of private television as a space of public sphere started to materialise. According to Kitley (2000), commercial stations were able to circumvent the formal restrictions of the regime by producing programmes that dealt with current affairs. 'Usually described as "information programs," all stations now present dialogue, current affairs, news features, news magazines, forums [...]' (Kitley 2000:257).

The fall of the New Order regime has dramatically transformed Indonesian television and its public role. During the *reformasi* period, television appeared as a major medium in which public debates on social and political matters previously banned from television took place in a manner unthinkable during the New Order regime. The loosening of the state's control made it possible for television to become the space where public debates on democracy and political issues took place. According to Stephen Atkinson (2000), who analysed television political campaign advertisements in the first multiparty election after the fall of the New Order regime in 1999, commercial television played an important role in the emerging space for political communication. He writes:

On the one hand it provided a forum for discussion between politicians, 'experts' and commentators, thereby familiarising a large cross-section of its audience with the debates, issues and personalities involved in the election. The openness of these discussions was a striking example of the changes that were taking place in the media, the political system and in society generally. (2000:86)

Television has moved to the centre of political and government practices. During elections for instance, television appears as the main medium for political campaign (Atkinson 2000; Tomsa 2007; Lindsay 2002). In his research on the television political campaign in the 2004 election Tomsa found that 'television was by far the most frequently used media for voters to obtain information about the election process' (2007:79). Importantly, the liberalisation of the television market has led to the rise of commercialism as the dominant force that shaped the face of Indonesian television. In this context, during the *reformasi* period public affairs were turned into a commodity by

commercial television stations. As the Indonesian economy at that time was still suffering from the economic crisis that had hit the country, television stations faced financial difficulties because of the decline of advertising revenue. Programmes on current affairs offered solutions for private stations because they were cheap to produce and very popular among viewers (Atkinson 2000:90). This development marked the rise of news and current affair programmes on Indonesian television. The establishment of television stations that specialise in news and current affairs in post-New Order is part of this development.

Indonesia has entered what Blumler and Kavanagh called the 'third age of political communication', 'marked by the proliferation of the main means of communication, media abundance, ubiquity, reach and celerity' (1999:220). In this age 'centripetal communication is to some extent retreating and centrifugal communication is advancing' (Blumler and Kavanagh 1999:221). The constitution of local television as a medium of public sphere took place in the specific context of Indonesian history.

The availability of television as a medium of local public communication in Indonesia is a new phenomenon. Although regional state television stations (*TVRI Daerah*) existed, their role in this was limited. First of all, it was not available in all provinces and the stations broadcast only for a very limited time. Second, as part of the central TVRI, regional stations were also used exclusively as the government's communication medium and functioned mainly as relay stations for the central TVRI. The introduction of local commercial television stations thus gave rise to new dynamics in the public communication practices throughout the regions in Indonesia. A few studies look at the role of local television in the transformation of local government and political communication practices as part of a broader study of local media (Piper 2009, David T. Hill 2007, 2009, 2011). These studies indicate the importance of local television as a new medium of local public sphere. However, they ignore the question of what the contours of this public communication space constructed on television look like and which factors explain its constitution, in particular the role of commercial practices in shaping the dynamics of public communication on television. In this chapter I focus on these questions.

6.1.3 Method

In employing the concept of the public sphere to analyse the role of local television in the processes of public communication in post-New Order Indonesia, I focus on scrutinising the organisation of television programmes as communication spaces for

public dialogues between social actors. In doing so, I agree with Craig Calhoun, that in investigating the constitution of public sphere

We must ask not just on what thematic content it focuses but also how it is internally organized, how it maintains its boundaries and relatively greater internal cohesion in relation to the larger public, and whether its separate existence reflects merely sectional interests, some functional division of labor, or a felt need for bulwarks against the hegemony of a dominant ideology. (1992:38)

As a communicative space, in its ideal form the public sphere presupposes an equal access for all members of society to participate in the public dialogue. Habermas, writes, 'the public sphere of civil society stood or fell with the principle of universal access. A public sphere from which specific groups would be *eo ipso* excluded was less than merely incomplete; it was not a public sphere at all' (1989:85). This however, is difficult to achieve in the practice of mediated communication, because, as Nicholas Garnham argues 'access to both channel and means depends upon the mobilization of scarce material resources, the distribution of which is dependent upon the very structures of economic and political power that democratic processes of debate were intended to control' (1992:365). The public sphere is thus characterised by asymmetrical power relations between different actors in gaining and maintaining access to it. These dynamics of access shape the constitution of the public sphere. The virtue of Habermas's approach is in its systematic analysis of 'the problem raised by all forms of mediated communication, namely, how are the material resources necessary for that communication made available, and to whom?' (Garnham 1992:361). Following Craig Calhoun, 'any public sphere is necessarily a socially organized field, with characteristic lines of division, relationships of force, and other constitutive features' (1992:38). Therefore, it is important to pay attention on the organisation of such a sphere: who has access to it and under what conditions? How are the interactions between the actors shaped by asymmetrical power relations? In short, how does local television structure the access of social actors and their interaction in the televised public communication processes?

In practice, this means I will look at both the programmes and their production processes in order to gain insights into the contours of the public communication space on local television including the mechanisms that underpin its construction. The analysis combines textual and production analyses of four sample stations (Bali TV, TATV, Jogja TV and Pacific TV. For the textual analysis I use programmes that were

broadcast during the same viewing week used for the analysis in Chapter 5. The production analysis is based on interviews and observations in three stations (Bali TV, Jogja TV and TATV) where I did an extensive fieldwork. As for Pacific TV, I rely on interviews with former managers because the station did not give me permission to conduct a fieldwork there.

I argue that while some legacies of the 'old' New Order model of public communication on television persist, some changes are also apparent. In fact, the practices of local television demonstrate the emergence of a public communication culture that differs from that of the New Order. To demonstrate this, I will discuss two types of broadcasts in which such changes are most apparent, namely local news programmes and talk shows. These programmes appear as an important medium of local public communication that deals with issues of public interest in which key social actors participate. The next section will discuss the emergence of local news programmes as a medium for political and government communication. I will then examine the role of talk shows on local television in promoting the culture of dialogue on television.

6.2 The rise of local news programmes

Indonesia has witnessed the changing television news culture in line with the social and political transformations of the country. During the New Order news on the media was shaped by the dominant state political culture. According to Romano, press under the New Order was shaped by an 'integralistic' and 'patriarchal' political culture. She writes

In short, political leaders claimed that rulers were spiritually at one with ruled and that all the individuals and organisations that made up the family-like nation should cooperate, rather than compete for vested interests. Using this philosophy, they also argued that good government and popular sovereignty did not require the system of checks and balances inherent in trias politica (the three estates) model of Western political systems [...] The New Order, however, decreed that the three estates should engage in cooperation rather than mutual correction of each other's function. (2003: xii)

In her view, this political culture shaped the role of the press. 'Many New Order Ideologies thus automatically considered it inappropriate for the press to behave as the so-called 'fourth estate of politics', as it does in many Western countries, scrutinizing the affairs of the first three estates' (ibid.). It has also shaped television news, which during

the New Order was monopolised by the state television TVRI. Kitley (2000:186) argues that 'the national news has been a prime vehicle for the symbolic representation of the central significance of development in the national culture project'. This resulted in the emphasis on state officials and ceremonial events in the news. He describes the TVRI television news as follows:

But while Indonesian bulletins share something with Western news bulletins in their emphasis on elite figures, it is the ceremonial content of the news, the very high representation of state officials in news items, and the convention of giving equal or more than equal time on screen to non-elite people involved in ceremonial events that clearly indicate that a distinctive news culture operates in Indonesia. (Kitley 2000:179)

With the introduction of commercial television, a new television news culture emerged in Indonesia, one that is motivated by commercial considerations. Kitley suggests that the viewer of commercial news programmes is addressed as 'a private, individual consumer and is typically offered (the illusion of) involvement in decision making about a variety of personal and family issues' (2000:256). This is in contrast to the practices of TVRI news where the audience is positioned as 'a public citizen-in-community whose needs and interests are believed to be satisfied by information about political activity rather than (mediated) involvement and participation in political process' (ibid.). This commercialism ideology became dominant following the liberalisation of the television sector after the fall of the New Order. Indonesia is entering a new era of television news practices where information is treated as a commodity. 'Latest', 'sensational' and 'controversial' have become the criteria for television news. After decades of development news of TVRI, in post-New Order Indonesia the standard television news programmes have become those of commercial stations. In line with this development, criticism of commercial news programmes common in other countries is also apparent in Indonesia. For instance, there is objection to its popularisation strategy. The pervasive development of tabloid television news programmes, such as infotainment and crime news shows, has become the object of criticism (Dani 2006, Harsono 2004). Furthermore, the objectivity of news programmes of commercial television stations is often questioned because of the relationship of the owners of the stations to particular political parties.

6.2.1 Introducing local television news programmes

During the era of the state television TVRI, the regional stations broadcast regional news bulletins. However, little is known about these. As part of the central TVRI station, presumably, they shared the same characteristics as the national TVRI bulletins. With the proliferation of local commercial stations local television news started to gain the public's attention. Those that mostly caught media and academic attention are those presented in local language, which are very popular in some regions. Arps and Van Heren (2007) for instance, in analysing the JTV local news programme in Javanese (with local dialect), '*Pojok Kampung*', claim that this is part of the broader commercialisation process of television news in post-New Order Indonesia. My review of the programming in four stations reveals that local news programmes have more variety than merely news in a local language. They are available daily and in some stations in different languages (see Table 1).¹

Table 1 List of daily news programmes in four stations

Stations	News programmes
Jogja TV	06:00 Seputar Jogja Pagi (Around Jogja Morning) 07:00 Pawartos Enjing (Morning News in Javanese) 08:00 Good Morning Jogja (local news in English) 18:30 Seputar Jogja (Around Jogja) 19:00 Pawartos Ngayogyakarta (News of Jogjakarta in Javanese) 22:30 Seputar Jogja Malam (Around Jogja Evening)
TATV	06:00 Terang Pagi (Bright Morning) 16:30 Trangsandyakala (Sundown, in Javanese) 19:00 Surakarta Hari ini (Surakarta Today) 20:30 Kabar Jateng dan DIY (News around Central Java and Yogyakarta province) 23:00 Kabar Wengi (Evening News in Javanese)
Bali TV	06:35 Seputar Bali Pagi (Around Bali Morning) 13:00 Berita Siang (Afternoon News) 18:05 Seputar Bali (Around Bali) 19:30 Orti Bali (Bali News, in Balinese)
Pacific TV	07:00 Pacific News Pagi (Morning Pacific News) 12:00 Pacific News Siang (Noon Pacific News) 18:00 Pacific Petang (Evening Pacific News) 23:00 Pacific News Malam (Night Pacific News)

Most news programmes are in Indonesian, in terms of televisuality not differing from their national counterparts. In fact, many local television news programmes adopt

¹ Apart from these 'hard news' programmes of what happened within 24-hours, some stations also broadcast other news genres. A weekly crime news programme is broadcast on TATV (Kecrek) and Bali TV (Kris). Pacific TV broadcasts LIPS Liputan Selebritis, a local infotainment programme that contains news of local celebrities. TATV also broadcasts two infotainment programmes on week days (Selebriti-Selebriti Hot Gosip and Selebriti-Selebriti Terkini) but these concern national celebrities.

the formats of the national stations. Their duration is between 30 and 60 minutes with one or two news presenters. Except for Pacific TV, all stations broadcast news bulletins in local languages. Jogja TV and Bali TV even have a local news programme in English. Unlike the news in Indonesian, their focus is predominantly on (ethno-local) cultural issues and events.² It has to be noted that although local stations broadcast different news programmes, many of them contain the same items: programmes in local languages and in English for instance, often contain items that are translated from broadcasts in the Indonesian news. Many items on the evening news are often also re-broadcast in the morning and afternoon programmes.³

Here I want to examine the contours of the public communication space constructed in local television news by analysing the evening local news bulletins in Indonesian of the stations investigated (*Seputar Jogja*, *Surakarta Hari Ini*, *Seputar Bali* and *Pacific Petang*). I have chosen these case studies because in these bulletins news related to the government and political issues are presented. Furthermore, the evening news bulletins on these stations offer the most up-to-date items of the day that are often repeated in other bulletins. Based on content and production analysis, I argue that the public communication in these programmes is shaped by a distinct news culture that is the result of the legacies of TVRI news practices and the economic model of local stations.

6.2.2 Content analysis

The corpus for the content analysis consists of 249 news items.⁴ I used two categories namely *topic* and *actor*. The category topic refers to the content of the news: the actor category includes the people being interviewed in the news. In total there were 217 people interviewed or a fragment of their speech was shown. Each category is then coded with sub-categories presented in Table 2.

The 'ceremonial' sub-category needs explanation because of its specific characteristics. Kitley has studied the daily evening national bulletin of the state TVRI during the New Order and found that 'all show that for the last twenty years on the national news on TVRI has persisted with a ceremonial form and content focused largely on ritual celebration of the development activities and ethos of the government'

² This is related to the role of television in the practices of local identity, which I will discuss further in Chapter 7.

³ On Jogja TV, during the viewing week the morning news is a rerun of the evening news the day before.

⁴ These are all news items broadcast, excluding the introduction and weather reports. Due to technical problems (electricity and bad weather) two recordings could not be watched (*Seputar Bali* on October 26th 2011 and *Surakarta Hari Ini* on 5 October 2010). Therefore news items for these particular programmes could not be included.

(2000:186). He then identified different types of ceremonial news that include reports on government activities such as formal meetings, visits of prominent government officials to a particular location or activity, formal speeches of government officials, signing rituals 'to commemorate the launching or official opening of a particular venture' and award presentations (Kitley 2000:363-4). This news category can be found on all four stations. The result of the content analysis is presented in Table 3 and 4.

Table 2: Category and sub-categories of the content analysis

Category	Sub-categories	Explanations
Topic	Councils/local politics	News on elections, policies/regulations issued by government and local parliaments, corruption cases involving officials.
	Local problems	News about public service, traffic, health, economic issues.
	Occurrences	Crime, accidents, disaster.
	Ceremonial	Items on ceremonial activities of government institutions, political parties and various social/educational organisations, such as opening of seminars/meetings, ceremonies to commemorate important dates (<i>upacara</i>).
	Events	News on cultural, educational, sport, religious and social events.
	Promotion	Product advertisements presented as a news item, for example launch of a new product.
	Other	News items that cannot be included in other sub-categories such as news on professional sport competitions, human interests and features.
Actor	Authorities	Government officials, members of parliaments, police, judges and lawyers.
	Citizens	Individual persons not representing any organisation.
	Private	Representatives of private organisations and associations
	Social	Figures speaking on behalf of social, cultural, education and religious organisations.
	Politicians	Figures from political parties who are not members of the authorities.
	Activists	Figures from NGOs

6.2.3 *Distribution of topics*

The content analysis of the topics covered by the four stations reveals that their news programmes include various topics common in television news elsewhere. All concern events that happened in their local areas. There was no national or international news found in the corpus. This is presumably related to the fact that some of these stations have their own national and international news programmes (see Chapter 5). The most covered categories include ceremonial news, political/governmental news and occurrences. While political and occurrences are common topics in television news, the large quantity of ceremonial news is unique to local television. Its origin can be traced back to the practices of TVRI news bulletin.

Table 3 Distribution of topics

Topics	Bali TV (n=81)	Jogja TV (n=63)	TATV (n=59)	Pacific TV (n=46)
Ceremonial	44%	14%	2%	20%
Councils/local politics	4%	21%	24%	48%
Occurrences	9%	18%	43%	15%
Local problems	11%	32%	16%	6%
Events	22%	6%	9%	6%
Promotion	7%	3%	0%	0%
Other	3%	6%	6%	5%

The category of ceremonial news can be found on all stations, but most frequently on Bali TV and least often on TATV. It forms the biggest portion of the total corpus. Similar to the practices of TVRI, these news items include various reports of ceremonial character, among them being reports of formal government meetings, the opening ceremonies of various activities of different organisations such as seminars, inauguration of new buildings and the launch of projects. The inauguration ceremonies of newly elected heads of particular government departments also often feature on local news. Items on visits of government officials to a particular location or activity are also common. Furthermore, this ceremonial category also includes the commemorations of important national days, and the accompanying mass ceremony. Those who are familiar with news bulletins of TVRI during the New Order will immediately recognise these by their visual structure. Kitley (2000) describes the customary visual character of TVRI ceremonial news items as follows: ‘Introduction by studio presenter – Video footage that establishes the scene or location – establishing shots, zooms, and pans that present the actors to the viewers – Voice-over throughout by studio presenter – Occasional sound bites by the key figure speaking – Occasional sound bites from “door stop”

interviews [...] with key actor.' (p.189). Most of ceremonial news items on local television follow this format (see Figures 1-6 for an example of a typical ceremonial news item broadcast by Bali TV news programmes *Seputar Bali* on 24 October 2004. This item is about the inauguration of the new board of Indonesian Healthy Bone Foundation of Bali Province).



Figure 1 The establishing shot showing the participants of the ceremony.



Figure 2 Sound bites from a speech of the key figure during the ceremony.



Figure 3 The key figures signing documents. This is one of ceremonial rituals often shown on the news.



Figure 4 An interview with the key figure.



Figure 5 Another ritual - raising the flag of the organisation that holds the ceremony.



Figure 6 The last shot showing the key figures congratulating the participants in the ceremony.

The content analysis reveals differences in the distribution of topics between the stations investigated (see Table 3). On Bali TV the ceremonial news category forms the biggest percentage of the topics, while the percentages of news on council/local politics and occurrences are among the lowest. On other three stations however, such topics are among the most frequent categories. On TATV the biggest news portion is in the

category of occurrences, while on Pacific TV it is news on council/local politics. On Bali TV and Jogja TV promotional news is common, but not on Pacific TV and TATV. These differences can be explained by two factors, namely unusual events that take place in particular locations during the recording week and the production procedures of news programmes.

The distribution of topics is partly shaped by extraordinary events that were taking place in the region during the viewing week. For instance, the large portion of occurrence news on TATV can be explained by the viewing week coinciding with the eruption of the nearby volcano Merapi: many news items were related to this natural disaster. On Pacific TV many ceremonial news items, which form the second biggest topic, were related to the fact that the city of Manado was hosting an international event, attended by delegations from ASEAN countries. On Jogja TV the large percentage of local problems reported can be explained by the fact that the viewing week coincided with *Idul Fitri* Holidays, the biggest holiday in Indonesia when people come home to visit families. Jogjakarta is one of the most popular tourist destinations during this holiday period, which often leads to heavy traffic, so many news items in this week were related to traffic problems.

Importantly, the distribution of topics on these four stations is also shaped by the news production practices. The routines of the newsgathering process and the procedures by which news items are produced determine the kind of news shown on local television. On Bali TV for instance, the domination of ceremonial and events categories is related to the invitation practice that I explained in Chapter 4. The stations receive numerous invitations to cover events and activities organised by various organisations in return for payment. The news teams are then sent to these various events. During my observation week of Bali TV, the station could send out up to 10 news teams (a cameraman, driver and reporter) in a day. To a large extent the news items broadcast in these programmes are driven by this invitation practice. This explains the high percentage of ceremonial and events categories on Bali TV. This procedure is also adopted by Jogja TV, which is under the same ownership group as Bali TV. It also occurs on Pacific TV, although with much less frequency. TATV on the other hand, employs a different mechanism of newsgathering by using freelance video journalists, called VJ. These VJs work in different areas and sell raw news materials to the station. News editors then select and edit the news items. Because the VJ's fees are based on how many news items are used by the station, they try to cover events with high news value such as accidents, crime, natural disasters and corruption cases involving local

government officials. This explains the high percentage of occurrences and council/local political categories in this station.

6.2.4 *News on government and political issues*

The percentage of news items related to government and political issues is quite high (second largest category). The percentage is even higher if we include ceremonial news, as most ceremonial issues include activities of government offices and political parties. It includes news on government policies and regulations, comments from members of local parliaments on the government's policy, and news on corruption trials involving government officials or politicians. This demonstrates the emergence of local television news as a public space where issues related to government and politics are mediated. However, although television news has become an integral part of local political and government practices, its importance is still overshadowed by local print media, as with the national media where print determines what is news (Hill 1994). This is apparent for instance, in my interview with an official in the city of Denpasar, who stated that they are more concerned with news published in the newspaper than on television because of the impact of it generates (Interview, 29 November 2011).

Many government-related news items concern public relations activities of the government. The pervasiveness of ceremonial news shows that local television appears as a platform for the government and local politicians. This is connected to the economic model of some of these stations that welcome 'invitations' from audiences. In the locations of my fieldwork this type of news had become subject to criticism. One of the objections to local television news programmes is the lack of a critical attitude to the government. My key informant in Jogjakarta, who was the member of broadcasting commission and a lecturer at Gajah Mada University for instance, argued that local television in Jogjakarta fails to take a critical stance in framing important issues that are taking place in the region. He gave an example of how the station failed to cover news on the controversy around drug use among students in Jogjakarta that became headlines in the print media. In Bali many local media experts whom I interviewed criticise the pervasiveness of ceremonial news on Bali TV that left little room for other important news.

News producers whom I interviewed acknowledge their limitations in producing critical items on governmental and political issues. This is also partly related to the production routines. In Bali TV a news team has to produce three items per day. This explains why they often use the same source. For instance, during their filming of a ceremonial activity, they interview public officials there for other issues, which leads to

the appearance of the same news source in different news items. The same pattern can also be seen in Jogja TV and Pacific TV. Limited resources also play a role. In my interview with news managers of TATV, they admitted that they do not have the capacity to produce investigative news. This can be partly explained by the limitations that local stations face in terms of financial and human resources. As a comparison, a correspondent of national television would receive a few hundred thousand rupiah for a news item, while a correspondent of a local station would only receive a few tens of thousands. Furthermore, managers of local stations stated that it is difficult to find producers with broadcasting background. Most workers have no experience of communication or broadcasting. They have to learn by doing, with a little training before starting work as producers. Managers of the news division of TATV said that good producers use local stations as a springboard to work up to national television stations (Interview 6 October 2010).

Another important reason for the lack of a critical attitude towards the government is related to the clientelistic relationship of the owners of the station with local politicians. Because the economy of local television is dependent on income from local government, they often maintain a close relationship with local politicians in power. This puts constraints on the production of television news. In many cases local stations cannot take a critical stance towards the government. In Manado for instance, the local authority has a contract with almost all local media, including local television stations, whereby they get a fixed amount of money per month for covering the activities of local government. During my fieldwork a local government official told me that the contract with Pacific TV had ended because the station made some negative reports about the mayor. Another example of clientelistic relationship between local television and local a politician is that of Bali TV and Vice-Governor Puspayoga. It is widely known in the region that the Bali Post Group had always got a regular allocation from the budget of the provincial government for media coverage. However, in 2008 the newly elected governor decided to stop this. As a result, Bali Post Group started a negative campaign against the governor, mainly through the newspaper Bali Post. The owner of Bali TV aligned himself with Vice-Governor Puspayoga, who intended to run for governor in the next election. Since then, news about Puspayoga's activities (and those of his wife) often features on the newspapers owned by the group and on Bali TV news. This relationship with local authorities is also apparent in Jogja TV because one of the shareholders of the station is the brother of the Sultan of Jogjakarta, who is also the governor. A news reporter told me that she knows she cannot be critical of the provincial government because of this relationship. News managers of TATV whom I

interviewed also acknowledge these constraints in reporting news about politicians or government offices. However, they stated that when all media in the region have reported negative news about a particular figure, for instance because of corruption, the station would do the same. These instances demonstrate how the access to local television is shaped by economic interests of the stations that limit its potential as a medium of a public sphere.

6.2.5 *Actors participating in the news*

Content analysis reveals that people in authority are those most often interviewed in news items (see Table 4). Government officials, police, lawyers, members of local parliaments form the main source of information on local television news, often in interviews. The dominance of the authorities on news programmes is a common phenomenon that has been documented in many other countries. As Lewis et al. note, 'media sociologists have long agreed that journalism offers little room for the voices of citizens, and is generally focused on the doings of the powerful' (2004:154).

In a democratic context, citizen forms an important part of the public communication process. Studies on television news however, have shown that they play only a minor role. Lewis et al. in their extensive studies on the representation of citizens in television news in the USA and UK conclude that

The citizens of our study are passive observers of a world, constructed and defined by those more powerful than themselves. While they are allowed to express basic emotions about the world, these representations offer no room for the citizens to express political opinions and offer solutions to problems. (2004: 154).

The content analysis of the four stations reveals the same pattern. As can be seen in Table 4, citizens clearly occupy a less prominent place than authorities. Only TATV shows more interviews with citizens. It has to be noted however, that the many interviews with ordinary people were related to the unusual event of the eruption of volcano Merapi that took place in the period of recording: citizens were interviewed mainly as witnesses/victims of a natural disaster. Moreover, organisations that are commonly considered to represent the interests of people, for instance activists or NGOs, are rarely interviewed on television. There are only a few news items in the corpus that contain interviews with activists. The representations of citizens on local news thus confirm the general pattern found in other countries.

Table 4 Distribution of actors interviewed in the news

Actors ⁵	Bali TV (n=70)	Jogja TV (n=50)	TATV (n=60)	Pacific TV (n=37)
Authorities	33%	66%	40%	88%
Citizens	11%	26%	43%	6%
Private	32%	4%	7%	3%
Social	18%	2%	3%	3%
Activists	0	2%	7%	0
Politicians	6%	0	0	0

According to Lewis et al. (2004), 'the hierarchy of access embedded in dominant news values is not the result of a journalistic conspiracy, but comes out of the practices of newswork; the rationalisations that make journalism possible' (2004:154.). The prevalence of authorities on the news is related to the process of newsgathering. Interviewing authorities offers shortcuts for journalists to get information in limited production time. This is of course also applicable in Indonesia but it is also related to a specific journalistic culture, namely the invitation practice and the 'envelope' culture - the common practice of giving *amplop* (envelope) containing money to journalists.

Romano in her extensive research on politics and the press in Indonesia explains that the envelope practice is part of the journalistic culture in Indonesia. She writes,

The envelope culture is largely a clandestine one, as neither sources nor journalists openly flash envelopes or bundles of money around at press conferences. Sources or their public relations personnel regularly conceal envelopes between press releases, copies of speeches or other documents that they provide to journalists. (2003:151)

Although it is difficult to assess the extent of this practice in local television, 'the envelope' culture can also explain why reporters tend to interview public officials. During one of my observation periods with news teams in Bali, I happen to witness an instance when a government official gave money to the reporter who had just interviewed him. The reporter refused the money and explained to me that it is a common practice with government officials to give money. The news manager of Bali TV explained that it is indeed common and that company policy is not to tolerate it. She admitted however, that this is difficult to control (Interview 29 December 2011). The

⁵ For definition see Table 2.

same is also apparent in Manado, as was explained to me during my interview with the head of the broadcasting commission in Manado (Interview 18 January 2012).

Although citizens themselves are rarely represented on the local television news in Indonesia, there is another space for public participation in the news programmes available through the interactive part of the programme. In the morning news bulletin of TATV the audience can report any problems related to public facilities such as problems with streets lights, traffic or damaged roads. Pacific TV has a segment on its evening news programmes when the audience can phone in to express their opinion on the topic discussed in the interviews with local figures. Bali TV has a programme '*Giliran Anda*' (your turn) broadcast right after the evening news when the audience can choose the news of the day and express their opinion about it. This interactive practice points to the emergence of dialogic culture as the characteristic of public communication on television in post-New Order Indonesia, which is most visible in the talk shows.

6.3 Talk shows as a space for dialogues

Livingstone and Lunt in analysing talk programmes on television suggest that these have become an important arena in which the communication between the government and the public can take place. They write,

They [talk programmes-BH] can act as spokesmen for the people to both government and experts, conveying opinions, experiences, information and criticism 'upwards' to the elite. They can allow the public to hold politicians and experts to account directly, rather than by proxy [...]. And they can provide a social space for communication among the lay public itself, both in the form of the studio experience and in the relation between studio and home audiences, and thus give everyday experiences and opinions a new and powerful legitimation. (1994:5)

Furthermore, they argue that the popularity of talk shows marks the shift in the communication mode on television, 'from a monologic to dialogic mode of talk,' especially in a country with a monologue television tradition (Livingstone and Lunt 1994:10). Citing the work of Paddy Scannel (1991) they write, 'in the British case, there has been a significant shift in the communicative ethos of broadcasting from an earlier authoritarian model to a more populist and democratic manner and style' (ibid). This shift to a dialogic mode of communication on television is also visible in post-New Order Indonesia.

Jurriëns (2009) in his study of radio talk programmes in Indonesia argues that the post-New Order public communication is characterised by the shift from the monologic into a dialogic communication culture. First, he characterises the mode of communication constructed in the official culture of the New Order as a monologue communication, distinguished by the distance between the government officials and ordinary people. He gives an example by citing the work of Matheson Hooker (1996:71) on the New Order speeches that were 'restrained, planned, directed and directing, leaving the listeners at a distance, not being negotiable through dialogue or questions' (Jurriëns 2009:15). Another example could be found in the television news where 'ordinary people were represented in a passive way, only there to confirm the authority of the officials and the existing power hierarchy in society, while the mediating role of TVRI and its journalists was effaced as much as possible' (ibid). This monologic mode of communication reflected the centralistic government system maintained by the New Order regime, which offered no room for different opinions. Based on his analysis of talk programmes on the radio, Jurriëns argues that, 'this dialogism is broader and goes beyond mere participation in 'normal' dialogue, as it also concerns the 'ideological becoming' of the participants involved' (2009:3). By participating in radio programmes that discuss political issues the audience engage in a process of becoming citizens. According to him, the dialogic process constructed in the media 'also refers to journalistic concepts, programme genres and institutional organisation forms specifically constructed to enhance media literacy and thus ideological awareness of the public' (ibid.). A similar process is taking place on television.

Post-New Order television saw the emergence of a new culture of public communication characterised by dialogism that is most visible in the pervasiveness of talk shows programmes on television. According to Lindsay, who studies television political talk shows on national broadcasters during the election period in Indonesia, 'after the predictability of television interviewing of political figures during the New Order, this sense of immediacy and unpredictability was new and exciting, and certainly empowering to both the "live" studio audience and television viewers' (2002:328). On local television, as I have explained in the previous chapter, the talk show is one of the most common formats and one that is broadcast regularly. In this section I will first discuss the characteristics of local television talk shows. Subsequently, I will consider the contours of the dialogue constructed in the programme by discussing the role of different actors.

6.3.1 Characteristics of local television talk shows

Talk shows are part of the daily programming of local television stations in Indonesia. As I have shown in Chapter 5, they have become a medium of public communication for both commercial and governmental institutions. Here I focus on talk shows that deal with political and governmental issues. In such shows various topics are discussed with guests from different backgrounds, such as academics, activists and members of the local representative body. A review of a week's programming in four sample stations reveal that Jogja TV, TATV and Pacific TV broadcast at least one such show a day. Table 5 lists the talk shows in the viewing week with the topics and list of speakers. During the review week Bali TV did not broadcast any talk shows related to political or governmental issues. However, the station has broadcast such programmes, for instance a dialogue with the governor of Bali that was stopped a few weeks before my arrival in Bali in September 2011.

That local television talk shows' aim at creating a dialogue between different social actors is reflected in the title of these programmes. Some literally use the word 'dialog' or dialogue as the title. For example, Jogja TV has *Dialog Interaktif* (interactive dialogue), while Pacific TV has *Dialog Khusus* (special dialogue). The word 'talk show' is also used - for instance in TATV with its programme 'TATV Special Talk Show' - as are local terms referring to a dialogue. For instance, TATV has a weekly programme called *Jagongan Sar Gedhe*. The word 'jagongan' comes from a Javanese word, referring to a group conversation. Pacific TV broadcast a weekly programme called *Warung Barcarita*. The word 'barcarita' can mean telling a story or conversing. All these titles point to the essence of the programmes, namely the practice of exchanging ideas among groups of people.

Table 5 List of talk shows on public issues during viewing week

Talk shows	Date	Topic	Guests
<i>Dialog Interaktif</i> (interactive dialogue) Jogja TV,	20 September 2010, 15h	Poverty alleviation programme	Two officials from Yogyakarta provincial government
<i>Topik Pers</i> (Topic of the press), Jogja TV,	20 September 2010, 20h	Traffic management	Two officials from the transportation department of the municipality of Yogyakarta
<i>Dialog Interaktif</i> , Jogja TV,	21 September 2010, 17h	Taxes	An official from the provincial tax office of Yogyakarta, an official from the tax office of District Sleman and an official from the provincial government of Yogyakarta.
<i>Topik Pers</i> , Jogja TV,	22	The impact of	Two officials from the agency for the

	September 2010, 17h	climate change to the agricultural sector	assessment and application of technology (BPPT), Yogyakarta office.
<i>Dialog Interaktif</i> , Jogja TV,	23 September 2010, 16h	Development programmes of the District Gunung Kidul	The head of district Gunung Kidul, a member of local parliament and an academic from the University of Gadjah Mada.
<i>Jagongan Sar Gedhe</i> , TATV.	5 October 2010, 21h	Annual budget of the City of Solo	The Head and his deputy of the Solo local parliament.
<i>Special Talk Show</i> , TATV.	15 October 2010, 15h30	Customs (illegal cigarettes)	An official from the central Java province, an official from the central Java custom office and an academic from Sebelas Maret University in Solo.
<i>Dialog Khusus</i> (specific dialogue), Pacific TV.	17 January 2012, 22h	Evaluation of government public service 2012	The coordinator of the North Sulawesi and Gorontalo Ombudsman office.
<i>Warung Barcarita</i> , Pacific TV.	20 January 2012, 22h	Local tax on entertainment in the City of Manado	A member of local parliament of the city of Manado, an official of the municipality of Manado and a representative of the association of entertainment places of Manado.

All talk shows are broadcast live from the television studio. The setting of the studio can be either 'formal' or 'informal'. Most have a formal setting with 'a guest room' where the host and the guests sit in a semicircle around a small table facing the camera. This setting can be seen in *Dialog Interaktif* and *Topik Pers* broadcast by Jogja TV, *Special Talk Show* of TATV and *Dialog Khusus* broadcast by Pacific TV. Other talk shows use a more informal setting, building a 'warung' (café) in the studio. For example, in the *Jagongan Sar Gedhe* broadcast by TATV the studio replicates a typical local street vendor setting with a backdrop showing a picture of the traditional market building Sar Gedhe (one of the biggest traditional markets in the city) (see Figures 7-9). The guests sit on the floor, a practice known as *lesehan*, a common way in the city of Solo for people to enjoy food and drinks in a street café. A similar setting is also shown in the *Warung Barcarita* of Pacific TV, although the guests sit on chairs (see Figures 10 and 11). In the Indonesian context, *warung* is often considered as the place where people meet and engage in conversations. This studio setting contributes to the construction of dialogue, as indicated by the title of the programmes.

The participants in the studio are a presenter and some guests who hold a public function either as government officials, members of parliament from both provincial and sub-provincial level or from other state institutions, such as the police and military. In some talk shows there is a studio audience but they are rarely involved in the discussion.



Figure 7

The setting of the talk show Jagongan Sar Gedhe with the topic of the discussion and the phone number that viewers can use to phone-in is constantly displayed.



Figure 8

The presenter and a guest talking with a street musician playing a Javanese music in the background.



Figure 9

The presenter emulating a street vendor.



Figure 10

The opening graphic of the talk show Warong Bacarita showing an image of a traditional café at the roadside.



Figure 11

The setting shows the presenter (left) and the guests sitting in the street café (warong)

6.3.2 State officials as experts, consultants and policy makers

State officials play several roles in the dialogue. First of all they are presented as *narasumber* or experts. They share their knowledge about the topic and offer solutions and tips for the problems discussed. In *Topik Pers* broadcast by Jogja TV on 22 September 2010, two government officials took the role of experts in the climate and agricultural problem. They gave tips on what plants people should grow and how to deal with the heavy rainy season. This way these officials also function as consultants. In *Dialog Interaktif* of Jogja TV, broadcast on 21 September 2010, the state officials invited were experts in regulations on different types of taxes, whereas in the *Special Talk Show* of TATV broadcast on 15 October 2010, the guests shared their knowledge about customs and the problem of illegal cigarettes.

Most of the time state officials are presented as policy makers. They have to explain matters like government policies or programmes and budgeting. They are also asked to justify their policies and often receive criticism from the public, either through the host or the callers (I will return to this later). The performance of state officials as policy makers can be seen for instance, in *Dialog Interaktif* of Jogja TV broadcast on 23 September 2010 in which the newly elected Head of District of Gunung Kidul explained his programmes. In the *Topik Pers* of Jogja TV broadcast on 20 September 2010, the officials of the provincial transportation department explained their policies for the end of the *Ramadhan* holidays. In the *Dialog Interaktif* of Jogja TV broadcast on 20

September 2010 the government officials of the province of Yogyakarta explained their poverty alleviation programme.

6.3.3 *Hosts as the representatives of the public*

Another important actor in the dialogue is the host: all talk-shows in the corpus are hosted by a single presenter. Hosts do more than just lead the discussion; they often present themselves as representatives of the public, speaking on behalf of society. In *Jagongan Sar Gedhe* the presenter acts as a street vendor, he wears casual clothes and serves the guests with beverages and snacks. This way the conversation is presented as between 'ordinary people' and the members of the local parliament. The presenters often refer to themselves as members of the '*masyarakat*', which can be translated, following Hobart (2006:403), as 'ordinary people' or 'the populace,' according to the context. For example, in *Dialog Interaktif* (Jogja TV 20 September 2010, at 17h), the presenter, in commenting on the amount allocated for the poverty alleviation programme said: 'That is not a small amount of money Sir. And as member of *masyarakat* I just hope that the data that come from the central government is valid'.⁶ Here the presenter sees herself as one of the populace. This specific role of the presenter can change into a general one as a mediator of dialogue between the public and the authority. As such, the presenters form the bridge between the guests and viewers by inviting the viewers to join the dialogue. In *Dialog Khusus* of Pacific TV for instance, the presenter does this by saying: 'We invite you who are interested to ask questions or maybe to give some information or input or even criticisms of this dialogue, please call [...]'.⁷ In *Dialog Khusus* of Pacific TV, the presenter closed the discussion on public service by saying 'we are waiting for the improvement in the public service and therefore we welcome the public's participation'.⁸

6.3.4 *Audience participation in the interactive phone-in section*

Characteristic of these talk shows is the *interaktif* section. The term refers to viewers 'phoning-in'. The host continually asks the viewers to join in: the phone-line numbers which the viewers can call are displayed, in some shows constantly, on the screen. The call can interrupt the studio discussion (or lead to a new topic), as the host will usually stop the discussion when there is a call. In the one-hour shows there are usually one to

⁶ Host: 'Bukan uang yang sedikit ya Pak. Dan kalau saya sebagai anggota masyarakat hanya bisa berharap data yang dari pusat yang disampaikan itu valid begitu. [...]'

⁷ Host: 'Kami mengundang anda yang berminat, atau ingin bertanya, atau ingin memberi informasi, atau memberi masukan, atau bahkan kritik dalam dialog ini silahkan telpon ke [...]'

⁸ Host: 'Kita menunggu perubahan dari pelayanan publik dan itu peran masyarakat kita undang.'

four callers. The input from the callers can be categorised in three ways, namely criticism, suggestion and consultation.

The callers often give their reservations. In *Dialog Interaktif* of Jogja TV (23 September 2010, 16h), a caller criticised the poverty alleviation programme of the government discussed in the talk show, as follows:

Please check the programmes that are told by the guests. I, as member of the people in one of the villages in *Gunung Kidul*, do not know anything about this programme. All of the sudden there was a building built by the PNPM.⁹ There wasn't any discussion in the village. Please evaluate the programme, don't let it go uncontrolled. Nowadays heads of villages, districts and governors are the new kings. They do not really care about the people as long as the fund is used. Please evaluate.¹⁰

In the *Topik Pers* of Jogja TV (20 September 2010), a caller was critical of the performance of police in regulating traffic. In the *Jagongan Sar Gedhe* of TATV, a caller criticised the plan to introduce a new local tax. There is not only criticism; many callers also offer suggestions. This can be seen for instance, in the *Topik Pers* of Jogja TV (20 September 2010, 20h) when callers suggested solutions for traffic problems. In *Dialog interaktif* (20 September 2010, 17h), a caller suggested that the authorities make flyers to inform people about the government programme on poverty alleviation discussed in the talk show.

Apart from criticisms and suggestions, callers often ask for advice or consult the guest about their problems. This can be seen in the *Dialog Interaktif* of Jogja TV (10 September 2010, 17h) with taxes as topic. Two callers asked advice on their tax problems. They received information on the procedures and where to go to get their taxes problems sorted out. The same happened in the *Topik Pers* of Jogja TV (10 September 2010, 17h) when a caller asked about the best strategy for planting in her area during the wet season. The guests then gave her tips.

⁹ The name of the programme is PNPM, an abbreviation of *Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat (National Community Empowerment Programme)*.

¹⁰ Caller 1: 'Mohon program-program seperti ini, yang diceritakan oleh narasumber ini, tolong dicek! Saya sebagai rakyat di salah satu desa di Gunung Kidul tidak tahu menahu tentang program itu. Tahu-tahu ada bangunan dari PNPM. Tidak ada rebug dari dusun apalagi RT. Oleh karena itu, mohon dievaluasi jangan sampai nanti semau gw. Yang namanya kepala desa, bupati, gubernur, itu sekarang raja-raja baru. Sehingga peduli amat rakyat. Yang penting dana itu sudah bisa dipakai. Tolong ini dievaluasi!'

6.3.5 *Dialogue and the changing communicative relationship between authorities and the public*

The setting and the format of talk shows on local television contribute to the construction of these programmes as a public space where government officials engaging a dialogue with the public. For state officials, their appearance on talk shows can be seen as a moment of accountability to the public when they are confronted with criticism and questions about their policies. For the viewers who phone-in and join the dialogue, this can be seen as a moment when they are performing as a citizen, because they are entering a public space, giving opinions and expressing concern about public services.

In these talk shows, the hierarchy between government officials and 'lay people' that is prominent in the monologue type of communication dissolves. This is achieved by welcoming criticism and taking input from other social actors. The callers can introduce topics and can interrupt the discussion. In *Topik Pers* (22 September 2010, 17u) for instance, a caller suggested including social and cultural factors when discussing agricultural problems in Indonesia. The government official agreed, and explained that his department has been attempting such an approach but would welcome more suggestions from the caller. The host then invited the caller to ring again and explain his ideas more fully, which he did.

These accounts of conversations between social actors in talk shows on local television demonstrate how television has become a place where government officials are 'forced' to explain and justify their policies and actions. In other words, it has become a space where public accountability of government officials takes place. Therefore it becomes an important question which government bodies and officials take part in such programmes, and which do not. Their performance on television contributes to the emerging culture of openness in public communication in post-authoritarian Indonesia. The head of the local representative of Solo sums up this in the *Jagongan Sar Gedhe* by saying, "This *Jagongan Sar Gedhe*, the local parliament of Solo reports to the people of Solo, the Solo constituents. How the Solo parliament performs. [We are] very grateful for this *Jagongan Sar Gedhe*. This can be used as a medium to report to the people'.¹¹

¹¹ Guest 1: 'Niki Jagongan Sar Gedhe, DPRD Solo matur lapor dumateng rakyat Solo, konstituen Solo. DPRD Solo nyambut gawene koyo ngopo. La niko wonten Jagongan Sar Gedhe niko matur nuwun sanget. Saget kagem sarana untuk memberi laporan kepada masyarakat'.

6.4 Conclusion

In one of my interviews with television audiences, when discussing local news programmes in Bali, a member of the audience remarked: 'What is going to happen with all those comments we make on television? Are they going to make any difference?' This indicates the changing public communication culture on television that I have discussed in this chapter. The question involves a fundamental relationship between television and social changes. What is the importance of dialogue that is taking place on television? Will this change anything? Of course this is a difficult question to answer because social change is dependent on many factors. Whether the changing public communication culture on television will lead to changes in governance or political processes cannot be dealt with in a straightforward fashion. The answer depends on many other factors. However, the most important role of local television in the public communication process is that of providing a space where different actors can engage in a dialogue, where questions of public interest previously restricted during the New Order can be asked.

That television plays a role in democratic processes is indisputable. As Dahlgren (1995, 2009) points out, in the context of liberal democracies it has become one of the chief media of public communication. It plays a role in 'making politics (and society) visible, in providing information, analysis, forums for debate, and a shared democratic culture' (Dahlgren 1995:2). In this chapter I have shown how television appeared as a new space for public communication processes at sub-national level. The practices of local television demonstrate that in post-authoritarian Indonesia television has moved to the centre of political and government practices. It offers a public communication space that is more open than the New Order television, thus contributing to the constitution of a public sphere at the local level. As Gurevitch and Blumler (1990) point out, 'the media can pursue democratic values only in ways that are compatible with the socio-political and economic environment in which they operate' (1990:26). Thus the pursuit of local television as a medium of public sphere in post-New Order Indonesia cannot be separated from the context in which television is embedded. By analysing news programmes and talk shows, I have investigated how the access to public communication space is structured through television practices.

The analysis reveals both the persistence the New Order public communication culture in the form of ceremonial news and at the same time the emergence of a distinct public communication culture, characterised by the proliferation of dialogue between authorities and citizens. I have argued that the contours of public communication

culture on local television are shaped mainly by the economic model of the station. The sponsorship and invitation practices give access to various local actors to be on television. While its open character has provided a space for local actors to participate in public communication processes, its dependency on sponsorship poses some limitations to the potential of television as a medium of local public sphere, as the analysis of news programmes demonstrated. This ambiguity of local television as a space of public sphere renders the question of public sphere important as a starting point of a critical analysis of television in post-authoritarian Indonesia.



Chapter 7

Television Production of Locality

Redefining the Discourse on Local Identity
through Television Practices

7.1 Defining the discourse on local identity

In post-New Order Indonesia the discourse on local identity has become a subject of both popular and academic debate (Faucher 2006, Jacobsen 2002, Robinson 2011, Reuter 2009, Picard 2008, Bräuchler 2009, Erb et al. 2013). 'The questions of cultural autonomy and the issues of regions reforming themselves based on particular identities' (Erb et al. 2013:13) gained their significance in the context of the changing political and social dynamics after the implementation of regional autonomy. This chapter focuses on the embedding of local television in the construction of the discourse on local identity. As discussed in Chapter 1, local television was the product of the emerging identity politics based on the idea of regional sovereignty after decades of the New Order's strict rule. In the dominant discourse it was envisioned as the platform for the expressions of local identity. In Chapter 5 I have argued that the programming of local stations reflects this, as is evident in the production of local content. In this chapter I seek to explore further the contours of the discourse on local identity by pinpointing various symbols of locality that are mobilised by local stations and importantly, I explain the conditions and mechanisms by which they have come into being.

Due to its many uses and complex meanings, the term 'local identity' needs to be explained. I define local identity in the context of a nation state. The term local here refers to sub-national geographic area such as a province, a city or a district. My main concern is how places such as Bali, Yogyakarta, Solo and Manado are represented to be an axis of identity, a point of identification for a particular locality. Importantly, rather than defining locality exclusively in terms of its spatial dimension, I also perceive it symbolically. I understand local identity as 'a collection of historically accumulated institutional practices, systems of signs and meanings' (Paasi 1999:7). As such, I perceive identity as a process rather than a fixed pre-existing content that lies 'out there' waiting to be discovered. Following Stuart Hall (1992:122), identity should be seen 'as a 'production', which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation'. Local identity is thus seen as a discourse, which in the line of Foucault (1972) is defined as systems of thoughts and knowledge consisting of ideas, attitudes, and practices in which subjects are constructed. It is important to note that as a discourse, local identity is contingent upon a specific historical context. As Hall puts it, identities 'come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power' (1992:225).

Based on the definitions above, in this chapter I argue that television in post-New Order Indonesia appears as an important institutional site in which specific discursive formations and practices of local identity are taking place. It plays a role in what Paasi calls 'the social spatialization' which entails the socialisation process of individual actors and collectivities 'as

members of specific, territorially bounded spatial entities, and through which they more or less actively internalize territorial identities and shared traditions' (in Paasi 1999:4). By examining practices of local television, the aim of the chapter is to lay bare the contours of the production process and the type of organisation from which a particular discourse on local identity emerges. Taking the historical contingency of this discourse into consideration, in my analysis I situate television within broader political, economic and social constellations.

A few studies investigate the role of local media in the construction of the local identity discourse in post-New Order Indonesia (Suryadi 2005, Arps and van Heeren 2006, Macrae and Putra 2007, Birowo 2011, Putra and Creese 2012, Barkin 2013). Here I take a different approach in several respects. Firstly, unlike previous studies that focus on a single location, I adopt a multi-sited perspective that enables me to capture the specificities of local identity practices in different localities. Secondly, while most studies focus on a single genre (mainly 'traditional' cultural programmes such as music and programs in a local language), I choose to start from the general programming of the television stations investigated before eventually comparing different types of programmes (these include 'traditional cultural' programmes, travelling programmes and reality programmes). This approach has proven to be productive in identifying different discourses of identity constructed on local television. Thirdly, my approach is different from most studies that mainly rely on textual analyses: I combine textual and production analysis to understand the contours of and mechanisms that engender a particular discourse on local identity.

I will start by discussing the rise of the discourse of local identity in post-New Order Indonesia, explaining the preconditions that have given rise to the phenomenon and identifying its content. I will then focus on examining the embedding of television in the discursive formation of local identity. I will look at how the rise of local television engendered new discursive practices of local identity in Indonesian television: after which I will focus on investigating the specific discourses constructed on local television, arguing that this new service appears as the site where both the dominant New Order ethno-local discourse and new alternative discourses are constructed.

7.2 The rise of the discourse on local identity in post-New Order Indonesia

The implementation of regional autonomy that marked the end of the centralised authoritarian government of the New Order has given rise to the discourse on local identity. 'Facing rapid political and economic changes, regional intellectuals try to conceptualize who they are, how they are tied to their region and how they relate to Indonesia' (Schulte Nordholt and van Klinken 2007:28). This phenomenon is apparent in various regional movements throughout the archipelago that aim to construct a distinct local identity based on religious and ethnic

identifications. In Bali for instance, the discourse manifested itself in the *Ajeg Bali* (resilient Bali) campaign that aimed to defend Balinese culture against perceived outside threats by emphasising the exclusive Hindu character of Balinese culture (Schulte Nordholt 2007, Picard 2008). In North Sulawesi province new initiatives emerged 'to boost contemporary Minahasa identity,' the dominant ethnic group in the province (Jacobsen 2002:34). Similar movements have also been identified in various regions including the Moluccas (Bräuchler 2009), Kepri province (Faucher 2006), South Sulawesi province (Robinson 2011) and Papua (Timmer 2007).

The rise of the discourse on local identity can be explained from political and economic perspectives. Viewed from the first perspective, it is the product of the changing political dynamics at local levels following the decentralisation and the implementation of local elections (Mietzner 2011). In the context of decentralisation it has become an integral part of the contestation of local power. Having more freedom to manage their administrative and fiscal matters, local leaders mobilise a particular construct of local identity to explain and to legitimise their new role 'as 'traditional' leaders representing the regional interests of their ethnic group' (Schulte Nordholt 2003:577). The significance of the discourse is also driven by the fact that decentralisation has brought about new administrative areas both at provincial and district levels. For these new regions it is part of the process of viewing themselves 'as a distinct politico-cultural community' (Mietzner 2011:9). Furthermore, since 2005 local people can elect their own local representatives. The heads of local government are no longer appointed by the central government but directly elected. According to Mietzner, in this new context, 'the appeal to specific local identities is now prerequisite for local leaders to compete in local elections and successfully manage district and provincial administrations' (2011:8). Local politicians use their participation in 'rituals, ceremonies and festivities to increase their electoral chances' (ibid.).

Economic factors are equally important in explaining the resurgence of local identity discourses in post-New Order Indonesia. The discourse appears as important social capital for the development of local economy. The fiscal decentralisation, which provides the legal umbrella for regional governments to implement their fiscal policies, has given rise to many initiatives to boost local economy. Local governments' attempts to develop tourism in their region for instance, have led to a particular discourse on local identity in many regions. During the New Order Bali and Yogyakarta were the only cities that were known for their tourism industry. In the regional autonomy context many cities have been trying to develop tourism as a new source of income, hoping to emulate the success of Bali and Yogyakarta. As part of this, festivals, rituals and ceremonies that are based on local tradition are revitalised as a way to attract tourists. In Solo for instance, the local government has initiated the Batik Carnival as part of the city's branding as the centre of the Batik cloth, an Indonesian traditional print. Since its launch this annual event has attracted international and domestic tourists. Similarly, in Manado,

the city has been promoting itself as 'the city of ecotourism'.¹ The discourse on local identity has become part of Indonesian cities' entrepreneurial branding strategies to 'to gain a competitive advantage in attracting foreign and domestic investment, although to date this marketing strategy has been most heavily concentrated on the island of Java' (Miller, M.A. 2013:844-5).

7.2.1 *The paradox of the discourse on local identity in post-New Order*

The discourse on local identity in the post-New Order period is characterised by a paradox. It derives from the fact that although the discourse is seen as a form of 'empowerment' of local actors after decades of the New Order's 'aggressive push towards uniformisation' (Mietzner 2011:7), the framework by which it is constructed/mobilised, is precisely the one that was used by the regime to deny differences, namely the ethnic-based conception of identity. Boellstorff terms this 'ethnolocality', which he defines as 'a spatial scale where 'ethnicity' and 'locality' presume each other to the extent that they are, in essence, a single concept' (2002:25).

According to Boellstorff, 'ethnolocality originated as a spatial scale of the colonial encounter, a mode of representation and control' (2002:27) that 'following Indonesian independence [...] lived on through colonialist legal, political, and cultural structures that were retained and transformed by the postcolonial nation-state' (p.31). 'Under the New Order, ethnolocality became the only state-sanctioned way to articulate difference and 'national culture' an overarching unity' (p.32). Each provincial region is assigned a particular ethnic identity under the concept of regional culture (*budaya daerah*): 'Javanese' (with 'Javanese' language, custom and cosmology) live in 'Java'², the 'Balinese' (with 'Balinese' language, custom and cosmology) live in 'Bali', the 'Torajans' (with 'Torajan' language, custom, and cosmology) live in 'Toarajaland'³ and so on' (ibid.).

This dominant discourse was sustained by the regime through various mechanisms. As part of its cultural management, it supervised cultural manifestations at every level (Yampolsky 1995). This appeared in different forms, including education, the establishment of government's cultural offices and also media policy. According to Yampolsky (1995), one of the main objectives of the New Order's cultural policy was to control its political and moral content. Under the regime, culture was 'both bureaucratized and folklorized' (Schulte Nordholt 2003:576). This was achieved, among others things, by assigning each province ethnic cultural attributes such as traditional clothes, houses and dances. Figures 1 and 2 show pictures of the official ethnic attributes of North Sulawesi and Central Java (clothes, dances and houses) that could be found in schoolbooks, calendars and on posters for the classroom wall in Indonesia

¹ <http://www.manadokota.go.id/page-107-visitedanmisi.html> (accessed at 12 November 2012)

² The term includes provinces of Central and East Java and Yogyakarta.

³ This refers to South Sulawesi province

during the New Order. It was part of the regime's systematic attempts to construct a uniform regional identity.



Figure 1 Official ethnic attributes of North Sulawesi province



Figure 2 Official ethnic attributes of Central Java province

The New Order's construction of provincial culture denied diversities existed within the province itself. The policy of establishing an official provincial culture gave a particular ethnic group more privilege than the others. According to Schulte Nordholt, 'the making of provincial cultures was also intended to erase local ethnic differences.' (2003:576). Ironically however, local initiatives carried out by groups excluded from the official discourse during the New Order were based on the same framework. This for instance, was apparent in the attempt of district Banyuwangi in East Java province to gain the state's recognition for its local language 'Using' (Arps 2010). This points out the hegemony of ethnolocal discourse in Indonesia, and arguably in other countries. Calhoun (1993) explains that ethnicity is

Part of a modern set of categorical identities invoked by elites and other participants in political and social struggles. These categorical identities also shape everyday life, offering both tools for grasping pre-existing homogeneity and difference and constructing specific versions of such identities. (1993:235)

In post-New Order Indonesia the discourse gains its importance as local actors from provincial to district levels exercise the freedom to determine their own 'fate' following the implementation of regional autonomy and local elections. Paradoxically, it is exactly the New Order's blueprint on local identity that has been adopted by local actors. Boellstorff writes:

The enduring influence of ethnolocality is apparent in recent movements for regional autonomy (*otonomi daerah*) and 'ethnolocal custom' [...] The spatial scale of ethnolocality has become hegemonic in the sense that even those who reject it do so

through the terms of its own logic- that is, by reversing polarity and asserting ethnocentricity over the nation-state. (2002:32)

In the introduction of their edited book on local politics in post-Suharto Indonesia, Schulte Nordholt and van Klinken argue that discourses on regional identities throughout the archipelago 'are increasingly expressed in similar ways', which according to them are very 'Indonesian' (2007:28). Such discourses, they write, 'are firmly rooted in a body of colonial texts which share a set of assumptions on the nature of these societies. These texts are moreover expressed in a bureaucratized New Order language which moulds them into a highly uniformed format' (ibid.). This is apparent in various identity politics movements mentioned earlier in which ethnic symbols such as tradition, ritual, language, 'traditional' clothes, dance and music make up the discourse of local identity in that particular area.

This dominant ethnocentric discourse has been subject to criticism because its exclusive character does not match the already plural character of Indonesia. Cities like Denpasar, Yogyakarta, Solo and Manado are no longer, or perhaps never were, homogenous. The dominant ethnic-based local identity denies the plural character of the region. By relying on the idea of a homogeneous ethnic community, it excludes other ethnic groups that are part of the local society. Identity politics based on ethnocentricity, according to some researchers, played a role in the conflicts in various regions in Indonesia. According to Schulte Nordholt during the New Order regime ethnic identification was intensified. 'Like nationalism, discourses based on ethnicity also express bonds of loyalty in terms of kinship and emotions, which persuade people to risk their lives and cleanse their territories of enemies' (2003:577). This exclusive identity politics, according to Schulte Nordholt (2011), obscures 'a broader discourse on a common Indonesian citizenship, which presumes equality under the rule of law' (2011: 12). 'The idea of a shared Indonesian citizenship is the main victim of regional autonomy' (p.25).

These criticisms raise some important questions: is ethnicity all that matters in the discourse on local identity? Is it possible to imagine locality outside the dominant ethnocentric discourse? Palmer (1998), in discussing the construction of national identity, argues that cultural symbols and traditions are merely one of the foundations upon which a national identity is based. She proposes to look at other 'flags of identity' such as the body, food, and the landscape as important aspects that contribute to the construction of identities (1998:12). In line with Palmer's argument, I argue that the discourse on local identity in post-New Order Indonesia encompasses a broader dimension that includes, but goes beyond, the ethnic-cultural discourse. Practices of local television in post-New Order show that imagining local identity beyond the ethnocentric discourse is possible and in fact is already taking place. What are the contours of such discourses? Under what conditions do they come into being? What

mechanisms explain their construction? To answer these questions, in the following sections I will investigate the construction of discourse on local identity on local television by using four local stations investigated (TATV, Jogja TV, Bali TV and Pacific TV) as case studies.

7.3 The construction of local identity on television

During the New Order the state television TVRI played a pivotal role in the construction of the hegemonic ethnocultural discourse. As I have explained in Chapter 1, throughout the 1980s and the 1990s it appeared as an important medium to realise the New Order's cultural policy. Kitley (2000), in analysing the development of TVRI during the Suharto regime, argues that television programmes mediated the national cultural project, which he describes as: 'Modernist in its interests in mapping a unitary and unifying official culture over the great diversity of Indonesia, and hegemonic in the way it selects specific ideological principles and values and invents traditions' (Kitley 2000:333). TVRI was one of the state's means to create and sustain its official regional culture. Regional cultural programmes were part of the regular programming of both the central as well as regional TVRI stations, as I have explained in Chapter 5. The rise of local television has led to new discursive practices of local identity in Indonesian television in at least two ways. First of all, it changes the spatial scale of locality on which the discourse on local identity is based. Second, in the post-New Order era, the discourse is no longer the result of a top-down state project but rather a product of a 'bottom-up' process that is made possible by the economic model of local stations.

7.3.1 *The diversification of the spatial scale of locality*

In many countries the service area of local television is structured by administrative criteria. For instance, in many European countries regional public television service is usually organised at a provincial level. These stations represent the interests of that particular administrative area. This was also the system adopted by regional TVRI stations during the New Order period. A regional TVRI (*TVRI Daerah*) station represented the province in which it was located. Nevertheless, this state television service was only available in some provinces. Until the end of the New Order regime of 27 provinces only 11 had a television station.⁴ All of them were located in the capital cities. The availability of a television station at a lower administrative level in Indonesia is a recent phenomenon.⁵

⁴ In other provinces there were SPK production stations that were in charge of producing programmes that were broadcast by the national station. All of these SPKs were turned into regional stations after the implementation of regional autonomy.

⁵ When private television was introduced at the beginning of the 1990s it was organised as a local service. Nevertheless, these stations were never developed as a local television service as it is the case with local stations in post-New Order.

The availability of local stations has led to the construction of new spatial scales of locality in television. While during the New Order the spatial scale was organised based on administrative criteria at a provincial level (which was in line with the New Order cultural policy), in post-New Order local television it includes different scales of locality. This is because the size of the service area of local television is based on geographical criteria rather than administrative ones, as I have explained in Chapter 2. A service area of a local station can include several districts and in a few cases a province. Therefore a local station does not necessarily represent one administrative area, either a province or a district. This makes it difficult to pinpoint which spatial scales these local stations actually represent. The programming of the four stations investigated revealed that they do not represent one single local area but different spatial scales of localities that are contingent on the production processes of the programmes. Local stations construct different scales of locality by producing programmes that include different areas. TATV for instance, broadcasts news programmes that represent different spatial scales. The morning programme *TA Surakarta* includes news items around the city of Solo and its surrounding areas, while the evening news *TA Jateng & DIY* consists of news items that cover the area of Central Java and Yogyakarta provinces. Furthermore, in one programme this station discusses the problem of a bus line in the city of Solo (*Denyut Kota* [City Heartbeat] broadcast on 13 October 2010), while in other programme it shows an interview with the newly elected mayor of the city of Semarang (*Forum Solusi* [forum of solutions] broadcast on 10 October 2010). Obviously, these two programmes refer to different localities.

Despite the existence of different local spaces, the emphasis of most broadcasts lies on the city in which the station is located. TATV for instance, is about the city of Solo: for Jogja TV the focus is the city of Jogja, for Bali TV it is Denpasar and for Pacific TV it is Manado. While most local stations are not exclusively committed to promoting the city in which they are situated, nevertheless they create a city-based sense of local identity. This is related to economic and practical reasons. Economically, most invitations and sponsorships come from the biggest cities because most government offices are located there and most social activities, which often serve as the material for local television programmes, take place in the city. Furthermore, practical reasons are equally important factors: due to time and infrastructure constraints producers often decide to make programmes with locations not far from the station building.

The scale of locality can also be determined by the use of local language. In Indonesia where hundreds of languages are spoken, ethnicity has always been associated with a particular language. Local stations mobilise local language as a marker of identification with a specific ethnic group, usually the dominant one. In the case of Jogja TV and TATV it is Javanese, in Bali TV it is Balinese and in Manado TV it is Manadonese. However, as a local television service area

can include zones where different local languages are spoken some television stations create diverse local spaces by using various local languages in their programming. This is the case with Jogja TV. Although most local language programmes on this station use Javanese, the language spoken by the majority of people in the service area of the station, it also produces programmes in *Banyumasan* dialect that is mainly spoken by people in the western part of Central Java province. Such programmes include *Inyong Siaran* (I'm broadcasting, a life style programme) and *Kartun Banyumasan* (a comedy series in Banyumasan dialect). The use of different local languages creates different senses of localities. While the majority of Jogja TV audiences might understand the Banyumasan dialect, the sense of identification with the programmes is most likely the strongest in those who speak the language daily. Such programmes thus construct a Banyumasan space within the Javanese one.

Furthermore, another major break with New Order local identity practices on television concerns the relationship between the local space and the wider spatial context. The programming of the four stations investigated reveals their outward-looking character as they imagine locality to be part of national and global spaces. This is in contrast to the practice of regional TVRI stations under the New Order regime, particularly in the 1980s and 90s.⁶ During that period the programming of regional television stations was restricted to the regional context. National and international programmes were exclusively the domain of the central TVRI in Jakarta. The content analysis of the four stations investigated revealed that their programming, in terms of content (language use, topics and locations), format and production origin, consists of combinations of local, national and international programmes. Bali TV for instance, produces daily national (*Warta Indonesia*) and international news programmes (*Warta Mancanegara*) that are relayed by its network including Jogja TV. These two stations also produce daily news programmes in English (*Good Morning Jogja* and *Bali Today*). Other TV stations broadcast international news programmes from content providers (both national and international). Pacific TV for example, broadcasts an international news programme from an international organisation. Furthermore, it also broadcasts Christian religious programmes that come originally from national and international Christian organisations. Such programmes include services coming from a national church in Jakarta and also English language broadcasts. Imported films and cartoons are also part of the programming of many stations. The national character of local television programming is also apparent in the use of Indonesian as the main language. In Chapter 5 I have shown that the majority of programmes on the four stations are in Indonesian. In Indonesian local television the identification with locality is not based exclusively on language. In fact, local language is used selectively and chiefly in 'cultural' programmes, thus

⁶ In the early period of TVRI (1970s) the programming of regional stations included national and international programmes. This practice ended when the government introduced a centralised programming policy in the 1980s.

re-enforcing the dominant idea of language as the symbol of ethnic cultural identity. This outward looking character of local television has given rise to new types of discourse of local identity that go beyond the New Order official ethnolocal discourse, which I will further explore further in the section 7.4.

The existence of these different scales of locality is related to the economic model of local stations. For them, the creation of different spatial scales has become part of their strategy to generate income from different local government authorities. By producing programmes that focus on different spatial scales they expand their chances of generating income from various local authorities, since they form the major source of income (see Chapter 4). The spatial scale in which a particular discourse of local identity is constructed on local television is mainly determined by economic considerations.

7.3.2 *The commodification of local identity on television*

The commercial character of local television in Indonesia marks another important break from the New Order local identity practices when it was driven mainly by political interests as part of the top-down state cultural project. With the emergence of local television the discourse on local identity is the result of television economic practices. This commercially driven process has its precedents in the practices of private radio stations and private national television. During the New Order private radio was not - or was not allowed to be - broadcast nationally. This local character, according to Jennifer Lindsay in her detailed study of radio in Indonesia under President Suharto, has made radio a medium for 'local community expression' (1997:122). 'The community-oriented voice of private radio is a fascinating haven for local identities in Indonesia' (ibid.). She argues that the commodification of local identity is part of their commercial strategies. In the context of increased competition for advertising, radio stations are encouraged to target specific audiences. Therefore many radio stations rely on regional language and culture programming in order to target a specific ethnic group. Practices of radio stations inspired local television stations. For instance, TATV, Jogja TV and Bali TV broadcast interactive *popular traditional music* programmes in which audience can phone in to request a song and send greetings to family and friends. This format had been common in Indonesian radio (Arps 2003). According to Lindsay, it is part of the strategy that has been used by private radio stations to stress 'familiarity between the presenter and listener' in order to increase 'community involvement in the broadcasting process' as a way to construct a particular identification to locality (1997:116).

The introduction of private television services in Indonesia at the beginning of the 1990s brought about new identity practices on television. At that time, although TVRI was still the only television station with a national coverage, it had lost its audience to the new national private

television stations (Kitley 2000). The role of TVRI as the national mass medium for information and entertainment was taken over by these new stations. In the beginning they relied on imported programmes. While 80% of TVRI programmes consisted of domestic material, foreign programmes made up more than 60 percent of commercial television programmes (Sen and Hill 2000). In the second half of the 1990s, private stations started to turn to domestic programmes (Loven 2008). This shift marked the emergence of new modes of local identity formation as the result of broadcaster's commercial interests in creating a new audience market. In the second half of the 1990s, when the competition between national commercial broadcasters started to increase, private broadcasters began to transmit domestic programmes that appealed to particular segments of the television audience. Some stations produced programmes targeting Javanese speaking audiences, the biggest ethnic group in Indonesia. Indosiar for instance, broadcast *wayang kulit* (a shadow puppet play) that previously was broadcast only on TVRI Daerah in Yogyakarta or Central Java. The success of this programme inspired other television stations to adopt the same strategy. RCTI for instance, produced *Ketoprak Humor*, a comedy show based on a Javanese traditional theatre genre.⁷ In the second half of the 1990s, television programmes that were based on the daily life of Betawi people (the indigenous people of Jakarta) gained popularity following the success of the drama series *Si Doel* broadcast by RCTI (Loven 2003).

Since the late New Order period television programmes based on ethnic and religious identity markers have become part of television practices in Indonesia. This commercially driven production of identity marked the shift from the top-down politically driven processes under the regime. The decentralisation process of Indonesia in the post-Suharto era added a new significance to these emerging practices. The commodification process of local identity that was already visible with the national private broadcasters in the second half of the 1990s has been accelerated and expanded by the nascent local commercial stations. Local stations play an active role in the commodification process of local identity in at least two ways. First of all, they facilitate ethnic-based identity politics practices of local actors through sponsorship and invitation mechanisms. Second, they contribute to the construction of the discourse on local identity by adapting national television formats to local programmes.

The changing political and social dynamics at the local level following regional autonomy and local elections have given rise to practices of identity politics based on ethnocentricity. For local stations this situation provides opportunities to generate income. Through the mechanisms of sponsorships and invitations these stations are intertwined in the identity practices of local actors. Local politicians often sponsor the production of ethnic

⁷ Until 2012 one of the most popular programmes on the national private television in Indonesia is based on a traditional play (*Opera van Java* broadcast by Trans TV).

cultural programmes on local television as part of their campaign strategy. This can be seen for instance, in the programme on *wayang kulit* broadcast by TATV that is sponsored by the head of district Boyolali (broadcast on 15 October 2010). The same can be noted on the music video clip that shows the head of the provincial police department of North Sulawesi singing in Minahasa language broadcast by Pacific TV. Figures 4-5 show some images of the clip that was broadcast repeatedly in the January 2012. On Bali TV during the period investigated (October-December 2011) the former vice-governor Puspayoga appeared regularly on various programmes attending traditional ceremonies/rituals.



Figure 3 The head of the police department of North Sulawesi singing a Manadonese song



Figure 4 The video clip shows images of him in different official occasions

Furthermore, it is a common practice in Bali that village communities invite local stations to cover their religious activities. Based on my interviews with some of the organisers of such activities, there are several reasons for inviting a television crew. First, they want to have some documentation of the event that can be used to report to the donors who have supported the activities. Second, by having their activities broadcast on television they can reach members of community who live outside the village so that they can witness the rituals. A similar practice can be found in Yogyakarta where various schools often invited Jogja TV to cover their cultural events such as traditional dances and music performances. In Manado, local stations often received invitations from churches to cover their activities. These invitation practices point to the integration of television in community processes at the local level that are part identity formation. The discourse of local identity in post-New Order Indonesia should no longer be conceived as a top-down uniform construct imposed by the central government to maintain its political ideology; instead, it has become a bottom-up process driven by myriad interests.

Additionally, local stations are playing an active role in constructing the discourse on local identity by adapting popular national television formats to local programmes, including Pop Idols, reality programmes and travel programmes. Bali TV produced the local variant of

Idols called *BRTV Bali*.⁸ In 2012 TATV also produced such a programme called *Idola campursari* (a popular music genre in Javanese that combines traditional Javanese music with modern instruments such as keyboards and drums) in which local singers compete on television to be the idol of the area. Other popular formats include travel programmes in which local tourist destinations such as beauty spots, hangout places and restaurants are shown. In such programmes local stations mobilise various symbols that create a sense of belonging/identification with local places. This is part of the business strategy of local stations in creating a local television market. In analysing local media in the US argues Kannis that the creation of common identity is important to generate a market of otherwise dispersed and diverse audiences (1993:59). This commercial mechanism adds a new dimension to the practices of local identity on television in post-New Order Indonesia, a point that I want to develop further in the rest of this chapter.

7.4 Television Discourses of local identity

After explaining the changes in the mechanisms with which local identity discourse is produced on television, in this section I want to focus on analysing its content. Based on textual analyses of the programming of the four stations investigated during the viewing week as I have discussed in Chapter 5, I argue that the discourse constructed in these stations show both continuities and breaks with the New Order's official ethnolocal discourse. I argue that by utilising various symbols of locality in their programming, local stations create temporal and spatial continuities and demarcations of local places upon which a particular construct of identity is based. As such, local television appears as an institution that produces social discourse that might help to situate memories and meanings in local places. I identify two main discourses namely *the ethnolocal* and *popular*. To explain their contours and the mechanisms of their constructions, I will look at different television programmes in which a particular discourse is most prominent. Admittedly, a programme can construct both discourses in its different segments.

7.4.1 The persistence of ethnolocal discourse

As I have explained earlier, the ethnolocal discourse is the product of the New Order's official discourse. It relies on the mobilisation of ethnic cultural symbols that are part of the official regional culture such as traditional clothes, music and dances (see Figure 3 and 4). Many programmes that produce this discourse are the legacy of TVRI Daerah, particularly the case in Bali and Java. On Bali TV broadcasts that are based on Balinese ethnic identity are pervasive. These include programmes on traditional dances (*Lila Cita*, *Taman Sari*) and music (*Gita Santhi*,

⁸ When I visited the station in 2011-2012 the programme was no longer broadcast.

Kidung Interaktif). TATV and Jogja TV transmit programmes that are based on Javanese culture. They both broadcast Javanese shadow puppet shows (*wayang kulit*) regularly. Traditional Javanese stage theatre performances *wayang orang* and *ketoprak* are also part of their repertoire. Programmes on traditional Javanese music performances (*karawitan*) can also be readily found. Those who are familiar with regional TVRI programmes in Yogyakarta and Bali might find many similarities between TVRI programmes and those of local stations in these provinces. This is because many of ethnic cultural broadcasts by these local stations use almost exactly the same formats as that of TVRI stations (mainly stage performance format, that is, shot with one angled camera. See Chapter 5 for a detailed analysis on this format).



Figure 5 Presenters of news programmes *Pawartos Ngayogyakarta* wearing Javanese traditional clothes



Figure 6 A presenter of the news programme *Seputar Bali* on Bali TV wearing a traditional Balinese clothes

Local stations have also introduced new formats in which ethno-local discourse has manifested itself, such as documentaries, talk shows and music. The documentary format includes programmes that report ethnic cultural activities such *Nangun Yadya*, *Ajeg Bali* and *Ista Dewata* on Bali TV, in which various local traditional ceremonies, rituals and temples are the subject of reports. Other examples include shows that discuss important figures behind cultural activities such as dancers, composers and singers. Such programmes are broadcast by Bali TV (*Taksu*) and Jogja TV (*Empu*). Talk shows that discuss ethnic culture can also be found on local stations. TATV for instance broadcasts a weekly talk show on this topic (*Warisan Nusantara* or the heritage of the archipelago). The music programmes include pop Bali (in *Klip Bali* and *Tembang Bali* of Bali TV), Javanese *campursari* (in *Nyampursari* of TATV and *Klinong-Klinong Campursari* and *Laras Swara* of Jogja TV) and *Pop Manado* on Pacific TV. In these video clips of local artists are shown and in some cases combined with a live band performance in the studio.

The ethnolocal discourse constructed in these programmes is based on an essentialist conception of local identity. It is represented as something authentic, already given. Ethnic identity is perceived as the root of the locality. The narrative imagines locality as a homogenous construct that consist of one ethnic group sharing the same history. This is reflected in the fact that most programmes deal with aspects of the past. Stories about ancient kingdoms, traditional

music and ethnic clothes represent the timeless historical roots of the local community. According to Paasi, 'since identities are narrative constructs, a rhetorical, persuasive element forms part of them' (1999:12). In the case of ethnolocal discourse, its rhetoric includes the need to 'preserve' and 'develop' these ancient cultural symbols. This is reflected in the dominant view that sees such programmes as a way to preserve local culture. The new formats introduced by local stations to talk about ethnic culture are seen by television producers as a way to contribute to the development and preservation of local identity.

There are several factors that explain the continuation of ethnic cultural discourse on local television. The *first* of these is related to the obligation of these local stations to broadcast local content. As I have explained in the Chapter 5, many stations rely on ethnic cultural programmes as part of their local content programming. Although the definition of local content is not limited to ethnic cultural programmes, many stations rely on this ethnic cultural discourse as this is still dominant in Indonesia. In Bali the persistence of Balinese cultural discourse on local television is partly sustained by the local regulations. For instance, television stations are obliged to broadcast *Puja Trisandya* (a Hindu prayer) three times a day, in the morning, at noon and in the evening. Furthermore, during the *Nyepi day* (Day of Silence that marks the start of a new year based on the Balinese calendar) television stations (both national and local, including pay television) are not allowed to broadcast for 24 hours. These regulations contribute to the creation of local television as the Balinese space on television is based on Hindu religions. *Second*, the economic model of local stations that rely on sponsorships and invitations also plays a crucial role in the pervasiveness of these cultural programmes: many of ethnic cultural programmes are sponsored by local authorities/politicians and local communities. This reveals how deeply engrained this ethnic cultural discourse in the imagery of local identity in Indonesia. The *last* important factor is related to practical considerations. Apart from the fact that these programmes form a source of income for local stations, they are relatively cheap to produce (see Chapter 5).

The prevalence of ethnolocal discourse on local television is not equal in all regions. By comparing ethnic cultural programmes on local television between the four stations investigated, it is obvious that TATV, Jogja TV and Bali TV broadcast many more ethnic programmes than Pacific TV. The programme that comes closest to being categorised as ethnic cultural programme on this last station is one that features *Pop Manado*, i.e. songs that are in Manadonese which music is the combination of modern with ethnic music instruments. How can this difference be explained?

There are two related factors that explain the almost total absence of ethnolocal programmes in Manado: namely the lack of a distinct discourse on ethnic identity in this region, which arguably has led to the second factor, that is, the minimum economic incentives for local

stations to produce such programmes. Unlike in Java and Bali where the discourse on ethnic identity has been very prominent, this has never been the case in North Sulawesi province (with Manado as its capital city). According to Jacobsen (2002), the reason for this is twofold, namely Christianity and the indoctrination of the New Order's nationalist ideology. According to him, the introduction of Christianity in the region in the past two decades by missionaries and ministers has 'been quite effective in transforming and co-opting most aspects of pre-colonial value systems, thereby sidetracking a local perception of traditional cultural specificity in favor of Christian ethical values' (Jacobsen 2002:46). Unlike Java and Bali where pre-historical kingdoms are still serving as the core of the ethnolocal discourse, in North Sulawesi such a reference is absent. This colonial legacy was sustained by the New Order regime as 'it had already paved the way' for eliminating the 'dangerous' aspects of ethnicity, i.e. the political aspect of ethnicity (ibid.). The fact that the region was already adopting 'a Christian ethic and a Western way of life fitted perfectly into the ideals of the New Order ideology' (Jacobsen 2002:46).

Because of this historical background, local stations in Manado do not have ethnic cultural symbols that can be utilised in their programming. Television managers whom I have interviewed in the region acknowledged this problem. While for Jogja TV, TATV and Bali TV ethnic cultural programmes can serve as a source of income this is not the case of Pacific TV. This lack of economic incentives has prevented the production of ethnolocal programmes in television stations in Manado. This difference between regions points to the constructive nature of the discourse of local identity. It is 'an expression of the distribution of social power in society' since it involves the process of selection and appropriation (Paasi 1999:11). In the following sections, I will show how other symbols of locality are mobilised as alternatives to ethnolocal symbols.

7.4.3 The emerging popular discourse on local identity

This section will focus on scrutinising the popular discourse of locality that opens up the possibility for imagining local identity beyond the ethnolocal discourse. As Storey stated, the term *popular* is 'mobile and contingent' because its meanings are culturally conferred, shaped by various intentions under different contexts' (2001:7). It is therefore important to specify the term. Popular here refers to the representations of ordinary people and their lifestyles. The term does not necessarily refer to the popularity of these programmes among audiences in terms of rating, as data is not available. It has to be noted though, that the formats of the programmes in which this discourse is often constructed (travel and reality programmes) are considered popular on the national television, as indicated by the fact that most national stations have such shows. The fact that local stations are copying them indicates their

popularity. Unlike the ethnolocal discourse that relies on 'timelessness', the popular discourse represents local places and their people in the present. It uses local places such as beauty spots, markets, hangout places and restaurants as symbols of locality, as is evident in travel programmes. Furthermore, by mediating the daily life of ordinary people, their activities, struggles, worries and hopes, for example in docu-drama reality programmes, local television is constructing a coherent narrative of the present day of the local place.

Travel programmes can be found on all four stations investigated. Some broadcast various programmes in a week. In such broadcasts the presenters visit various local places from markets, beauty spots to restaurants. Some explore natural landscapes in the region such as mountains, islands, beaches and remote villages that are often introduced as 'the treasure' of the region. Jogja TV has *Pesona Wisata* (the charm of tourism), *Travelling* (English in the original) and *Blusukan* (strolling). Bali TV broadcasts a similar programme called *Glimpse of the Island* (original in English). Such programmes can also be found on Pacific TV - *Baron Sulut* (the lord of North of Sulawesi) and *On the Weekend* (original title). TATV has *Nyampursari Mampir*, a weekly programme in which the presenters visit local markets. Other places that often feature on the travel programmes are restaurants. Jogja TV has *Icip-Icip* (tasting), while TATV broadcast *M2M*. In these the presenters visit special places to eat, ranging from fancy restaurants to food-stalls.

In these programmes ethnicity seems to disappear. The language used is mainly Indonesian. The presenters are almost free of any ethnic attributes. Most of them speak the Indonesian language without any ethnic accents. They do not wear any ethnic dress either. Moreover, the background music used is either national or international hits. This combined with the titles of the programmes that are in Indonesian and English point to the outward-looking orientation of local stations in Indonesia. What connects them with the discourse on local identity is the proximity of the places being explored. The programmes contribute to the construction of what Bird (2002) terms as 'cultural narrative of place'. She argues that 'through our tales about place, we mark out spatial boundaries, [...] The tale confirms that this piece of space actually means something, and it may also tell us who belongs in that space and who does not' (2002:523). In these programmes local places that are otherwise not known by a wide public are presented as part of the local space. Stories are constructed about these places, their histories, their uniqueness and what they offer. Audiences are invited to visit and explore them, making them part of their own experience. In travel programmes markets in *Nyampursari Mampir*, Bunaken islands in *Baron Sulut*, local restaurants in *Icip-icip* are what Bakhtin (1981) called chronotope, i.e. 'locations where "time and space intersect and fuse' (in Bird 2002: 544). Unlike the ethnolocal discourse that relies on 'imaginative' places in the past, these places are 'real' in a way that they exist and can be easily visited by local audiences due to their proximity.

They “stand as monuments to the community itself, as symbols of it, as forces operating to shape its members’ images of themselves’ (ibid).

Another important feature of the popular discourse is the representation of ordinary people. Many programmes on local stations show the daily life of local people, their activities, lifestyles and struggles. This is exemplified by documentary programmes on marginalised people, such as Bali TV’s *Wirasa* (literally means affection), *Tekad* (determination) on Jogja TV and *Pekerjaanku Duniaku* (my job, my world) of Pacific TV. They tell stories about marginalised people in the region (usually poor and disabled people). In *Wirasa* profiles of those in need of help for medication or education are shown. On the website of Jogja TV *Tekad* is described as “a feature programme that looks into the life of someone with a handicap, either economic or physical. Despite it they keep on working to improve their condition.”⁹ In a very similar format, Pacific TV broadcast *Pekerjaanku Duniaku* in which stories of people with unusual work are told. Based on their formats and themes, these programmes share similarities with popular programmes on national television, which is often called ‘charity reality show’.¹⁰ They have been criticised as exploiting poverty for entertainment (Handayani 2011). Responding to such criticisms, Jogja TV emphasises the social character of their programme. On their website it states that ‘although this programme is using a reality show format it does not sell sympathy that exploits viewers’ emotion. The emphasis of this show is to give inspiration for everyone that a set-back (in life) should not be a reason to give up, but as a motivation to carry on instead’.¹¹

In local television these programmes contribute to the construction of local social solidarity. They confront the audience with social problems in the region. The general manager of Bali TV for instance, explained that with *Wirasa* the station wants to ‘expose’ the other side of Bali. ‘Bali is not only about the luxuries’, referring to tourism industries (Interview 11 October 2011). On their website the station states, ‘through this programme we want to open the audience’s eyes to the fact that there are many who need help’.¹² Through these programmes local stations facilitate the distribution of donations to people who are needy. In the programme *Tekad* of Jogja TV, the people who are shown on the programme receive a donation from sponsors. In Bali TV viewers can donate through *Dompot Wirasa* (Wirasa Wallet). In fact, the programme has become the centre of information/database for local people that want to

⁹ Program feature yang mengupas tentang kehidupan seseorang yang memiliki keterbatasan hidup, baik keterbatasan ekonomi maupun fisik. Meskipun dalam keadaan serba terbatas, orang ini tetap bekerja dengan gigit untuk mengubah kehidupannya agar lebih baik. (<http://www.jogjatv.tv/program-acara/tekad>)

¹⁰ Example of such programmes are *Bedah Rumah* (home makeover) of RCTI and *Andai Aku* (If I were) of Trans TV.

¹¹ Walaupun kemasan program ini bersifat reality show namun *Tekad* tidak menjual belas kasihan yang mengaduk-aduk emosi pemirsa. Adapun yang lebih ditekankan dalam tayangan ini adalah untuk memberi inspirasi kepada setiap orang bahwa keterbatasan jangan sampai mematahkan semangat, tapi patut dijadikan cambuk untuk bangkit dan bersemangat.

¹² ‘Melalui program ini diharapkan membuka mata pemirsa bahwa masih banyak yang membutuhkan uluran tangan’

conduct charity activities. The producer of the programme told me that they often got phone calls and emails from local companies, schools or institutions that want to help. This demonstrates that the role of local television as a social actor at the local level goes beyond merely transmitting television programmes.

By mobilising symbols of locality other than ethnic symbols, the popular discourse puts forward a more inclusive idea of local identity than the ethnolocal discourse. Firstly, unlike the ethnolocal discourse that imagines a local community as a homogeneous group sharing the same ethnic identity, it acknowledges its plural character. This for instance, is apparent in the use of Indonesian. According to my interviews with managers and producers in Jogja and Bali TV, they prefer to use the Indonesian language because they realise that not all people in the region speak a local language. While programmes using local language are only accessible to the speakers of that language, programmes using Indonesian can reach a bigger audience. Furthermore, the mobilisation of local symbols that are not related to any ethnicity such as landscape, hangout places and social solidarity reveals the possibility of imagining local identity beyond the ethnolocal discourse.

7.5 Conclusion

In the concluding chapter of his book on Indonesian television, Philip Kitley argues that the decentralisation of the television system in Indonesia has brought about a new challenge in the practices of identity on television. He writes

The challenge for Indonesian television (and cultural processes beyond it) is to reinvent Indonesia's motto, "They Are Many, They Are One" (Bhinneka Tunggal Ika), which under the New Order has authorized the imposition of a unitary culture rather than a respect for difference. The challenge for all channels will be to develop programs that explore ideas of identity beyond the hegemonic assumptions of the national cultural project and beyond the idea of identity imagined simply at the level ethnic, regional or religious community. (2000:340)

In this chapter I have shown that the challenge of redefining the discourses has indeed been part of the dynamics of television practices in post-authoritarian Indonesia. As part of broader socio-political process of reformulating the central-local relationship, the process of reinventing local identity is prominent in local television. It emerged as one of the important institutions at the local level that plays a role in shaping the contours of the discourse on local identity. My analysis in this chapter shows that identity practices on Indonesian television in post-New Order involve a complex process that shows both continuities and breaks with the New Order

discourse. The analysis of the construction of the discourse on local identity reveals that the New Order ethnolocal discourse is still very much present, but at the same time new ways of imagining local identity have emerged. It is the existence of these different discourses of local identity that marks the most important break with the situation under the New Order. It is important to note that the emergence of these different discourses is caused by the commercialisation of the television sector. The discourse of local identity is no longer exclusively the state's domain but has also become an integral part of corporate strategies to make a profit. The open character of the economic model of local television in Indonesia provides the space for the construction of different discourses of local identity.

The case of local television shows that in post-authoritarian Indonesia the imagining of locality beyond the exclusive ethnolocal discourse has been taking place. The utilisation of non-ethnic cultural symbols is also visible in other institutional sites. For example, the local government of Solo has published a promotional film of the culinary places in Solo that acknowledges diversity.¹³ In this film, food serves as the symbol of identity of Solo that is more inclusive by including not only Javanese food but also Chinese and international food. In this film food appears as a trans-ethnic symbol of the city. These new initiatives of imagining locality should be the focus of future research in order to have a better understanding of the dynamics of identity in post-New Order Indonesia.

¹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k1WZdXMjIUU> [accessed 15 November 2012]

Conclusion



In the first decade of the 21st century Indonesian television underwent drastic transformations as part of the broader socio-political changes following the fall of the New Order authoritarian regime under President Suharto. As the nation searches for a new post-authoritarian identity by transforming its political systems into a democracy, television is inextricably embedded in the process. In this dissertation I have investigated one important aspect of such transformations, namely the rise of *TV lokal*. Since the turn of the millennium, the Indonesian television landscape has transformed rapidly from a centralised system, consisting of predominately national broadcasters into a more decentralised television structure with hundreds of new stations operating at a local level, broadcasting for a limited service area. This transformation involved a complex process of redefining the place of television in society, characterised by changes in regulatory practices and the rapid expansion of the television industry. The development of local television not only reflects this process but more importantly it contributes to the new roles that television plays in post-authoritarian Indonesia. After more than three decades of functioning mainly as a medium of the state's top down nation building project, television has become an integral part of the socio-political and cultural dynamics at the local level. The implementation of regional autonomy has given rise to political and cultural transformations that engendered new practices of the production of locality in which television is playing an important role.

The study set out to explore the rise of *TV lokal* by investigating its first decade of development (2002-2012). The analysis focused on institutional and textual developments, emphasising the industrial dimension of television. By combining both macro and micro analyses I have identified factors that underpinned its development (Chapter 1 and 2), scrutinised its characteristics and modes of operations (Chapter 3-5) and investigated its specific roles in the socio-cultural transformations at the local level (Chapter 6 and 7). I have employed a critical media industry approach to examine different aspects of local television industry, including both its *extrinsic* (public discourse in Chapter 1, regulations in Chapter 2) and *intrinsic* elements (ownership in chapter 3, economic practices in Chapter 4, programming and production practices in Chapter 5-7). The interplay between these elements was examined from a historical perspective, situating the analysis within specific historical contexts that have shaped the development of local television at both local as well as national levels.

In this concluding section, I will synthesise my findings to characterise *TV lokal* as a new actor in the socio-cultural transformation at the local level in Indonesia by first, discussing the driving forces behind its development, then focusing on its specific role in the production of locality and reflecting on the implications for television studies.

Finally I will discuss possible scenarios in regards to the future of local television by setting the results of my research against the developments that have taken place after I finished my fieldwork in 2012.

Driving forces behind the rise of *TV lokal*

The decentralisation of the television sector has become an important part of the deregulation process of the television sector in many countries in the world, yet there have been relatively few studies that look at such a process. Like the field of television studies itself, most research focuses on developments in America and Europe. American researchers have taken up the tension between national commercial networks and local affiliates carried over to television from radio broadcasting. Most European-centered studies concern the transformation from an initially exclusively national television system into one that incorporates a television service at sub-national levels as part of the television landscape. These studies reveal a decentralisation process that played out on different scales, including both regional and local. The regionalisation process concerns the establishment of television service at the regional level, for instance at the province level in the Netherlands, the *Länder* in Germany, and autonomous regions in Spain. The localisation process, which is a more recent phenomenon, concerns much smaller scales. In the UK for instance, in 2013 the government started a project to introduce local television at city level throughout the country.¹ I have shown that, unlike most cases in European countries where the decentralisation mainly took place at the regional level, in post-authoritarian Indonesia it concerned the localisation process. As studies on European countries demonstrate, the contours of this process are contingent on the nationally specific socio-political and historical contexts in which television developed (de Moragas Spa and Garitaonandia 1995, de Moragas Spa and Lopez 2000). In this dissertation I have identified specific factors that gave rise to the decentralisation of television in Indonesia.

By investigating the formative and expansion periods of *TV lokal*, I have identified historical, political and economic factors underpinning the rise of this new television service. The fall of the New Order regime under President Suharto and the subsequent socio-political reform process provided the main context for the growth of local television. The emergence of local stations reveals the medium's prominent role in reflecting, mediating and shaping the changing national-local relationship following the implementation of regional autonomy. The first decade of the development of television

¹ <http://www.theguardian.com/media-network/media-network-blog/2014/oct/23/london-live-local-tv-demand-survive> accessed on 16 February 2015.

broadcasters at the local level in Indonesia seems to reveal the common struggle in the liberal-democratic context characterised by on the one hand, the attempt at fostering the public role of television to sustain democratic processes through regulatory practices, and on the other hand, the commercialisation of the television industry marked by fierce competition between broadcasters. However, I have shown that the specific culture of television in Indonesia, partly the legacy of the New Order cultural policy, also plays a role in shaping the development of local television. The interplay between these political, economic and cultural factors has been shaping the course of the development of local television in post-authoritarian Indonesia.

In analysing the decentralisation process of the television system in Europe, according to Moragas Spa and Garitaonandia, the installation of local television service in many European countries took place in the period when television was undergoing transformation due to the rise of transnational television. The decentralisation of television can be seen partly as a response to the rise of supra-national television. Additionally, they argue that the decentralisation process was also a result of 'the recognition of the importance of territorial decentralization and autonomy, on the regional and local level, for the democratization of communication' (1995:8). In Indonesia, the decentralisation of television was not related to the development of transnational television, but owed more to the political dynamics within the country itself as part of the democratisation process. I have argued that the introduction of a local television service was driven mainly by an agenda of reforming the centralised-state-dominated television system of the New Order. As my analysis of the discourse on local television during the formative period in Chapter 1 demonstrated, the localism principle was mobilised by its proponents both at the national as well as the local level.

Although adopted from the Western television model, the localism principle in Indonesia was shaped by the specific history of television during the New Order regime. The localism principle was proposed as an alternative to create diversity of television content and ownership in order to accommodate cultural diversity that had long been suppressed by the New Order. It served as a powerful trope in the discourse on television during the *reformasi* as an alternative to the centralised television system maintained by the New Order. The localism principle manifests itself in the new broadcasting law that stipulates the formation of a decentralised television system, consisting of local and network stations.

Just as the democratisation process of Indonesia was complex with highly unpredictable outcomes, so too is the implementation of the localism principle in the broadcasting sector. As I have shown in Chapters 1 and 2, this principle is highly

contested, as the difficulties around the implementation of the network television system demonstrated. The new regulations were difficult to implement due to the resistance of existing players in the national television field. This conflict of interests between the reformists and the established national television industry further shaped the development of local television. The diminishment of the state's control over the television sector gave rise to commercialism as the main driving force behind the growth of television in the first decade of the 2000s. In post-authoritarian Indonesia, television is no longer a state project, but rather a commercially driven project with players consisting of powerful media companies operating at both the national and local levels, many since the New Order period. I have shown that the economic factor plays an important role in the development of local television. First of all, the rise of local television contributed to the initiatives of local investors that profited from the opening up of the previously restricted sector. The financial potential of the television market served as an important driving force for the rapid development of local stations. Second, the existing private television industry at the national level also played a pivotal role in shaping the course of local television development as the analysis of local television ownership in Chapter 3 and economic practices in Chapter 4 demonstrated.

The rise of commercialism as the driving force of television practices is often feared as the biggest threat to the public function of television. The analysis of the economic factors of the development of local television in Indonesia revealed that the commercialisation of television indeed limits its role in realising democratic ideals as envisioned by the reformists. The analysis confirms the negative impacts of commercial logics that lead to, among other things, the concentration of ownership and weakening of the local character of local television ownership, as I have discussed in Chapter 3. It also contributed to the medium's lack of a critical stance towards the authorities that often become the sponsors of television programmes, as the analysis of news programmes in Chapter 6 showed. However, I have identified the specificity of commercial practices of local television in Indonesia in order to go beyond the dystopian idea of the commercialisation process. It is important to look at the specificity of commercialism as it entails complex practices that take different manifestations. As I have demonstrated in Chapter 4, the commercial mechanisms of local television challenge the universality of the two-market model of commercial television. Unlike the common practice of commercial stations that rely on spot-advertisements, local stations in Indonesia rely on other sources, including sponsorship, off-air events and invitations. These practices offer a counter-model to the dominant approaches in explaining the economy of television. I have argued in Chapter 4 that the economic model of local

television in Indonesia points to the blurring of boundaries between television producers, sponsors and audience. As I have demonstrated in Chapter 6 and 7, this model opens up spaces of participation in the communication practices and identity practices for local actors that were repressed during the New Order regime. These commercial practices offered local television possibilities for empowering local actors.

This study is grounded in western television studies, and I sought the specificities of television practices in Indonesia by relying on empirical materials gathered through fieldwork. While most studies on the decentralisation process of television focus on the macro level, here I went a step further by including the micro level in the analysis in order to identify the specific role of television in the production of locality. By doing so, the study reveals television practices that are often overlooked in the research into television in the western context and that have implications for our understanding of the role of television in the production of locality in Indonesia. Within television studies the changing role of the medium in the production of locality has been explained mainly in its relationship with the globalisation process. In this dominant narrative, the rise of the transnational media is seen as adding a new dimension to the role of television in the construction of locality that goes beyond the boundaries of a nation state. An equally important process, albeit less investigated, that shapes the role of television in the production of locality is the changes brought about by the rise of local media. Colin Sparks, in analysing the decline of the nation-state as the main context of the development of the media industry, suggests that

We would observe a simultaneous process of the erosion of the power and influence of the state-based media on the one hand, and a parallel strengthening of both the local and the global media. We would expect to find media organizations, and regulatory structures, migrating “up” to global forms or “down” to local forms. (2000:79)

The rise of *TV lokal* in post-authoritarian Indonesia demonstrated the local forms of the process. It shows the changing role of television in the production of locality caused by the strengthening of local television characterised by a specific television culture that defies the logics often taken for granted in the western television model, which I will discuss in the following section.

The role of television in the production of locality

The implementation of regional autonomy as part of the *reformasi* engendered new political and cultural dynamics at the local level. This has led to the shift of focus in Indonesian studies in the post-New Order context from the national level into local one. While some studies reveal positive stories of how the transformation has improved various aspects of governance and political processes, other studies show the opposite. Rampant corruption, ethnic and religious conflicts, environmental issues and discrimination against minorities are problems that are part of the dynamics of locality in post-authoritarian Indonesia. In any case, fiscal and administrative decentralisation and local elections all contributed to the expansion of a space for participation for local actors in the political and cultural process and helped to change dynamics at the local level. In this dissertation I have identified specific roles that local television played in these emerging new dynamics. I argue that local stations play a significant role in the production and maintenance of particular forms of locality. Based on my analysis of television content and production practices, local television carries out this role at two levels, namely the symbolic/representation level and the performative/action level.

As an axis of identification, locality has to be defined through practices of representation in which symbols of locality are invented and mobilised. The analysis shows that local television contributes to such practices in several ways. First of all, the analysis of the discourse on local television during the formative period in Chapter 1 showed that emerging local television was often used as a symbol of local sovereignty. Local stations themselves claimed the position of being a symbol of locality, among others by using names that were strongly linked to a particular region, such as Bali TV, Jogja TV and Manado TV. Second, local stations play an active role in constructing and mobilising symbols of locality in their programming, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 5. Such symbols are derived from both the ethno-local discourse constructed during the New Order and also from new symbols that are based on geographical aspects of locality such as landscapes, buildings and places to hang out, as the analysis in Chapter 7 demonstrated. This way local television appears as a site where locality is imagined. Importantly, more than merely serving as a symbol and a circulator of symbols of locality, local television literally connects, amplifies and binds elements of local communities.

In conducting the microanalysis, I have included the production of television programmes in order to investigate the performative role of television. This approach opened up the possibility to investigate the embedding of local television in the production of locality beyond the representation level. The analysis of the economic

practices and the production of television programmes revealed the close relationship between local broadcasters and other local actors such as local governments, social organisations and religious and cultural communities. Through the economic practice local television contributes to the construction of a network of social actors. The economic model of local television that relies on the contributions of local actors puts the medium at the centre of local communication and political identity practices. Local television offers a space for dialogues between local actors through the production of live talk shows and news programmes, as I have shown in Chapter 6. As a local actor, local television appears as one of the important institutions that play a role in structuring the production process of locality.

These practices indicate the emergence of a unique television culture that is characterised by the legacies of the New Order television culture and the growing commercialisation of television. The New Order legacies of state television with top-down uniform programming to sustain a nation-building project are also apparent in local television programmes. These are visible for instance, in the pervasiveness of sponsored news on local television news programmes I have discussed in Chapter 6. The ethno-local programmes discussed in Chapter 7 that rely on the New Order regional cultural symbols are also evidence of the continuation of the New Order television practices. Simultaneously, local television practices also point to the emergence of a new mechanism of the commodification process of locality as part of the commercialisation of television. Local television stations introduce various new formats common in the national private broadcasters, such as talk shows, local news programmes, travelling and reality shows. They translate such formats into local programmes that appear as the site where the practices of the production of locality are taking place.

My case studies indicate that despite differences between regions in terms of socio-cultural backgrounds there are some similar patterns that characterise the practices of local television in Indonesia. First of all, the economic model of local stations in different regions that I have investigated showed similarities. This can be explained by the almost uniform media environment in which local television operates. As a new player, local stations had to find their way in the media environment already occupied by 'older' media (radio and press) and the existing national private broadcasters. They adopted practices from these 'older media' in order to generate income. This resulted in a unique television economic model, combining practices of older local media and national television. These almost identical mechanisms of generating income determine the programming of local stations. Second, in terms of content, local stations rely mainly on locally oriented programmes, although the percentage might differ per region. I have

argued in Chapter 5 that the construction of local content in these stations is shaped by the public discourse on local television and the economic practices of these stations.

In my analysis, the role of television in the production of locality is mainly investigated from an institutional point of view, focusing on its relationship with other social actors, such as local governments, education and religious institutions and cultural/ethnic communities. The investigation into the relationship with audience in terms of individual viewers of television was limited to the analysis of programmes in which viewers can participate. I chose to focus on the institutional level because the role of local television in the transformations process of locality is most prominent there. One of the weaknesses of this institutional approach to the production of locality is that it cannot account for the ways in which individuals make meanings, nor show how those meanings connect to locality. The institutional approach however is crucial to understand the context in which individuals use locality as one of their axes of identity.

Appadurai argues that locality-producing activities are 'not only context driven but are also context-generative to some extent' (1996:186). Practices of local television generate a context for the production of locality. This is demonstrated for instance, in the production and broadcasting of programmes that contribute to the formation of local public spheres and have become an important local space for the practices of identity politics. These programmes provide the context in which different actors participate in the activities that contribute to the construction of locality. According to Appadurai, the extent to which these locality production activities are generative, 'is a matter of social power and of the different scales of organization and control within which particular spaces (and places) are embedded' (1996:186). My analysis of television practices reveals the reconfiguration process of social powers in the production of locality in post-authoritarian Indonesia. It is a process in which local actors are taking the lead in defining and maintaining localities, instead of the central state, as it was the case under the New Order regime. In post-authoritarian Indonesia, the production of locality is no longer a grand-national design of cultural formation but a fragmented and localised project motivated by myriad aims of different social actors. Such processes were illustrated for instance, in the performance of local politicians on television news and talk shows in order to seek legitimation and to gain electoral support. The same process is also visible in the practice whereby communities invite local television in order to reach out to members of the community living outside the village through the broadcasting of rituals. Television emerges as one of the important institutions at the local level that contributes to the new practices of the production of locality in post-authoritarian Indonesia.

The future of local television

In this study I have documented television practices that emerged at a local level after decades of a centralised-state-controlled television system. The first decade of local television development provides us with a glimpse of what is possible when the state and the national private television industry step aside for a moment and let the local concern take its own forms. My analysis of the formative and expansion periods of *TV lokal* provides mixed pictures, indicating possible directions for the future for this new player in the television sector. On the one hand, in a relatively short time local television has rapidly developed into an important new medium that plays an effective role in furthering the socio-cultural transformations at the local level. On the other hand, its existence is shown to be vulnerable, especially in the wake of the expansion of the national media giants into the television sector as part of the rapid media convergence trend. Furthermore, weak enforcement of the law poses another uncertainty in maintaining the local character of local television. What is at stake then is the sustainability of the role of television in facilitating political and social processes to empower localities, a crucial process in the democracy. As the television industry is a dynamic sector that is continuously undergoing changes, inevitably the practices that I have documented are also subject to changes. It is therefore worth looking at the possible scenarios for the future of local television. Which directions are likely/possible for these local stations in the future?

There are arguments for both pessimistic and optimistic views of the future of local television. Many scholars and media activists in Indonesia tend to be pessimistic about the future of local television (see, for instance, Armando 2011). The current co-existence of local stations and national networks – in which the network is predominately formed as part of the same owner group instead of an affiliation – is feared as a threat to the local character of local stations. Since the second half of the 2000s the media industry in Indonesia has undergone transformations consistent with larger global trends. The convergence process of media industry has led to a concentration of media ownership, replacing the centralized control by the state with centralized ownership by corporations. National media corporations started to expand their business into the television sector. As I have discussed in Chapter 3, because local television is the only way to enter the terrestrial television market there has been a tendency to take over the existing local stations, mainly in the areas where analogue channels were no longer available. There is a tendency to ‘re-nationalize’ local television. In the few years since I finished the fieldwork in 2012, the process has accelerated. Many stations have been taken over by station groups with the ambition of

creating a national network. In the locations that I have investigated, some independent stations have been taken over by new national networks. RBTB in Jogjakarta, when I conducted the first fieldwork in 2010, was still an independent station, but when I returned in 2011 it was part of Kompas TV. Pacific TV in Manado was taken over by the same network not long after I completed the fieldwork in 2012. These practices will inevitably shape the programming practices of local television and eventually the role that it plays at the local level. The locally oriented programme, as my analysis showed, is not certain to continue when these stations become part of national network television. There are indications that some local stations function merely as relay stations with very minimal local content.

The rise of national network broadcasters, of course, is a logical development as the economics of scale that underlay commercial broadcasting tends to lead in the direction of networking. My analysis of the emergence of group stations in Chapter 3 however, showed that the expansion of national media corporations encompasses a more complex process than merely big companies taking over smaller ones. First of all, there are different forms of group ownership. Some group owners rely exactly on keeping the local character of their group members. This particularly concerns groups that emerged from regional media companies such as Jawa Post group, Bali Post group and Cahaya TV group. These groups stimulated the establishment of local stations in other regions and allow them some degree of independence. They rely on local sources to generate income through the practices other than spot-advertisements I have discussed in Chapter 4. These groups also allow their member stations to set up their own programming. The stations rely mainly on locally oriented programming, as the case of Jogja TV and Bali TV (both belonging to the Bali Post Group) indicated. Moreover, despite the fierce competition in the sector, many independent local stations have managed to strengthen their position in the local media landscape. Some have even expanded, integrating other media platforms as part of their business strategy, as demonstrated by TATV in Solo. These stations become part of multi-media companies comprising radio, print and hyper-local Internet media. Since this development is a recent phenomenon, it is too early to come to any conclusions about its impacts on the future of local television. In any case, the development of local television will be shaped by the growth of the emerging multi-media companies, both at the national and regional levels. This is an important new topic for future research on local television in particular and Indonesian television in general.

The integration of digital technologies into the television industry will also shape the future development of local television. The government is planning a total switch

from analogue to digital television in 2018, meaning more television channels will be available. The exact number has yet to be decided. In 2014 the Ministry of Communication and Informatics issued a regulation (#117 of 2014) stipulating the numbers of channels for the first nine provinces that will start implementing digital television broadcasting. In this regulation, the number of channels available for digital broadcasting is almost double of the number of analogue channels. In the service area of Yogyakarta, for instance, 22 new digital channels will be available replacing 14 previous analogue channels. The availability of additional channels will add new dynamics to the development of local television. The digital switch-over opens another possibility for new players to enter the local television sector. This change is crucial for an area where the analogue television channels are already fully occupied. These areas have been the targets of television investors, as they are usually located in highly populated regions. The available digital channels will possibly slow down the takeover tendency, as it offers the possibility for new players to enter areas where the analogue channels are no longer available. Furthermore, the rise of internet platforms also adds to the new dynamics. Local television stations have been integrating such platforms in their economic practices. Many stations combine different television distribution platforms including satellite television and live Internet streaming (through a website and mobile phone applications). Additionally, the emergence of hyper-local media platforms (local stations are pioneers of local websites) contributes to new ways in which television contributes to the construction of locality. This offers a new point of entry to study the embedding of television in the local, national and global relationship.

As the industry becomes increasingly complex, the role of the regulator becomes much more important to guard public values that are considered vulnerable in the broadcasting sector. As in other countries, localism as a broadcasting value is vulnerable. This increases the importance of role of the regulator in preventing the erosion of local interests in broadcasting. The future of local television in Indonesia is partly dependent on regulators responding to the rapid changes in the television sector. The regulatory problems I discussed in Chapter 2, including among others things, the licensing problems, the status of the Indonesian broadcasting commissions and the implementation of the network system, are still not resolved. Since 2010 there have been discussions on the revisions of broadcasting law #32 of 2002 in the Indonesian parliament. The points of revision include the strengthening of the role of the Broadcasting Commission, regulations on local content and regulations on television ownership. However, at the time of writing the process is still ongoing and will be continued by the new parliament that was installed in 2014. As was the case with the

previous parliament, it still remains to be seen whether the much-anticipated revisions of the broadcasting law will be realised soon. However, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 2, television regulation in post-New Order is no longer exclusively the domain of the state. Other actors play important roles in shaping the regulatory practices of television. Pressure groups that consist of private media associations and elements of civil society have been active in monitoring the state of television regulations. The revision of the broadcasting law that is underway is also the result of the demands of civil groups. The existence of non-government pressure groups that strive for the realisation of public functions of television in post-authoritarian Indonesia gives hope for the protection of localism as a broadcasting principle in Indonesia.

My investigations of the industrial, historical and socio-cultural aspects of *TV lokal* reveal the complex practices of television at a local level in a post-authoritarian context. Established as part of the democratisation process of the country, it has become a fast growing industry that in its first decade of development has managed to claim a place at the local level. In post-authoritarian Indonesia locality matters and serves as the driving force of political and socio-cultural transformations. Television as a new local actor will continue to be shaped by and shape these emerging dynamics at the local level.

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Appendix

List of licensed local stations by 2013

Source: Feriandi Mirza, the head of the broadcasting data management, Depkominfo, received on 12 January 2013.

Total: 213 stations

No.	Station	Province
1.	PT. Makassar Lintasvisual Cemerlang (Makassar TV)	Sulawesi Selatan
2.	PT. Lampung Mega Televisi (Lampung TV)	Lampung
3.	PT. Global Telekomunikasi Terpadu (Pro TV)	Jawa Tengah
4.	PT. Kapuas Citra Televisi (KC TV)	Kalimantan Barat
5.	PT. Bali Music Channel (Bali Music Channe / BMC)	Bali
6.	PT. Banten Media Global TV (Banten TV)	Banten
7.	PT. Televisi Kampus Universitas Dian Nuswantoro (TV Ku)	Jawa Tengah
8.	PT. Mataram Gapura Televisi (MG TV)	Jawa Tengah
9.	PT. Merdeka Sarana Media (Future Media TV (SM TV))	Jawa Tengah
10.	PT. Banyumas Citra Televisi (BMS TV)	Jawa Tengah
11.	PT. Khatulistiwa Media (Publik Khatulistiwa Televisi (PKTV))	Kalimantan Timur
12.	PT. Reksa Birama Media (RB TV)	D.I. Yogyakarta
13.	PT. Lintas Nusa Gema Televisi (LNG TV)	Kalimantan Timur
14.	PT. Minang Media Televisi (Minang TV)	Sumatera Barat
15.	PT. Omni Intivision (O Channel)	DKI Jakarta
16.	PT. Bali Ranadha Televisi (Bali TV)	Bali
17.	PT. Batam Multimedia Televisi (Batam TV)	Kepulauan Riau
18.	PT. Alam Bali Semesta Televisi (ATV)	Bali
19.	PT. Riau Media Televisi (RI TV)	Riau
20.	PT. Sriwijaya Palembang Televisi (Sriwijaya TV)	Sumatera Selatan
21.	PT. Cipta Megaswara Televisi (TV Urang Bogor)	Jawa Barat
22.	PT. Dhoho Media Televisi (Dhoho TV)	Jawa Timur
23.	PT. Surabaya Media Televisi (SBO TV)	Jawa Timur
24.	PT. Esa Visual Padjadjaran Tivi (PJTV)	Jawa Barat
25.	PT. Jawa Pos Media Televisi (JTV)	Jawa Timur
26.	PT. Dian Televisi Putera Pratama (Dian TV)	Jawa Barat
27.	PT. Pasundan Utama Televisi (STV Bandung)	Jawa Barat
28.	PT. Maluku Televisi Indonesia (Molluca TV)	Maluku
29.	PT. Mataram Cakrawala Televisi Indonesia (Semarang TV)	Jawa Tengah
30.	PT. Cahaya Televisi Indonesia Banten (C. TV)	Banten
31.	PT. Televisi Anak Space Toon (Space Toon)	DKI Jakarta
32.	PT. Raja Cipta Media Televisi (Jatiluhur Televisi)	Jawa Barat
33.	PT. Danapati Abinaya Investama (Jak TV)	DKI Jakarta
34.	PT. Televisi Semarang Indonesia (btv)	Jawa Tengah
35.	PT. Televisi Terang Abadi (TA TV)	Jawa Tengah
36.	PT. Bandung Media Televisi Indonesia (Bandung TV)	Jawa Barat
37.	PT. Urban Televisi (Urban TV)	Kepulauan Riau
38.	PT. Indonesia Musik Televisi (IMTV)	Jawa Barat
39.	PT. Televisi Anak Medan (TV Anak Medan)	Sumatera Utara
40.	PT. Televisi Anak Garut (TV Anak Garut)	Jawa Barat
41.	PT. Televisi Anak Surabaya (TV Anak Surabaya)	Jawa Timur
42.	PT. Arek Surabaya Televisi Jatim (Arek TV)	Jawa Timur
43.	PT. Deli Media Televisi (Deli TV)	Sumatera Utara
44.	PT. Favorit Mitra Media Televisi (Favorit TV)	Sumatera Barat
45.	PT. Banten Sinar Dunia Televisi (BSTV)	Banten
46.	PT. Sumeks Tivi Palembang (Palembang TV)	Sumatera Selatan

47.	PT. Swara Alam Kendari TV (Kendari TV)	Sulawesi Tenggara
48.	PT. Yogyakarta Tugu Televisi (YOGYA TV)	D.I. Yogyakarta
49.	PT. Televisi Anak Bandung (TV Anak Bandung)	Jawa Barat
50.	PT. Pelangi Raya Televisi (Cirebon TV)	Jawa Barat
51.	PT. Surabaya Televisi Indonesia (Surabaya TV)	Jawa Timur
52.	PT. Jayapura Televisi (Top TV)	Papua
53.	PT. Mediantara Televisi Bali (Dewata TV)	Bali
54.	PT. Aceh Media Televisi Indonesia (Aceh TV)	Nangroe Aceh Darussalam
55.	PT. Jember Mutiara Nunggal Resti (JM TV)	Jawa Timur
56.	PT. Duta Anugerah Indah (DAAI TV)	DKI Jakarta
57.	PT. Duta Televisi Indonesia (Duta TV)	Kalimantan Selatan
58.	PT. Daya Angkasa Andalas Indah Televisi (DAAI TV)	Sumatera Utara
59.	PT. Wahana Televisi Cirebon (Radar Cirebon Televisi)	Jawa Barat
60.	PT. Media Parahyangan Televisi (ParTV)	Jawa Barat
61.	PT. Andalan Utama Sukabumi (ATV)	Jawa Barat
62.	PT. Nusantara Televisi (TVN)	Jawa Barat
63.	PT. Media Khatulistiwa Televisi (Khatulistiwa TV)	Kalimantan Barat
64.	PT. Televisi Elang Medika Internasional (MH TV)	Jawa Timur
65.	PT. Padang Media Televisi (Padang TV)	Sumatera Barat
66.	PT. Bukit Tinggi Televisi Sukses Mandiri (BI TV)	Sumatera Barat
67.	PT. Ruai Televisi (Ruai TV)	Kalimantan Barat
68.	PT. Jambi Televisi (Jambi TV)	Jambi
69.	PT. Jambi Ekspres Televisi (Jambi Ekspres TV)	Jambi
70.	PT. Semenanjung Televisi Batam (Semenanjung TV)	Kepulauan Riau
71.	PT. Suryatama Andalan Mandiri (SAM TV)	Riau
72.	PT. Fajar Makassar Televisi (Fajar TV)	Sulawesi Selatan
73.	PT. Panji Gemilang Persada (SKY TV)	Sumatera Selatan
74.	PT. Mahkota Ogan Sumatera Televisi (Most TV)	Sumatera Selatan
75.	PT. Tegar Multimedia (Tegar TV)	Lampung
76.	PT. Metropolitan Televisindo (B Channel)	DKI Jakarta
77.	PT. Sun Televisi Makassar (SunTV Makassar)	Sulawesi Selatan
78.	PT. Purwakarta Televisindo (Purwakarta TV)	Jawa Barat
79.	PT. Garuda Bintang Anggada (Garuda Vision TV)	Jawa Barat
80.	PT. Wahana Semesta Bengkulu Televisi	Bengkulu
81.	PT. Mahardika Maha Negeri (Teleframe)	Riau
82.	PT. Pesona Timor Duta Bangsa (Bchannel Kupang/ dh. Timor TV)	Nusa Tenggara Timur
83.	PT. Langkah Laras Sejati (Bchannel Lampung/dh. Krakatau TV)	Lampung
84.	PT. Dakwah Intimedia (Pas TV/TV9)	Jawa Timur
85.	PT. Nusantara Damai (ND TV)	Jawa Timur
86.	PT. Kaber Azeze Mediatel (Madura Channel)	Jawa Timur
87.	PT. Matahari Nusantara (MN TV)	Jawa Timur
88.	PT. Madika Televisi Kupang (Madika TV)	Nusa Tenggara Timur
89.	PT. Lombok Nuansa Televisi (Lombok TV)	Nusa Tenggara Barat
90.	PT. Belitung Media Televisi (Billiton TV)	Kepulauan Bangka Belitung
91.	PT. Borneo Television (TV B)	Kalimantan Selatan
92.	PT. Banjar Elektronika Sarana Televisi (Banjar TV)	Kalimantan Selatan
93.	PT. Borneo Global Media (Borneo TV)	Kalimantan Selatan
94.	PT. Arah Dunia Televisi Yogyakarta (ADI TV)	D.I. Yogyakarta
95.	PT. Carlita Televisi Indonesia (Carlita TV)	Banten
96.	PT. Komando Media Televisi (Komedi TV)	Banten
97.	PT. Visi Citra Mitra Mulia (TV Mitra)	Banten
98.	PT. Dimensi Global Televisi (Warna TV)	Banten
99.	PT. Siger Media Lampung (Siger TV)	Lampung
100.	PT. Cipta Lestari Televisindo (Bchannel Banjarmasin /d.h. Barito Channel)	Kalimantan Selatan

101.	PT. Bangka Television (Bangka TV)	Kepulauan Bangka Belitung
102.	PT. Citra Nusantara Televisi (CITV)	Jawa Barat
103.	PT. Senegor Televisi Flobamora (AFB TV)	Nusa Tenggara Timur
104.	PT. Televisi Tanah Liat Semesta (Tanah Liat TV)	Jawa Tengah
105.	PT. Cipta Televisi Borneo Nusantara (B Channel Balikpapan/ dh. Borneo TV /dh. Televisi Nusantara Balikpapan)	Kalimantan Timur
106.	PT. Manado Semesta Televisi (M Channel)	Sulawesi Utara
107.	PT. Mitra Vision Sidrap (Mitra TV)	Sulawesi Selatan
108.	PT. Semilir Gita Insani (Vista TV)	Gorontalo
109.	PT. Oxy Media Televisi (BC Channel)	Jawa Timur
110.	PT. Bama Berita Sarana Televisi (BBS TV)	Jawa Timur
111.	PT. Duta Batam Televisindo (Barelang TV)	Kepulauan Riau
112.	PT. Televisi Sembilan Banjarmasin (TV9)	Kalimantan Selatan
113.	PT. Kemilau Jaya Wijaya (Kemilau TV)	Papua
114.	PT. Televisi Mandiri Papua (Papua TV)	Papua
115.	PT. Pacific Televisi Anugerah (Pacific TV)	Sulawesi Utara
116.	PT. Manado Televisi Indonesia (CTV Manado)	Sulawesi Utara
117.	PT. Sunu Network Broadcast Televisi (SNB TV)	Sulawesi Selatan
118.	PT. Wahana Televisi Banten (Radar TV Banten)	Banten
119.	PT. Radar Lampung Visual (Radar TV)	Lampung
120.	PT. Panorama Nusantara (Bchannel Ambon/ dh. Panorama TV)	Maluku
121.	PT. Triarga Media Televisi (Triarga TV)	Sumatera Barat
122.	PT. Mahakarya Anak Negeri (Station 1)	Sumatera Selatan
123.	PT. Batanghari Televisi Indonesia (BTV)	Jambi
124.	PT. Bengkulu Televisi (BTV)	Bengkulu
125.	PT. Multi Televisi Indonesia (Esa TV Bengkulu)	Bengkulu
126.	PT. Cawan Televisi Indonesia (Cawan TV)	Maluku
127.	PT. Carang Televisi Indonesia (Carang TV)	Maluku
128.	PT. Wahana Raya Televisi (BRTV)	Banten
129.	PT. Lintas Antariksa (TV9)	Nusa Tenggara Barat
130.	PT. Kaltim Televisi (Kaltim TV)	Kalimantan Timur
131.	PT. Balikpapan Televisi (Balikpapan TV)	Kalimantan Timur
132.	PT. Samarinda Televisi (Samarinda TV)	Kalimantan Timur
133.	PT. Jitu Pacitan Televisi (Pacitan TV/JTV Pacitan)	Jawa Timur
134.	PT. Jumlah Sumenep Televisi (JMTV)	Jawa Timur
135.	PT. Trenggalek Media Televisi (Trenggalek TV/JTV Trenggalek)	Jawa Timur
136.	PT. Jujur Jember Televisi (Jember TV)	Jawa Timur
137.	PT. Jago Banyuwangi Televisi (JTV Banyuwangi)	Jawa Timur
138.	PT. Jaring Tuban Televisi (Matoh TV/JTV Bojonegoro)	Jawa Timur
139.	PT. Jempol Bondowoso Televisi (Bondowoso TV/JTV Bondowoso)	Jawa Timur
140.	PT. Citra Nuansa Bima Televisi (Bima TV)	Nusa Tenggara Barat
141.	PT. Cahaya Cipta Cinta (Channel One)	Sulawesi Utara
142.	PT. Panen Raya Indonesia Raya (Fiesta TV)	Kalimantan Tengah
143.	PT. Media Sampit Indonesia (SSTV)	Kalimantan Tengah
144.	PT. Jaya Negeriku Jaya Bangsaku (Rinjani TV)	Nusa Tenggara Barat
145.	PT. Gamalama Televisi Indonesia (Gamalama TV)	Maluku Utara
146.	PT. Bojonegoro Lintas Network Televisi (B-One TV)	Jawa Timur
147.	PT. Pilar Sumbawa Televisi (Sumbawa TV)	Nusa Tenggara Barat
148.	PT. Waskita Wicaksana Visual (Pelangi TV)	Sulawesi Tengah
149.	PT. Kartika Pusaka Bangsa (Kartika TV)	Jawa Tengah
150.	PT. Kudus Televisi Indonesia (KudusTV)	Jawa Tengah
151.	PT. Simpang Lima Media Televisi (Simpang Lima TV)	Jawa Tengah
152.	PT. Cindai Televisi Indonesia (Cindai TV)	Kepulauan Riau

153.	PT. Televisi Anak Jember (TV Anak Jember)	Jawa Timur
154.	PT. Viva Sport Indonesia 2 (SportOne)	Kalimantan Selatan
155.	PT. Manado Televisi Nusantara (Manado TV)	Sulawesi Utara
156.	PT. Anugerah Media Televisi (AMTV)	Kalimantan Selatan
157.	PT. Semesta Sulawesi Televisi (Sindo TV Kendari)	Sulawesi Tenggara
158.	PT. Samarinda Televisi (Khayangan TV)	Kalimantan Selatan
159.	PT. Dhoho Media Televisi (Dhoho TV)	Jawa Timur
160.	PT. Bali Music Channel (BMC)	Bali
161.	PT. Mahkota Ogan Nusantara (MOS TV)	Sumatera Selatan
162.	PT. Kapuas Citra Televisi (KCTV)	Kalimantan Barat
163.	PT. Anugrah Media Televisi (AMTV)	Kalimantan Selatan
164.	PT. Mahardika Maha Negeri (teleframe)	Riau
165.	PT. Bamega Visual (Oedien Visual)	Kalimantan Selatan
166.	PT. Jember Mutiara Nunggalresti	Jawa Timur
167.	PT. Sinu Network Broadcast Televisi (Celebes TV)	Kalimantan Selatan
168.	PT. Nusantara Damai (NDTV)	Jawa Timur
169.	PT. Fajar Makasar Televisi (Fajar TV)	Sulawesi Selatan
170.	PT. Citranuansa Bima Televisi (Bima TV)	Nusa Tenggara Barat
171.	PT. Arek Surabaya Televisi Jatim (Arek TV)	Jawa Timur
172.	PT. Cahaya Citra Televisi	Sumatera Utara
173.	PT. Cita Televisi Belitung	Bangka Belitung
174.	PT. Deli Media Televisi	Sumatera Utara
175.	PT. Kalinda Media	Jawa Barat
176.	PT. Tiara Lestari Televisi	Jawa Barat
177.	PT. Semesta Aceh Televisi	Aceh
178.	PT. Visual Instan Persada	Jawa Barat
179.	PT. Esa Televisi Multi Indonesia	Bangka Belitung
180.	PT. Manokwari Televisi	Papua Barat
181.	PT. Bayu Palu Prima TV	Sulawesi Tengah
182.	PT. Kompas Aceh Bangka	Kep. Bangka Belitung
183.	PT. Cahaya Nusantara Perkasa Televisi	Sumatera Utara
184.	PT. Semesta Mutiara Televisi	Papua
185.	PT. Dairi Televisi Utama	Sumatera Utara
186.	PT. Indra sakti Media Televisi	Kep. Riau
187.	PT. Semesta Pesona Televisi	Sulawesi Barat
188.	PT. Lingkaran Generasi Muda Creative	Sumatera Selatan
189.	PT. Cahaya Tara Vision	Banten
190.	PT. Semesta Sulawesi Televisi	Gorontalo
191.	PT. Kompas TV Media Televisi	Gorontalo
192.	PT. Televisi Orang Papua	Gorontalo
193.	PT. Dairi Televisi Utama	Kalimantan Selatan
194.	PT. Viva Sport Indonesia 1	Sulawesi Selatan
195.	PT. Nirwana Citra Abadi	Jawa Barat
196.	PT. Televisi Orang Papua	Papua Barat
197.	PT. Esa Visual Padjajaran TIVI	Jawa Barat
198.	PT. Palu Televisi Media	Sulawesi Tengah
199.	PT. Kemilau Jaya Wijaya	Papua
200.	PT. Kompas TV Media Informasi	NTT
201.	PT. Fajar Kebenaran Nusantara	Bali
202.	PT. Citranet Media	Bali
203.	PT. Batang Hari Televisi Indonesia (BTV)	Jambi
204.	PT. Manado Semesta Televisi (M Channel)	Sulawesi Utara
205.	PT. Viva Sport Indonesia 2	Sumatera Utara
206.	PT. Arrisma Linggau Televisi Media	Sumatera Selatan
207.	PT. Amanah Insan Televisi	Sumatera Utara
208.	PT. Selatan Wahana Media Visual	Lampung
209.	PT. Televisi Antero Nusantara	Aceh

| Appendix

210.	PT. Semesta Nusa Televisi	NTT
211.	PT. Avatar Datu Televisi	Sumatera Utara
212.	PT. Alika	Sulawesi Selatan
213.	PT. Indonesia Musik Televisi	Jawa Barat

SAMENVATTING

In het eerste decennium van de 21e eeuw onderging het Indonesische televisiebestel een aantal drastische transformaties die deel uitmaakten van een breder pakket aan sociaal-politieke veranderingen geïnitieerd na de val van het Nieuwe Orde regime van President Suharto in 1998. Als onderdeel van een reeks sociale en politieke transformaties voerde Indonesië de regionale autonomie in, waarbij bevoegdheden van de centrale overheid werden overgedragen aan sub-provinciale overheden. Dit proces heeft het land van een van de meest gecentraliseerde staten in de wereld omgevormd tot een sterk gedecentraliseerde staat. Terwijl tijdens de Nieuwe Orde de centrale staat op alle niveaus van overheidsbestuur een eenvormig, van bovenaf opgelegd beleid voerde, zag men in post-Suharto Indonesië juist de opkomst van het lokale, gekenmerkt door grotere regionale controle over politieke en economische zaken. Dit heeft geleid tot een nieuwe sociale, politieke en culturele dynamiek op sub-nationaal niveau. In haar zoektocht naar een nieuwe, post-autoritaire identiteit vormt de natie haar politieke systemen om tot een democratie – een proces waarin televisie onlosmakelijk verankerd is. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt een belangrijk aspect van dergelijke transformaties, namelijk de opkomst van *TV lokal* (lokale televisie). Sinds de millenniumwisseling is het Indonesische televisielandschap snel getransformeerd van een gecentraliseerd systeem, bestaande uit overwegend nationale omroepen, tot een meer gedecentraliseerde televisiestructuur, bestaande uit honderden nieuwe televisiestations die op lokaal niveau opereren en een beperkt bereik hebben. Dit proefschrift onderzoekt de opkomst van *TV lokal* door het eerste decennium van de ontwikkeling van lokale televisie (2002-2012) aan een studie te onderwerpen, met als doel de specifieke rol van lokale televisie in de constructie van lokaliteit in post-Suharto Indonesië vast te stellen. Wat zijn de onderliggende factoren die aan een dergelijke rol gestalte geven, en in welke vormen en via welke mechanismen draagt lokale televisie bij aan dit proces?

De analyse concentreert zich op institutionele ontwikkelingen, waarbij de industriële dimensie van televisie benadrukt wordt. Deze analyse is gebaseerd op veldwerk dat in diverse plaatsen, waaronder Yogyakarta en Solo in Centraal Java, Denpasar in Bali en Manado in Noord-Sulawesi, werd verricht. Vier stations werden geselecteerd bij wijze van *case studies*, te weten Bali TV, Jogja TV, TATV en Pacific TV. Door macro- en micro-analyses te combineren, identificeer ik welke factoren hebben bijgedragen aan de ontwikkeling van lokale televisie (hoofdstukken 1 en 2); onderzoek ik de kenmerken van lokale televisie en haar wijze van opereren (hoofdstukken 3 tot en met 5); en bestudeer ik de specifieke rol van lokale televisie bij socio-

culturele transformaties op lokaal niveau (hoofdstukken 6 en 7). Ik maak gebruik van een kritische benadering van de media-industrie (*critical media industry approach*) om verschillende aspecten van de lokale televisie-industrie te onderzoeken, waarbij zowel de *extrinsieke* elementen (het publieke vertoog in Hoofdstuk 1; regelgeving in Hoofdstuk 2) alsook de *intrinsieke* elementen (eigenaarschap in Hoofdstuk 3; economische praktijken in Hoofdstuk 4; programmerings- en productiepraktijken in de hoofdstukken 5 tot en met 7) aan bod komen. Het proefschrift onderzoekt de interactie tussen deze elementen vanuit een historisch perspectief, waarbij ik de analyse situeer binnen de specifieke, historische contexten die richting hebben gegeven aan de ontwikkeling van lokale televisie, zowel op lokaal als op nationaal niveau.

Het proefschrift bestaat uit zeven hoofdstukken, waarin ik de verankering van lokale televisie in het transformatieproces van lokaliteit in post-Suharto Indonesië aantoon door te laten zien hoe lokaliteit als waarde de ontwikkeling van lokale televisie vorm heeft gegeven (op institutioneel niveau en qua economische structuur en programmering); tegelijkertijd laat ik zien hoe dergelijke televisiepraktijken aan dit transformatieproces van lokaliteit hebben bijgedragen. De eerste twee hoofdstukken schetsen de politieke, economische en culturele contexten waarbinnen lokale televisie tot stand is gekomen. Hoofdstuk 1 kijkt naar de vroege jaren van *TV lokal*, die ik de *vormende periode* noem, ruwweg van de val van de Nieuwe Orde in 1998 tot aan de afkondiging van de nieuwe Omroepwet #32 (*Undang-Undang Penyiaran*) in 2002. Tijdens deze periode werden veel lokale stations opgericht in verschillende gebieden. Het was een essentiële periode in de ontwikkeling van Indonesische televisie, omdat in deze tijd het openbare debat over televisie als onderdeel van de mediahervormingen een nieuwe impuls kreeg. Voor het eerst werd er openlijk over het idee van lokale televisie gedebatteerd. In mijn analyse van het publieke vertoog over lokale televisie betoog ik dat tijdens deze periode de constructie van lokaliteit als een belangrijke waarde werd gezien; 'lokaliteit' vormde een van de principes die aan de transformatie van het televisiesysteem in post-Suharto Indonesië ten grondslag lagen. In deze periode werd in het publieke vertoog het principe van 'localisme' (*localism principle*) gemobiliseerd, om zo het bestaan van een lokale televisiedienst te rechtvaardigen ten overstaan van zowel nationale als lokale actoren.

De afkondiging van Omroepwet #32 diende als juridisch kader voor het bestaan van *TV lokal*, aangezien deze wet de decentralisatie van het televisiesysteem vastlegde. In Hoofdstuk 2 analyseer ik de uitvoering van de Omroepwet alsook de manier waarop deze wet de ontwikkeling van lokale televisie tijdens deze periode, die ik de *uitbreidingsperiode* (2002-2012) noem, stuurde. Deze tijd werd gekenmerkt door een explosieve groei van het aantal lokale stations en de totstandkoming van een nieuw regulerend regime op televisie. Rond 2013 waren er 213 lokale omroepen officieel geregistreerd. De introductie van Omroepwet #32, de

implementatie van de aan die wet verbonden regelgeving en de oprichting van nieuwe, regelgevende organen, met inbegrip van de Indonesische Omroepcommissie (*Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia*, of KPI), leidden tot nieuwe praktijken in het beheer en bestuur van de televisiesector in Indonesië. Dit was een complex proces, waarin geschillen ontstonden tussen verschillende actoren binnen de snel veranderende sector met betrekking tot de toegang tot, en controle over, televisie. Het decentralisatieproces van de televisiesector tijdens deze uitbreidingsperiode toonde aan hoe het principe van 'lokalisme', zoals omschreven in de Omroepwet, onder druk stond vanwege de economische belangen van de televisie-omroepen. De zwakke wetshandhaving, veroorzaakt door onduidelijke details in de regelgeving en belangenverstrengelingen tussen de regelgevende organen, bemoeilijkte het decentraliseringsproces van het Indonesische televisiesysteem. Deze problemen beïnvloedden de ontwikkeling van nieuwe lokale televisiestations, zowel op juridisch als op economisch gebied.

Nadat ik de historische context van de ontwikkeling van *TV lokal* geschetst heb, richten de volgende drie hoofdstukken zich op specifieke aspecten van lokale televisie. In Hoofdstuk 3 onderzoek ik de eigendomsstructuur van lokale televisie. Door de regelgeving en de daadwerkelijke situatie met elkaar te vergelijken, bekijk ik specifiek hoe het principe van 'lokalisme' binnen deze structuur tot uitdrukking komt. De eigenaren van lokale stations in Indonesië hebben diverse achtergronden; zij zijn afkomstig van zowel commerciële bedrijven als lokale politieke en sociale organisaties. Gebaseerd op deze eigendomsstructuur onderscheid ik twee soorten lokale televisie, te weten onafhankelijke televisiestations en groepsstations. Terwijl tijdens de vormende periode de meeste lokale stations tot de onafhankelijke categorie behoorden, maakten in de tweede helft van het decennium veel stations onderdeel uit van groepsstations. Een decennium na de institutionalisering van het gedecentraliseerde televisiesysteem is het televisielandschap veranderd van een landschap gekenmerkt door een overvloed aan onafhankelijke televisiestations, met eigenaren van diverse achtergronden, in een landschap dat door groeps eigendom wordt overheerst. Dit is toe te schrijven aan het economisch belang van televisie via de ether voor mediabedrijven, en aan een zwakke wetshandhaving.

Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt een ander belangrijk aspect van lokale televisie, namelijk haar economische structuur. Om als commerciële televisie te overleven, is een lokaal station afhankelijk van zijn capaciteit om inkomsten te genereren. Hier bespreek ik de contouren van het economisch model van lokale televisie en identificeer ik de factoren die tot een dergelijk model hebben geleid. In tegenstelling tot de meeste commerciële omroepen vormen reclamespots slechts een van de vele bronnen van inkomsten voor deze stations. Het economisch model van lokale televisie in Indonesië is hoofdzakelijk opgebouwd rondom

praktijken als *live evenementen*, *sponsoring* en een *uitnodigingsbeleid* (waarbij lokale televisiestations op uitnodiging en tegen betaling bepaalde activiteiten/evenementen van lokale actoren filmen en uitzenden) – praktijken die door oudere lokale media waren geïnitieerd. Deze economische praktijken zijn uniek voor lokale stations en gedeeltelijk ontwikkeld vanwege de moeilijkheid om reguliere reclame-inkomsten te genereren. Omdat lokale televisie afhankelijk is van diverse lokale bronnen van inkomsten, is het medium sterk betrokken geraakt bij het netwerk van lokale actoren die de constructie van lokaliteit gestalte geven. Diverse sociale actoren, zoals regeringsambtenaren, politici, godsdienstige groeperingen en andere gemeenschapsgroepen, maken regelmatig hun opwachting op lokale televisie.

Hoofdstuk 5 onderzoekt de programmering van lokale televisie in detail. In dit hoofdstuk beschrijf ik de karakteristieken van de programmering en identificeer ik de factoren die programma's hun vorm geven. In het bijzonder bekijk ik het begrip *muatan lokal* (lett. lokale inhoud; hieronder: lokale programma's) als een belangrijke factor die de programmering van lokale stations bepaalt. Door de veranderende politieke en sociale dynamiek na de val van President Suharto is aan lokale televisieprogramma's een nieuw belang toegekend. Het is een belangrijk aspect geworden van televisiebeleid om een diversiteit aan inhoud te creëren, om zo meer macht te geven aan de nu gedecentraliseerde gebieden. De institutionalisering van het concept lokale programma's in het post-Suharto uitzendbeleid markeerde een nieuwe fase in de programmeringspraktijken van Indonesische televisie, waarbij televisiestations vanwege de quotumverordening verplicht waren om lokale programma's uit te zenden. Lokale programma's hebben op deze manier aan politiek belang gewonnen, niet alleen als onderdeel van lokale identiteitspolitiek sinds het decentralisatieproces, maar ook als middel om lokale publieke sferen te construeren als onderdeel van het democratiseringsproces. Een inhoudsanalyse van de programmering van de vier stations wijst uit dat het grootste gedeelte van de programmering gewijd is aan dergelijke lokaal georiënteerde programma's. Door inhouds- en productieanalyses van de vier bovengenoemde stations met elkaar te combineren, toon ik aan dat de dominantie van lokaal georiënteerde programma's op deze stations samenhangt met het economisch model van deze stations. De productie en uitzending van lokale programma's maakt deel uit van de strategie om in het concurrerende televisielandschap, dat door nationale omroepen wordt gedomineerd, het hoofd boven water te houden; het vormt een onderdeel van de marketingstrategie van de stations. De lokale programma's vormen een van de hoofdbronnen van inkomsten en kunnen voor relatief lage kosten geproduceerd worden. Deze economische praktijken bepalen de kenmerken van lokale programma's.

Inzicht in de institutionele en industriële dimensies van lokale televisie leidt tot een beter begrip van de verankering van lokale televisie in de socio-culturele praktijken die bijdragen aan de transformatie van lokaliteit in post-Suharto Indonesië, het onderwerp van de

resterende hoofdstukken. In Hoofdstuk 6 bekijk ik, door lokale nieuwsprogramma's en praatprogramma's te analyseren, het verband tussen televisie en veranderende methoden van publieke communicatie. Ik betoog dat lokale televisiepraktijken aantonen dat televisie in post-Suharto Indonesië zich richting het centrum van politieke praktijken en communicatieve praktijken geïnitieerd door de regering heeft bewogen. Lokale televisiepraktijken bieden een openbare communicatieruimte die meer open is dan die van televisie tijdens de Nieuwe Orde. De analyse legt bloot hoe hardnekkig de tijdens de Nieuwe Orde gevormde openbare communicatiecultuur is in de vorm van ceremonieel nieuws, maar toont tegelijkertijd de totstandkoming van een onmiskenbaar openbare communicatiecultuur, die wordt gekenmerkt door een toename van dialoog tussen autoriteiten en burgers. De contouren van deze openbare communicatiecultuur op lokale televisie krijgen hoofdzakelijk gestalte door het economische model van het station. De sponsoring- en uitnodigingspraktijken bieden aan diverse lokale actoren meer toegang tot televisie. Terwijl het open karakter van televisie ruimte biedt aan lokale actoren om deel te nemen aan openbare communicatieprocessen, stelt de afhankelijkheid van sponsorgelden beperkingen aan het potentieel van televisie als medium van een lokale, publieke sfeer.

Hoofdstuk 7 bekijkt de rol van lokale televisie in de constructie van lokale identiteit. De opkomst van lokale identiteit is een van de belangrijkste transformaties die lokaliteit heeft ondergaan sinds de invoering van regionale autonomie na de val van het Nieuwe Orde regime. Het vertoog over lokale identiteit in de post-Suharto periode wordt gekenmerkt door een paradox. Terwijl dit vertoog meer macht legt bij lokale actoren, aan wie de Nieuwe Orde decennialang op agressieve wijze een beleid van eenvormigheid heeft opgedrongen, is het kader waarbinnen dit vertoog wordt geconstrueerd precies hetzelfde als door het regime werd gebruikt om verschillen te ontkennen, te weten het vertoog van etno-lokaliteit, waarin 'ethniciteit' en 'lokaliteit' elkaar in dergelijke mate veronderstellen dat zij, in wezen, één enkel concept vormen. Ik betoog dat lokale televisie een actieve rol speelt in de constructie van het vertoog over lokale identiteit door de commodificatie van lokale symbolen (zoals dans, muziek en landschap). Mijn analyse in dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat identiteitspraktijken op Indonesische televisie na de Nieuwe Orde onderdeel uitmaken van een complex proces dat zowel continuïteit als onderbrekingen met de vertogen van de Nieuwe Orde vertoont. De analyse van de vier geselecteerde stations toont aan dat het etno-lokale vertoog uit de tijd van de Nieuwe Orde nog zeer aanwezig is, maar dat tegelijkertijd nieuwe manieren ontstaan zijn om lokale identiteit te verbeelden. Het open karakter van het economisch model van lokale televisie in Indonesië biedt ruimte aan verschillende lokale identiteitsvertogen. Het bestaan van deze verschillende lokale identiteitsvertogen vormt de belangrijkste breuk met de situatie onder de Nieuwe Orde. Het

lokale identiteitsvertoog is niet meer uitsluitend het domein van de staat, maar is ook een integraal onderdeel geworden van bedrijfsstrategieën die erop gericht zijn om winst te maken.

Deze studie toont aan dat televisie, nadat het meer dan drie decennia hoofdzakelijk gefungeerd heeft als medium om een door de staat opgelegd project, gericht op het ontwikkelen van de natie (*nation-building project*), uit te venten, in post-autoritair Indonesië een integraal onderdeel is geworden van de sociaal-politieke en culturele dynamiek op lokaal niveau. De invoering van regionale autonomie heeft tot politieke en culturele transformaties geleid die nieuwe praktijken met zich meebrachten voor wat betreft de productie van lokaliteit. Televisie komt naar voren als een van de belangrijkste instituties op lokaal niveau die bijdragen aan de nieuwe productiepraktijken van lokaliteit, die door politieke, economische en culturele factoren gestalte krijgen. Door de inhoud van televisie en van productiepraktijken te analyseren, laat ik zien dat lokale televisie deze rol op twee niveaus vervult, namelijk op het niveau van symboliek en representatie en op het performatieve/actieniveau. Lokale televisie komt naar voren als een plek waar lokaliteit wordt verbeeld. Televisie dient niet alleen als symbool en verspreider van symbolen van lokaliteit, belangrijk is ook dat het medium lokale gemeenschappen letterlijk met elkaar verbindt: lokale televisie brengt leden van lokale gemeenschappen met elkaar in contact en versterkt dat contact. Mijn analyse van lokale televisiepraktijken legt het proces bloot van de herstructurering van sociale machten inzake de productie van lokaliteit in post-autoritair Indonesië. Dit is een proces waarin lokale actoren de leiding nemen in het definiëren en het behoud van lokaliteiten, in plaats van de centrale staat, zoals het geval was onder het Nieuwe Orde regime. De productie van lokaliteit is niet langer een voornaam-nationaal plan van culturele vorming, maar een versplinterd en gelokaliseerd project, waaraan diverse sociale actoren met ontelbare doelstellingen een bijdrage leveren.

SUMMARY

In the first decade of the 21st century Indonesian television underwent drastic transformations as part of the broader socio-political changes following the fall of the New Order regime of President Suharto in 1998. As part of the reforms, Indonesia implemented regional autonomy, devolving powers from the central to sub-provincial governments. The process has turned the country from one of the most centralised states in the world into one of the highly decentralised. In contrast to the authoritarian New Order era when the central state government implemented a uniform top down policy at all levels of government administration, post-New Order Indonesia has seen the rise of the local, characterised by greater regional control over political and economic affairs. This has led to new social, political and cultural dynamics at the sub-national level. As the nation searches for a new post-authoritarian identity by transforming its political systems into a democracy, television is inextricably embedded in the process. The dissertation investigates one important aspect of such transformations, namely the rise of *TV lokal* (local television). Since the turn of the millennium the Indonesian television landscape has transformed rapidly from a centralised system, consisting of predominately national broadcasters into a more decentralised television structure with hundreds of new stations operating at a local level, broadcasting for a limited service area. The study set out to explore the rise of *TV lokal* by investigating its first decade of development (2002-2012). It aims to identify local television's specific role in the construction of locality in post-New Order Indonesia. What are the underlying factors that shape such a role, and in what forms and through which mechanisms does local television contribute to the process?

The analysis focuses on institutional developments, emphasising the industrial dimension of television. It is based on fieldwork that was carried out in several locations, including Yogyakarta and Solo in Central Java, Denpasar in Bali and Manado in North Sulawesi. Four sample stations were used as case studies namely Bali TV, Jogja TV, TATV and Pacific TV. By combining both macro and micro analyses I identify factors that underpinned local television development (Chapter 1 and 2), scrutinise its characteristics and modes of operations (Chapter 3-5) and investigate its specific roles in the socio-cultural transformations at the local level (Chapter 6 and 7). I employ a critical media industry approach to examine different aspects of local television industry, including both its *extrinsic* (public discourse in Chapter 1, regulations in Chapter 2) and *intrinsic* elements (ownership in chapter 3, economic practices in Chapter 4, programming and production practices in Chapter 5-7). The interplay between these elements is

examined from a historical perspective, situating the analysis within specific historical contexts that have shaped the development of local television at both local as well as national levels.

The dissertation consists of seven chapters in which I demonstrate the embedding of local television in the transformation of locality in post-New Order Indonesia by showing how locality as a value has shaped its development (its institution, economy and programming) and simultaneously how television practices contribute to the transformation process of locality. The first two chapters provide the political, economic and cultural contexts of the establishment of local television. Chapter 1 looks at the early years of *TV lokal*, which I call the *formative period*, roughly from the fall of the New Order in 1998 to the promulgation of the new Broadcasting Law #32 (*Undang-Undang Penyiaran*) in 2002. The period saw the establishment of local stations throughout different regions. It was a crucial time in the development of Indonesian television because in this period public debate about television took place as part of media reforms and for the first time the idea of local television was publicly debated. By analysing public discourse on local television, I argue that this period saw the construction of locality as a value that served as one of the principles that underlay the transformation of the television system in post-New Order Indonesia. The period also saw the mobilisation of the localism principle in the public discourse in order to justify the existence of a local television service by both national and local actors.

The promulgation of the Broadcasting Law #32 served as the legal framework for the existence of *TV lokal* as it stipulated the decentralisation of the television system. In Chapter 2, I analyse the implementation of the law and how it shapes the development of local television in the years that I call the *expansion period* (2002-2012). This period was characterised by the explosive growth of the number of local stations and the emergence of a new regulatory regime on television. By 2013 there were 213 local broadcasters officially registered. The introduction of the Broadcasting Law #32, the subsequent implementation of its regulations and the establishment of new regulatory bodies, including the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (*Komisi Penyiaran Indonesia* or KPI), have led to new practices in the management and administration of the television sector in Indonesia. This was a complex process that involved contestation of access to and control of television between different actors amid the rapidly changing sector. The decentralisation process of the television sector in this expansion period demonstrated how the localism principle, as envisioned in the Broadcasting Law, was under pressure by economic interests of television broadcasters. The weak enforcement of the law, due to unclear details in the regulations and conflict of interests between regulatory bodies, added to a difficult process of decentralising the television system in Indonesia. These problems impacted on the development of new local stations both legally and economically.

Having explained the historical context of the development of *TV lokal*, the following three chapters focus on specific aspects of this television service. In Chapter 3, I examine its structure of ownership. Specifically, I look at how the localism principle manifests itself in the structure by comparing the regulations and the actual situation. The owners of local stations in Indonesia have diverse backgrounds, coming from commercial companies and local political and social organisations. Based on its structure of ownership, I distinguish two types of local television, namely independent stations and group stations. While in the formative period, most local stations belonged to the independent category, in the second half of the decade many stations became part of group stations. A decade after the decentralised television system was institutionalised the landscape has changed from a plethora of independent stations with diverse ownership backgrounds into a one that is dominated by group ownership. This is due to the economic importance of terrestrial television for media companies and weak law enforcement.

Chapter 4 deals with another important aspect of local television, namely its economy. As commercial television, a local station's survival is dependent on its ability to generate income. Here I discuss the contours of its economic model and identify factors that have given rise to such a model. Unlike most commercial broadcasters, spot advertisement is only one of many sources of income for these stations. The economic model of local television in Indonesia is built mainly on practices such as *off-air events*, *sponsorship* and *invitation* (in which local actors invite and pay local stations to film and broadcast their activities/events) that were initiated by older local media. These economic practices are unique to local stations and have developed partly due to the difficulties in generating income from spot advertisements. Because of its dependency on various local sources of income, local television has become deeply involved in the network of local actors that shape their role in the construction of locality. Various social actors, such as government officials, politicians, religious groups and other community groups, have made regular appearances on local television.

Chapter 5 scrutinises the programming of local television. Here, I describe its characteristics and explain the factors that shape programmes. In particular, I look at the notion of '*muatan lokal*' (local content) as an important factor that determines the programming of local stations. The changing political and social dynamics after the fall of President Suharto has given new importance of local content on television. It has become a significant aspect of television policy in order to create diversity of content as a way to empower the now decentralised regions. The institutionalisation of the concept of local content in the post-New Order broadcasting policy marked a new phase in the programming practices of Indonesian television in which the broadcasting of local content has become an obligation for television stations through the quota regulation. Local content has thus gained political importance as part of local

identity politics following the decentralisation process and as a means for constructing local public spheres as part of the democratisation process of the country. The content analysis of the four stations reveals that the largest portion of the programming is devoted to locally oriented programmes. By combining content and production analyses of four sample stations, I argue that the domination of locally oriented programmes on these stations is related to their economic model. The production and broadcast of local content is part of the strategy to survive in the competitive television landscape dominated by national broadcasters. It is part of the marketing strategy of these stations. Local content programmes serve as one of main sources of income and can be produced at relatively low cost. These economic practices shape the characteristics of local content programmes.

Insights into the institutional and industrial dimensions of local television will help to understand how it is embedded in socio-cultural practices that contribute to the transformation of locality in post-New Order Indonesia, the topic of the remaining chapters. In Chapter 6 I look at the relationship between television and changing modes of public communication by analysing local news programmes and talk shows. I argue that the practices of local television demonstrate that in Post-New Order Indonesia television has moved to the centre of political and governmental practices. It offers a public communication space that is more open than the New Order television. The analysis reveals both the persistence the New Order public communication culture in the form of ceremonial news, and at the same time the emergence of a distinct public communication culture, characterised by the proliferation of dialogue between authorities and citizens. The contours of public communication culture on local television are shaped mainly by the economic model of the station. The sponsorship and invitation practices give various local actors access to appearing on television. While its open character has provided a space for local actors to participate in public communication processes, its dependency on sponsorship poses some limitations to the potential of television as a medium of local public sphere.

Chapter 7 looks at the role of local television in the construction of local identity. The rise of local identity is one of the most important transformations of locality following the implementation of regional autonomy after the fall of the New Order regime. The discourse on local identity in the post-New Order period is characterised by a paradox. This derives from the fact that although the discourse is seen as a form of 'empowerment' of local actors after decades of the New Order's aggressive push towards uniformity, the framework by which it is constructed is precisely the one that was used by the regime to deny differences, namely the ethnolocality discourse, in which the ideas of 'ethnicity' and 'locality' presume each other to the extent that they are, in essence, a single concept. I argue that local television plays an active role in constructing the discourse on local identity through the commoditisation processes of local

symbols (such as dance, music and landscape). My analysis in this chapter shows that identity practices on Indonesian television in post-New Order involve a complex process that shows both continuities and breaks with the New Order discourse. The analysis of four sample stations reveals that the New Order ethnolocal discourse is still very much present, but at the same time new ways of imagining local identity have emerged. The open character of the economic model of local television in Indonesia provides the space for the construction of different discourses of local identity. It is the co-existence of these different discourses that marks the most important break with the situation under the New Order. The discourse of local identity is no longer exclusively the state's domain but has also become an integral part of corporate strategies to make a profit.

This study shows that after more than three decades of functioning mainly as a medium of the state's top down nation building project, in post-authoritarian Indonesia, television has become an integral part of the socio-political and cultural dynamics at the local level. The implementation of regional autonomy has given rise to political and cultural transformations that engendered new practices of the production of locality. Television emerges as one of the most important institutions at the local level that contributes to the new practices of the production of locality, shaped by political, economic and cultural factors. The analysis of television content and production practices shows that local television carries out this role at two levels, namely the symbolic/representation level and the performative/action level. Local television appears as a site where locality is imagined. Importantly, more than merely serving as a symbol and a circulator of symbols of locality, local television literally connects, amplifies and binds elements of local communities. The analysis of local television practices reveals the reconfiguration process of social powers in the production of locality in post-authoritarian Indonesia. It is a process in which local actors are taking the lead in defining and maintaining localities, instead of the central state apparatus, as it was the case under the New Order regime. The production of locality is no longer a grand-national design of cultural formation but a fragmented and localised project motivated by myriad aims of different social actors.

BIOGRAPHY

Bram Hendrawan was born on November 8, 1980 in Sukoharjo, Indonesia. He holds a bachelor degree in Communication and Information Studies from Utrecht University and Masters in Media Studies from University of Amsterdam. In 2009, he received the Mozaiek Grant from the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research to conduct a PhD research at the Institute for Cultural Inquiry (ICON), Utrecht University, which was completed in 2015. Bram has also received a fellowship from the Australia-Netherlands Research Collaboration to conduct a three month research in the ASDC@ADFA in Canberra, Australia in 2011. He has taught courses in the field of media studies and Southeast Asian studies in different universities in the Netherlands.



Since the turn of the millennium, the Indonesian television landscape has transformed rapidly from a centralised system, consisting of predominately national broadcasters into a more decentralised structure with hundreds of new stations operating at a local level known as *TV lokal*. This book explores the rise of local television by mapping its first decade of development (2002-2012) and investigating its role in the cultural and political changes following the implementation of regional autonomy after the fall of the New Order regime.