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Media Ownership and Political Affiliation in Indonesia



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Foreword

Indonesia's 2024 general election must be considered within the context of the increase digitization of the media and electoral formats. Christian Fuch (2014), in his discussion of the ongoing relevance of the theories of Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, argues that the media in the digital landscape does not function solely as a space for expressing opinions, disseminating good ideas, or unilaterally shaping public opinion. Instead, it has enabled propaganda through the manipulation of public opinion, extreme partisanship, and militant digital activism. The media and politics are mutually complementary; those who control the media are those who control the direction of politics.

Referring to this framework, in the past twenty years, the ownership of conventional and digital media in Indonesia has become perceived not as a purely commercial venture but also part of practical politics. The media provides not only a promotional space wherein politics can be personalized and public images can be cultivated, but also a space for contesting meaning, amplifying misunderstandings, and fostering partisanship. Control of media infrastructure offers an instrument through which the political messages disseminated in public spaces can be amplified to achieve electoral victory. In the liberally structured economy, persons who possess extensive capital have the most opportunities to gain control of the media. For the sake of efficiency, these individuals tend to employ conglomerate ownership models. When these business owners become involved in practical politics, media corporations become involved automatically. In practice, media conglomeration and paternalistic politics are two sides of the same coin.

This study offers a small step toward re-examining this thesis using the latest empiric data from Indonesia. The contributions of this research lie not only in its rejuvenation of the above thesis, nor in its justification of academic claims, but first and foremost its provision of empiric data to stakeholders such as policymakers, media regulators, press freedom activists, media professionals, and academics/researchers. In other words, this study does not limit itself to compiling and analyzing data to realize specific goals but is intended to provide material for socio-political activism that advances the structural transformation of existing policy. The freedom of the press, including the associated principles of ownership diversity and political independence, is the primary value underpinning this research and its policy recommendations.

Four research locations were selected to better reflect the complexity of the political economic ecosystem of modern Indonesia: the Jakarta Capital Region, the current capital of Indonesia and location of most national media; East Kalimantan, the site of the nation’s future capital; East Java, the province with Indonesia’s second largest electorate; and South Sulawesi, the crux of economic growth in Eastern Indonesia. In the Press Freedom Index released by the Press Council in 2023, East Kalimantan received the highest score; below it were East Java (14), South Sulawesi (28), and Jakarta (30).

The PR2Media research team would like to thank the Internews Indonesia–USAID Media Program team for their financial and supervisory support throughout the research process. We would also like to express our gratitude to our informants, our research partners throughout Indonesia, and the participants in our focus group discussions in Jakarta, East Java, South Sulawesi, and East Kalimantan. This research provided us and our diverse stakeholders—academics, media activists, media professionals (journalists), media regulators (the Press Council and the Indonesian Broadcast Commission), and local/national election organizers—with foundational experience with cross-sectoral collaboration. In the future, it is hoped that this collaboration can continue not only with further research but also media policy advocacy.

Yogyakarta, November 7, 2023

Masduki

Director, PR2Media

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Media Ownership and Political Affiliation

This report explores the spectrum of media ownership and political affiliation in Indonesia. More specifically, this research examines the landscape of media ownership within Indonesia's increasingly liberalized and digitalized media system and democracy. Furthermore, this research seeks to review earlier claims that, since 2010, politicians-cum-media owners have increased their control of the Indonesian media. Most influential media conglomerates, particularly those that own conventional media outlets such as television stations, are affiliated with specific political parties or even owned by party elites and/or government officials (Lim, 2012; Tapsell, 2015; McCoy, 2019).

Underpinning the urgency of this report, there has been increased concentration and conglomeration in the media. At the same time, owners are increasingly exerting control of media coverage to advance their personal political goals rather than the public interest. This was particularly evident in the 2014 and 2019 elections, when political propaganda and opinion manipulation became widespread, thereby reducing the diversity of political paradigms, increasing the vulnerability of public discourse, and undermining public trust in the media. This could, over time, negatively affect the ongoing democratization of Indonesia.

This research seeks to capture current media ownership conditions by investigating the link between media owners and political structures (governments, parliaments, and political parties). This research will help policymakers, media professionals, activists, and civil society understand the interrelation between media ownership and practical politics, as well as the implications of said interrelation for Indonesia's 2024 election. Given the breadth of the issues of ownership and political affiliation, this research focuses on mapping the ownership and political affiliation of Indonesian media, rather than their specific influences on news coverage/journalism or the practice of editorial intervention.

This study focuses on two points:

1. The types and ownership networks of mainstream media outlets on various platforms at the national level (in Jakarta) and at the local level in three provinces (in East Java, East Kalimantan, and South Sulawesi).

2. The forms of political affiliation established by media owners/managers (direct and/or indirect) with political parties and/or public officials.

The urgency of this research is twofold. First, it is important to test the argument of public morals vis-à-vis media ownership, which must be distinguished from the practical political activities/positions of their owners. Second, it is necessary to campaign for establishing a “firewall” between the media as an independent public space and political institutions. In Indonesia, the line between them has blurred due to limited awareness of the potential danger to the public good, inadequate ownership regulations, and weak regulatory bodies (the Press Council and the Indonesian Broadcast Commission). Indeed, some media regulators, professionals, and activists have viewed media owners’ involvement in the formal political structure as normal and natural.

To address such issues, the current study provides information to policymakers and stakeholders that may be useful (among other things) for revising the regulation of media ownership provided under the Press Law, the Broadcast Law, and the Job Creation Law. We seek to stimulate debate over whether media ownership should be restricted, whether media ownership information should be made transparent, and whether independent—rather than partisan—media remains necessary. Should any media owners who contest parliamentary seats, ministerial positions, and government executive positions (up to and including the presidency) be required to recuse themselves from media ownership and management activities?

The PR2Media research team conducted data collection and analysis in four locations—Jakarta, Surabaya, Samarinda, and Makassar—between November 2022 and September 2023. Primary data collection was conducted through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). FGDs involved diverse stakeholders, including media professionals, election officials, journalists, academics, and civil society representatives. Informants and FGD participants were purposefully selected to include women and members of vulnerable groups. Further data were collected through a review of the literature, which included the reading and analysis of articles and official documents from media organizations, media regulators, and election officials. More specifically, the review of the literature was used to create a profile of selected media outlets and consider their position within the current legal framework.

Over the course of this research, several challenges were faced. First, due to the multitude of online media, there was great difficulty collecting data and statistics. Verified data from the Press Council was thus used as a preliminary reference. Second, the documents on the legal entities under investigation (their profiles, especially those that are not traded publicly) on file with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, is not necessarily up-to-date; identifying the owners and administrators of these organizations is thus difficult

and expensive. Third, more time and effort were needed to uncover the names of commissioners, directors, and journalists involved in these corporations. To mitigate this challenge, the PR2Media team involved its local partners in four provinces. Fourth, not all corporate data is available to the public; likewise, limited information on political parties is available on the websites of the General Elections Commission, the political parties themselves, and government ministries involved in party politics. As a solution, in-depth interviews with representatives from media companies and national/local election commissions were conducted to collect qualitative data.

In reading the data and conducting analysis, we used various concepts of media ownership and political affiliation, including those from Doyle (2002), Smith, Klimkiewicz, and Ostling (2012), and Benson (2016). Based on these conceptual paradigms, we concluded that diverse approaches to ownership are available: horizontal (one platform, many channels), vertical (media businesses, from downstream to upstream), diagonal (a blend of vertical and horizontal, involving several platforms and supporting businesses), conglomeration (combining media [diagonal/horizontal/vertical] and non-media businesses [hotels, mines, finance]), and transnational. When considering the issue of ownership, two main avenues are available: money (including shares) and power within the media structure. Political affiliation can also be seen in two ways: direct affiliation, wherein media owners/managers are also public officials, candidates, parliamentary candidates/members, or party administrators; indirect affiliation, wherein employees work with political parties, government officials, members of parliament, etc. as members of their campaign teams, advisors, consultants, etc.

Based on the above conceptual framework, we developed a four-level model of media ownership and politics: (1) *extreme*, media owners and their families (shareholders, commissioners, directors) simultaneously act as party executives, (potential) members of parliament, or government executives; (2) *strong*, media commissioners simultaneously act as party executives, (potential) members of parliament, or government executives; (3) *moderate*, media directors simultaneously act as party executives, (potential) members of parliament, or government executives; (4) *weak*, journalists and/or editors simultaneously act as party executives, (potential) members of parliament, or government executives.

Based on its review of legal documents and relevant information, this study made five important findings:

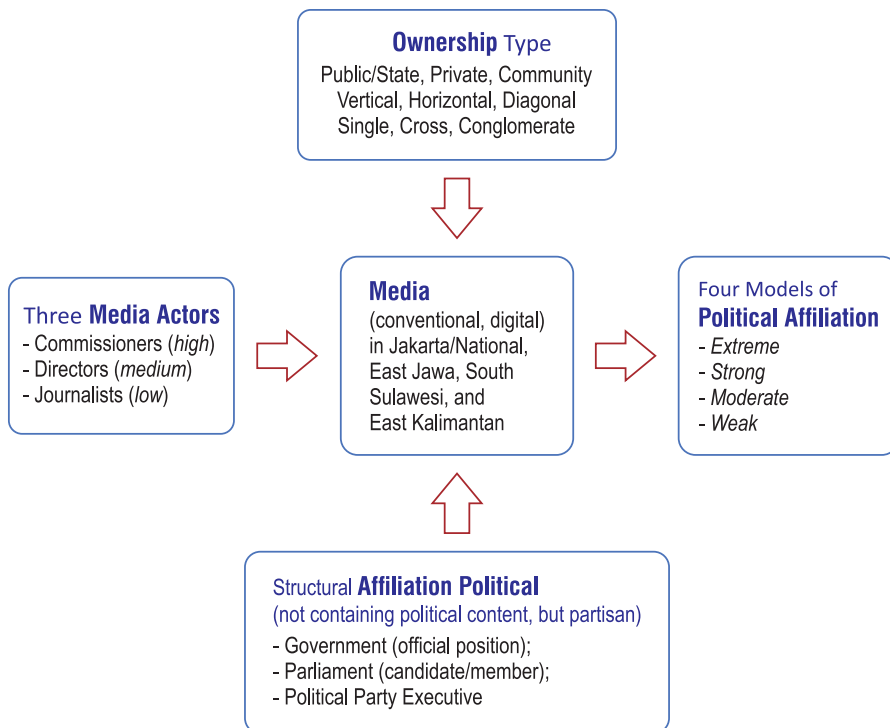
1. Historically, media companies have experienced rapid changes, with frequent rotations in their commissioners and directors. This may explain the highly dynamic restructuring of companies, including the frequent involvement of businesspeople, politicians, and other powerful individuals in media corporations. This also highlights the instability of media corporations and their managerial structure.
2. There are strong indications of “shadow names” and a poor distinction between

commissioners and directors. The names written on corporate documents are not necessarily the true owners of the enterprises.

3. The leaders of media corporations come from diverse backgrounds and may include business actors, political party executives, government officials, and societal figures; each represents not only the interests of the media company, but also their own associates.
4. Corporations' legal documents also show diversity in their concentrations, with many media companies being mere "tools for other businesses" that may attract conflicts of interest. Owners predominantly develop cross company services that combine digital media, hospitality, sports, entertainment, natural resources, investment, food, etc.
5. Corporations' legal documents show that their business goals are given greater emphasis than the public interest. Practical politics, although commonly practiced, is not clearly delineated in these documents. Corporations' legal documents also confirm ongoing convergence and a shift from the conventional to the digital.

Figure 1 highlights the links between ownership and political affiliation.

Figure 1 Ownership and Political Affiliation in Indonesian Media



Source: Collected from Various Sources

The research findings indicate that media ownership has a complex relationship with practical politics, and this has disrupted the public view of broadcast media and the press. More specifically, the researchers identified four models of political affiliation. First, the extreme model, which may be represented by Hary Tanoesoedibjo, the owner (primary shareholder) and primary director (operational leader) of a media outlet who has simultaneously acted as the General Chair (operational leader) of the Perindo Party and as a member of the House of Representatives. One of his daughters, meanwhile, has become a deputy minister. This model may be termed the government-political party-parliament-media connection model, controlled by only one oligarch. Such a model may exist only in Indonesia.

Second is the strong model, which may be represented by Surya Paloh, the owner of the Media Group (primary shareholder and chair) who simultaneously serves as the General Chair of the Nasdem Party. His son, Prananda Surya Paloh, is as the chair of the Nasdem Party's electoral committee; he was also elected to the House of Representatives for the 2019–2024 term, and is currently up for re-election. Three members of the Nasdem Party have been ministers in President Joko Widodo's cabinet: Minister of Communication and Informatics (a very strategic position, which Johnny G. Plate vacated in May 2023 after becoming entangled in a corruption case), Minister of Agriculture (occupied by Syahrul Yasin Limpo until he resigned in October 2023 due to involvement in a corruption case), and Minister of Environment and Forestry (Siti Nurbaya Bakar).

Third is the *moderate* model. It may be represented by Syafril Nasution, the Corporate Secretary of the MNC Group, Chair of the Indonesian Private Televisions Association (ATVSI, 2019–2022), and parliamentary candidate for the Central Java 1 Constituency in the 2024 election. Syafril Nasution is also the Deputy Chair of the Perindo Party's organizational bureau.

Fourth is the weak model. Several journalists throughout Indonesia are contesting parliamentary seats in the 2024 parliamentary election. These journalists, as well as their media outlets, have shown partisanship through favorable coverage of certain political figures (the president, various ministers, regional executives, etc.). It is interesting to note that these four models are not prevalent in other national media enterprises, such as the Emtek Group, the Kompas Gramedia Group, the Jawa Pos Group, Mahaka Media, BeritaSatu Media Group, and Trans Group. Outside of Jakarta, in East Java, East Kalimantan, and South Sulawesi, direct relationships between politicians and local media tend to be hidden; several informants indicated that local politicians and government officials own media outlets, but this was not explicitly supported by said corporations' legal documents.

Based on the above findings, this study has confirmed the existence of complex ties between media ownership issues and political affiliation. This must be carefully

considered by media, election, and business regulators. To overcome and mitigate these issues, we recommend that policy reform efforts focus on limiting the involvement of media owners and journalists in practical politics, thereby maintaining the integrity of the media and safeguarding democratic, fair, and healthy elections. Within the context of media ownership, it is necessary to prohibit the ownership of domestic media by foreign governments and citizens, as well as limit *cross ownership*. It is also important to restrict direct/indirect media ownership amongst politicians, government officials, and/or party executives. At the same time, to ensure the independence of the media, there is a need to revise the regulations related to political participation and electoral candidacy. Simply forbidding journalists from becoming candidates in parliamentary elections is neither just nor sufficient. Such a prohibition must also include media owners, commissioners, and directors.

This study found strong indications that the media, government, and political ownership are integrated. Such a tendency began at the national level, then became normalized as it spread to local media throughout the archipelago. Several risks were also identified, including an environment of unfair business competition as well as unhealthy political competition. To overcome this issue, the General Elections Commission (KPU), Indonesian Broadcast Commission (KPI), Press Council, and Business Competition Monitoring Commission (KPPU) must work together to find solutions through new (or revised, at least) regulations. Regulations regarding media ownership, such as those contained within Law No. 40/1999 regarding the Press, Law No. 5/1999 regarding the Prohibition of Monopolistic Practices and Unhealthy Business Practices, Law No. 32/2002 regarding Broadcasting, and Law No. 11/2020 regarding Job Creation, must be reexamined. KPU Regulation No. 19/PL.01.4-PU/05/2023 regarding the Filing of Candidacies for Members of the House of Representatives must be revised to emphasize the need for candidates to be free of media ties. Likewise, the regulations regarding election coverage, broadcasting, and campaigning contained with Article 287 of Law No. 7/2017 regarding Elections must be revised. The Press Council and General Election must ensure a clear distinction between citizens' involvement in practical politics and their ownership of/involvement in media. Positive examples may be drawn from the criteria for membership on the RRI/TVRI Monitoring Council or national/local broadcasting commissions.

To what extent does concentrated media ownership and media owners' participation in practical politics influence news content and journalism? It is this question that is examined in the current research. To answer it, specific research methods—such as analysis of news content or ethnographic research within the newsroom—are necessary. The authors also recommend that future researchers map journalists' preferences and attitudes in the current era of digital disruption and digital electoral politics. This study has found indications that journalists have permissively

accepted the politicization of the media and the dualism of covering practical politics while becoming actively involved. The erosion of journalists' ethical commission, due to the unequal power relations between journalists/media owners and journalists' own career ambitions, is deeply concerning and must be investigated further.

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

This study explores the spectrum of media ownership and political affiliation in Indonesia. More specifically, it seeks to understand the landscape of media ownership in Indonesia's increasingly liberalized and digitalized media ecosystem. This study is also intended to revisit the claim that politicians and media owners have increasingly exerted control over the Indonesian media. Most conventional media companies, particularly television broadcasters, are affiliated with political parties, owned by incumbent officials, or controlled by party elites (Lim, 2012; Tapsell, 2015; McCoy, 2019).

This study is also driven by the concentration and conglomeration of media companies, as well as media owners' abuse of editorial control to advance their personal political ambitions over the public interest. This was evident in the 2014 and 2019 elections, when the media was widely used to manipulate public opinion and disseminate political propaganda. In this manner, the media undermined diversity in its political coverage, contributed to the spread of disinformation, and cultivated public mistrust—all of which have been detrimental to Indonesia's democratic processes.

Between 2002 and 2022, Indonesia's media system experienced two mutually contradictory conditions. On the one hand, the nation adopted pluralistic media policies. For instance, Law No. 32/2002 regarding Broadcasting explicitly introduced a local and networked ownership model, rather than a national one. This law also recognized the need for public and community media to coexist with commercial media. Likewise, two laws promoted freedom in internet communication and access to information: Law No. 14/2008 regarding Open Public Information Systems and Law No. 19/2016 regarding Electronic Transactions. However, the owners of Indonesia's dominant media outlets have challenged this existing framework. Consolidating their power and media oligarchies (Tapsell, 2017; McCoy, 2019), they have successfully advocated for policies that prioritize Jakarta-based national commercial media while marginalizing local media—both conventional and digital.

Several previous studies have used the political economic tradition to investigate media ownership in Indonesia (Lim, 2012; Nugroho et al., 2012a & 2012b; Armando, 2014; Tapsell, 2016; McCoy, 2019). These studies have found that ongoing trends in media ownership and political intervention have been reflected in coverage of contemporary issues. Some research has also investigated the editorial control exerted by media oligarchies (see, for example, Pambudi et al., 2015; Masduki, 2022). PR2Media likewise examined ownership and media intervention in 2014.

Such studies, conducted at the dawn of the digital disruption era, did not explore the structural context of the media and its political affiliation. This study seeks to fill that gap by investigating Indonesia's contemporary media landscape, with particular focus on media owners' political affiliations vis-à-vis dominant political structures, political parties, and parliament.

PR2Media argues that, in Indonesia, freedom of the press remains problematic—not because of lingering autocratic tendencies in the power structure but the increased involvement of media owners in practical politics (and vice versa). In its survey of press freedom around the world, Freedom House (2021) described Indonesia as “partly free”. Even as internet penetration has increased, the Indonesian people are increasingly facing a crisis of democracy (We Are Social, 2021). Previously, Reporters Without Borders (2023) ranked Indonesia’s press freedom 108th globally (out of 180 countries)—a significant drop from 2002, when it ranked 57th of 139 countries.

B. Research Goals and Urgency

This study presents a portrait of media ownership in Indonesia while simultaneously investigating the link between media ownership and existing political structures. It desires to assist policymakers, media professionals, media activists, and civil society activists in understanding the interrelationship between the media and practical politics in Indonesia, which may result in unhealthy electoral competition during the 2024 election.

More specifically, this study seeks to identify:

1. The types and ownership networks of mainstream media outlets on various platforms at the national level (in Jakarta) and at the local level in three provinces (in East Java, East Kalimantan, and South Sulawesi).
2. The forms of political affiliation established by media owners/managers (direct and/or indirect) with political parties and/or public officials.

This study is urgent for several reasons. First, it tests the argument of public morals vis-à-vis media ownership, which must be distinguished from the practical political activities/positions of their owners. Second, it highlights the importance of campaigning for a “firewall” between the media as an independent public space and practical political institutions. In Indonesia, the line between them has blurred due to limited awareness of the potential danger to the public good, inadequate ownership regulations, and weak regulatory bodies (the Press Council and the Indonesian Broadcast Commission). Indeed, it is somewhat common—especially amongst media regulators, professionals, and activists—to view media owners’ involvement in the formal political structure as normal and natural.

Our research provides initial data to policymakers and stakeholders that will be useful for reexamining the regulation of media ownership under the Press Law, the Broadcast Law, and the Job Creation Law, all of which have been increasingly disrupted. It asks several questions: should media ownership be restricted, should media ownership information should be made transparent, and does independent—

rather than partisan—media remain necessary. Should media owners who contest parliamentary seats, ministerial positions, and government executive positions (up to and including the presidency) be required to recuse themselves from media ownership and management activities?

C. Research Method

To advance these research goals, the PR2Media research team collected and analyzed data through several activities:

1. Literature Review

The literature review involved the collection and selection of relevant literature from various sources, including articles and official documents from media institutions, media regulators, election officials, and government bodies. Sources were primarily published between 2012 and 2022, and included (1) articles and/or academic documents (journal articles, research reports, etc.); (2) non-academic articles (news stories, company profiles, official reports, legal documents, etc.). This review of the literature was useful for identifying media companies that could be used as case studies.

2. Review of Legal Documents

This step included the identification and analysis of legal documents, including the articles of incorporation registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Through this process, twenty media companies—as well as several associated enterprises—were identified:

Figure 1.1. List of Media

National/Jakarta Capital Region	East Java	East Kalimantan	South Sulawesi
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grup Emtek • Grup Trans • Grup Viva • MNC Group • Media Group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jawa Pos • Disway • Ngopi Bareng • Radar Surabaya • Berita Jatim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tribun Kaltim • Koran Kaltim • Kaltim Post • Selasar.co • Kaltimkece.id 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fajar • Celebes Media • Tribun Timur • Sulsel Satu • Jejak Fakta

3. Content Analysis of Media Coverage

After the literature and legal documents were reviewed, content analysis was conducted using a qualitative approach. This was intended to ascertain news topics and identify potential informants and resource persons. The researchers focused primarily on coverage of the 2019 election, local political issues, and various topics related to the 2024 election.

4. Interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

Interviews were conducted with media owners and professionals in four regions (Jakarta, East Java, East Kalimantan, and South Sulawesi). Meanwhile, focus group discussions (FGDs) involved media stakeholders, election officials (i.e., members of the General Elections Commission and the General Election Supervisory Agency), journalism professionals, academics, and representatives of civil society organizations. Informants and FGD participants were purposefully selected to include women and members of vulnerable groups.

D. Research Schedule and Locations

Research was conducted over the course of ten months, between November 2022 and September 2023. Four sites were selected for this investigation of media ownership and political affiliation, namely the Jakarta Capital Region (home of Indonesia’s national news outlets), East Java, East Kalimantan, and South Sulawesi (all of which represent distinct local characteristics). The following table presents the social and demographic conditions of the research locations, as well as their ranking in the Press Council’s 2023 Press Freedom index.

Figure 1.2. Demographic Profile of Research Locations

Province	Area	Population *	Number of Electors (DPT KPU)	Governor	Top Five Political Parties**	Capital	Press Freedom Ranking (Press Council, 2023)
DKI Jakarta	661.5 km ²	10,679,951	8.3 million	Heru Budi Hartono (Act.)	1. PDIP (1.6 million votes) 2. PKS (1.1 million votes) 3. Gerindra (988 thousand votes) 4. PSI (583 thousand votes) 5. PAN (412 thousand votes)	DKI Jakarta	30/34
East Java	47,803.49 km ²	41,149,974	31.4 million	Khofifah Indar Parawansa	1. PDIP (4.3 million votes) 2. PKB (4.2 million votes)	Surabaya	14/34

Province	Area	Population *	Number of Electors (DPT KPU)	Governor	Top Five Political Parties**	Capital	Press Freedom Ranking (Press Council, 2023)
					3. Gerindra (2.4 million votes) 4. Golkar (2.3 million votes) 5. Nasdem (2.2 million votes)		
South Sulawesi	46,717.48 km ²	9,225,747	6.7 million	Andi Sudirman Sulaiman	1. Golkar (833 thousand votes) 2. Nasdem (684 thousand votes) 3. Gerindra (645 thousand votes) 4. PAN (418 thousand votes) 5. Demokrat (398 thousand votes)	Makassar	28/34
East Kalimantan	100 km ²	3,941,766	2.8 million	Akmal Malik	1. Golkar (350 thousand votes) 2. PDIP (333 thousand votes) 3. Gerindra (194 thousand votes) 4. PKS (159 thousand votes) 5. Nasdem (137 thousand votes)	Samarinda	1/34

E. Research Ethics

This study received ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Commission, Atma Jaya Catholic University Jakarta, with certificate No. 0002J/III/PPPE.PM.10.05/03/2023.

MEDIA OWNERSHIP AND POLITICAL AFFILIATION

A. Media Ownership and Political Affiliation

The debate over media ownership and political affiliation stems from the normative goal of promoting “media diversity” or “media pluralism”, a common policy goal in the developed nations of North America and Europe. For example, in the 1980s the United States’ Federal Communication Commission (FCC) developed a media diversity index to help overcome the dangers of concentrated media ownership (Einstein, 2004). This index considered five indicators: viewpoint, media brand, ownership, programs, and sources. Meanwhile, the European Commission—recognizing the need to protect media diversity—initiated a study in 2009 to develop tools for monitoring media pluralism in its member states. This study produced the Media Pluralism Monitor (MPM), which was designed to mitigate threats to media pluralism within certain markets. This tool consisted of six key indicators, including ownership plurality, media control, media type, and media genre (Lambrecht & Valcke, 2009; Valcke et al., 2016; McCann, 2019).

Academic discussion of media ownership has commonly referred to two, diversity and pluralism. Although these terms are often used interchangeably, each has a specific meaning and emphasis. Diversity focuses more on content (genre, cultural/political perspective), while pluralism deals predominantly with structural dimensions (such as media ownership). In Europe, the term pluralism is considered more popular, inclusive, and multidimensional than the term diversity. Discussion of media pluralism in Europe has mostly dealt with administrative aspects—internal and external, cultural and political, structural and content, polarized and moderate, organized and spontaneous, interactive and proactive, descriptive, etc. (Picard, 2000; Kevin, 2018). This research will focus on the concept of pluralism in media ownership, a central pillar of media pluralism in post-authoritarian nations such as Indonesia.

Pluralism in media ownership refers to a situation in which ownership and control involves not only state and private-sector media actors, but also autonomous and independent ones. Ownership at the national (i.e., Jakarta) and provincial level should be considered using a geographic perspective. Referring to Ofcom (2015), plurality in actors, supplies, and distribution (for instance, outlets, suppliers, and distribution platforms) must also be emphasized. Democratic public spaces, it is assumed, are created when citizens are offered diverse ideas by media outlets that involve groups with diverse cultural, political, and geographical backgrounds.

In the United States, the term media diversity is more popular. Commonly synonymized with pluralism, it is taken to involve a multitude of voices and cultural representations in media operations (McCann, 2019). The FCC, the country’s autonomous media regulators, measures five indicators of media diversity: viewpoint, media brand, ownership, programs, and sources. In this context, diversity in media ownership and institutions is understood as involving the ownership of several

companies by distinct corporations. When media ownership is diverse, it is less likely that particular individuals and groups will be able to shape public opinion or exercise excessive control of information through political, editorial, or content means. Diversity in media ownership is positively correlated with “program diversity”, wherein content and genre are varied, as well as “source diversity”, wherein media content comes from diverse producers.

To best accommodate a range of public voices, and assuming that such diversity will promote media diversity in the United States, the FCC has adopted a multi-dimensional structural approach to regulation (Einstein, 2004; Scherer, 2016). First, each medium—television, radio, cable, newspapers, and the internet—is positioned as a distinct entity; media ownership regulations are thus designed to prevent individuals and enterprises from owning media in different streams. Second, there are significant efforts to limit the extent to which private media owners can articulate their personal aspirations at the local or national level. Third, the FCC has implemented financial administration and syndication policies that limit television networks’ ownership of production houses and other sources of programming.

In 2009, the European Commission funded the development of a tool for improving its ability to monitor research project in its member states. It ultimately produced the Media Pluralism Monitor (MPM), which not only measures plurality but also identifies potential crises and threats. The MPM emphasizes six indicators: regulatory protection, cultural pluralism, geographic pluralism, ownership/control pluralism, political pluralism, and content type/genre pluralism (Lambrecht & Valcke, 2009). Following the MPM, the United Kingdom’s Office of Communication (Ofcom) developed a supplemental tool, the Media Plurality Test. This test uses three metrics to measure media plurality in the United Kingdom: availability, consumption, and effects. “Availability” refers to the ability to access news on diverse media platforms. “Consumption”, meanwhile, refers to the volume, income, and scope of media across different platforms and from different sources (Ofcom, 2015).

Several scholars have linked the concepts of media diversity and ownership with democratic media theory. Napoli (1999) positions media diversity discourses within the context of the broader marketplace of ideas, defining the former as a policy goal and framing the latter as the ultimate goal of the freedom of the press guaranteed by the United States’ First Amendment. Departing from these understandings, Napoli identifies diversity as consisting of three key components: source diversity, content diversity, and platform diversity, all of which emphasize the importance of ownership and viewpoint diversity. As with McQuail (2010), Napoli assumes a positive correlation between diversity in ownership and diversity in funding, content, and viewpoints. This implies a causal link between the free press (wherein commercial platforms dominate the media landscape) and the media’s ability to provide diverse services.

When understanding the media's importance in electoral politics and modern democracy, it is necessary to first evaluate ownership and viewpoint diversity. Baden and Springer (2017) offer two conceptual approaches, the representative liberal model and the participative liberal model. The representative liberal model limits its consideration of viewpoints to those of political actors, while the participative liberal model holds that the non-elite actors have important contributions that must be considered. Other scholars (such as Napoli, 1999; Raeijmaekers & Maesele, 2015; Baden & Springer, 2017; Wilson, Parker & Feinberg, 2020) emphasize how media ownership contributes to broader political issues and informs the complexity of the political system. When electoral systems are built around a two-party or two-bloc model, polarization can occur easily, as seen in the United States' 2020 presidential election.

The participative liberal model of media systems requires the presence of media institutions that are owned/controlled by diverse stakeholders, be they domestic or international, and implies variety in programs, diversity, and financing sources. It is driven by the idealistic assumption that diversity in ownership (horizontal, vertical, or diagonal) will promote viewpoint diversity—including in political matters. Horizontal ownership is characterized by mergers, as seen in cases of concentrated or monopolistic ownership, while vertical ownership is marked by companies'/individuals' control of media production, distribution, and financing (Pereira, 2003; Kumar, 2017).

The typology of media ownership used in this study is drawn from the “three strategies for business growth/expansion” offered by Doyle (2002):

1. **Horizontal**, wherein business activities are conducted in the same field (for instance, by combining similar businesses under a single holding company) to earn a profit and reap benefits in human resources, technology, market expansion, etc. In Indonesia, for example, MNC/MNCN operates RCTI, MNC, and iNews TV (all of which are television broadcasters).
2. **Vertical**, wherein interrelated business activities are conducted across the entire activity/process chain. This ownership model has several benefits, reducing transaction costs, controlled operating environments, and minimizing the possibility of losing access to “upstream” or “downstream” markets. For instance, in Indonesia the Emtek Group operates SCTV as well as talent management organizations, production houses, etc.
3. **Diagonal/lateral**, wherein businesses diversify and expand into other forms of media. This may occur, for instance, when a telecommunication operator and television broadcaster merge to improve efficiency by allowing telephone and audio-visual services to be distributed through the same communication infrastructure. Similarly, a newspaper publisher may expand diagonally by establishing its own television station, or a radio broadcaster may diversify by publishing a magazine

or establishing a digital platform. One benefit of this strategy is distributing risk between multiple platforms, thereby minimizing its potential consequences.

Again referring to Doyle (2002), many media companies have embraced a transnational model, establishing outlets in several countries and (at least in some instances) adopting an increasingly decentralized managerial structure. Globalization has pushed media operators to look beyond the local and seek out international markets to expand their consumer base and their potential profits.

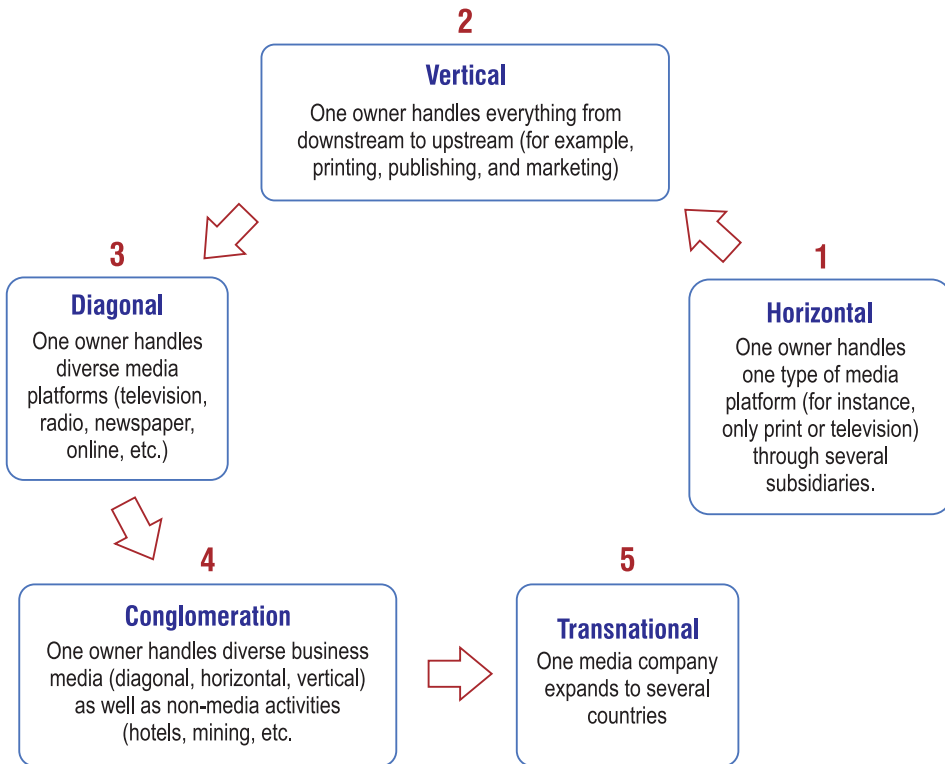
Together with these three categories, there is also a holistic and cross-sectoral form of ownership known as conglomeration. A conglomerate is “a large company composed of a number of companies (subsidiaries) engaged in generally unrelated businesses;” a media conglomerate, thus, is a large media company that embodies all three of the above-discussed categories. Such conglomerates can be individuals or non-media enterprises with expansive business horizons.

In their article “Media Ownership Transparency in Europe: Closing the Gap between European Aspiration and Domestic Reality”, Smith, Klimkiewicz, and Ostling (2012) emphasize the importance of investigating media ownership and transparency vis-à-vis human rights issues. Their study applied conceptual indicators derived from the Media Pluralism Monitor (MPM) to thirty European nations, finding that modern-day media corporations tend to be consolidated in their ownership and business models. Likewise, these companies no longer limit themselves to the local, but look to the global. At the same time, media oligarchies have emerged wherein media ownership is heavily intertwined with political structures, resulting in significant political interference. This situation has emerged as a consequence of vertical, horizontal, and diagonal business models. Media corporations exert control over three core elements simultaneously: news production, editorship/curation, and distribution through conventional and digital channels.

To mitigate these problems, Smith, Klimkiewicz, and Ostling (2012) use two arguments to stress the importance of guaranteeing public access to media ownership: the asymmetry of information and the need for watchdogs in a democracy. They hold that regulation is foundational for developing an ecosystem of pluralistic media ownership, which is itself a requirement for democratization. The legal framework providing for information transparency must meet the public need. As such, Indonesia must adopt a tool for monitoring media ownership pluralism similar to that developed in the European Union (i.e., the MPM).

Based on the above, the PR2Media team has developed the following conceptual model of media expansion and ownership:

Figure 2.1. Media Expansion and Ownership



Source: Collected from Various Sources

Notes:

The concepts of business expansion and ownership used by the researchers are adapted from those developed by Doyle (2002) and Smith, Klimkiewicz, and Ostling (2021):

1. **Horizontal**, wherein business activities are conducted in the same field and use the same platform. Merging similar businesses under a single holding company is beneficial for human resources, technology, market expansion, etc. In Indonesia, for example, MNC/MNCN operates RCTI, MNC, and iNews TV (all of which are television broadcasters).
2. **Vertical**, wherein interrelated business activities are conducted across the entire activity/process chain. This ownership model has several benefits, reducing transaction costs, controlled operating environments, and minimizing the possibility of losing access to “upstream” or “downstream” markets. For instance, a single company may be involved in printing, publication, distribution, and marketing.
3. **Diagonal/lateral**, wherein businesses diversify and expand into other media platforms. This may occur, for instance, when a print media company expands by establishing its own television station or online platform.
4. **Conglomeration**, wherein the horizontal, vertical, and diagonal approaches are combined and expanded beyond the media sector at the national level; in such cases, media businesses are treated as individual units. For example, the Trans Group operates media businesses on several platforms and is also involved in the banking, hospitality, property, and retail sectors.
5. **Transnational**, wherein media companies have a presence in several countries and (in some cases) use an increasingly decentralized management structure. Globalization has allowed media operators to recognize the possibility of reaching beyond domestic markets to expand their consumer bases and potential profits. This research has not identified any Indonesia-based companies that have expanded into other countries; rather, the transnational media companies in Indonesia are the partners of foreign operators. For example, the Trans Group acquired the licenses for CNN Indonesia and CNBC Indonesia from Warner Bros. Discovery and NBC International

B. Trends in Political Affiliation

Classical studies of the link between media ownership and political/business agendas have adopted the propaganda model presented by Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky in their book *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (2010). Propaganda is part of a political strategy, and it is used by political leaders in conjunction with long-term political education to cultivate trust. Herman and Chomsky understand the commercial media as business and political entities, rather than merely social ones. Media owners seek to transform their products into propaganda tools that can be sold to government elites. How? By filtering information to carefully manipulate and shape public opinion. It is believed that whoever controls the media will gain political power. Media (be it conventional or digital) is power.

This theory holds that various filters (political and economic) are used to create partisanship that advances the interests of two strategic groups in the United States: business and political elites. The mainstream media are owned and controlled by a minority of entrepreneurs, the oligarchy of economic elites. Likewise, public opinion in the United States is informed by only a few corporations, each of which has its own political affiliation. There is tension between the interests of three parties: the shareholders with a stake in media companies, the banks that lend money for business activities, and the directors of the media companies themselves. Consequently, media content advances the interests of these stakeholders rather than the general public. In the current digital business climate, Google controls more than 70% of the market; it may thus be said that Google's capitalistic ideology determines the direction of business data and digital algorithms around the world, including in the media.

Garneau and Schwadel (2022) define political affiliation as "membership in or association with a political party." In this study, however, political affiliation is understood more broadly as including not only involvement in political parties but also in government. Political parties have a complicated relationship with government, and thus the media may not always be involved with political parties; they may deal directly with government officials.

In Indonesia, the political links between the media and the government have deep roots. In other words, the political affiliation of the two existed well before the current *Reformasi* era. Indeed, during the authoritarian New Order era, the media were closely intertwined with the dominant political parties—particularly the Golongan Karya (now Golkar) Party. For example, *Suara Karya*, which was first published by PT Suara Rakyat in 1971, established close ties with the Golongan Karya Party and became known for advancing its interests. Long before then, in the 1950s and 1960s, many press companies were affiliated with particular political parties (Suwirta, 2008). More recently, since the beginning of Indonesia's political reform, political affiliations between media companies and political parties (particularly those in power) have continued. It is only the actors

who have changed. For example, during Indonesia's 2014 election, the PR2Media team found that tvOne (Visi Media Asia) was affiliated with the Golkar Party because its director, Aburizal Bakrie, served as that party's General Chair (Rianto et al., 2014). During the presidency of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), Trans Corpora was affiliated—and supported—the incumbent president (Tapsell, 2017). In brief, Indonesia's mainstream media have never been fully divorced from the nation's political parties; only the actors and forms of affiliation have changed, in accordance with the nation's political context.

Between 2002 and 2022, Indonesia's media system experienced two mutually contradictory conditions. On the one hand, the nation adopted pluralistic media policies. For instance, Law No. 32/2002 regarding Broadcasting explicitly allowed public and community media that coexisted with commercial media. Likewise, two laws promoted freedom in internet communication and access to public information: Law No. 14/2008 regarding Open Public Information Systems and Law No. 19/2016 regarding Electronic Transactions. However, the owners of Indonesia's dominant media companies have challenged this existing framework. Consolidating their power and media oligarchies (Tapsell, 2017; McCoy, 2019), they have successfully advocated for policies that prioritize Jakarta-based national commercial media while marginalizing local media—both conventional and digital.

Although Indonesia has formally protected the freedom of the press and journalists through several policies, in practice such freedoms remain lacking—not due to remnants of the previous political regime but due to pressure from new politicians, commercial entrepreneurs, and government apparatuses (Manan, 2015). At the close of 2022, Indonesia maintained a dynamic media landscape. However, fundamental issues such as ownership plurality, public access, and media literacy remain significant. There is a serious gap in ownership diversity, content diversity, and infrastructure between the western and eastern portions of the nation. Likewise, disparities in infrastructure development have not only affected internet access (and thus the development of digital media) but also rural residents' access to conventional media such as newspapers and television broadcasts. Although the emergence of local- and community-based media in rural and isolated areas is accelerating, complicated regulations and limited financial support limit the sustainability of such enterprises.

In its survey of press freedom around the world, Freedom House (2021) identified Indonesia as “partly free”. Even as internet penetration has increased, the Indonesian people are increasingly facing a crisis of democracy (We Are Social, 2021). Previously, Reporters Without Borders (2023) ranked Indonesia's press freedom 108th globally (out of 180 countries)—a significant drop from 2002, when it ranked 57th of 139 countries.

Between 2011 and 2014, media coverage of politics was highly partisan and advanced the political interests of media owners (Pambudi et al., 2015). Four of Indonesia's largest newspapers did not provide space for neutral or alternative voices.

Major political parties such Golkar and Nasdem were also promoted by powerful media elites, such as Aburizal Bakrie and Surya Paloh, who owned national television broadcasters (such as tvOne and Metro TV) and newspapers (such as *Media Indonesia*). Through their news and non-news programming, these actors were able to shape political opinions and influence elections (Arifuddin, 2016).

Heychael and Wibowo (2014) found that television news coverage focused overwhelmingly on the Jakarta metropolitan area (73%),¹ followed by East Java (3%), West Java (2%), and Central Java (2%). The national news media, all of which is based in Jakarta, thus tended to represent the specific perspectives and interests of residents of the Jakarta metropolitan area rather than Indonesia as a whole. Throughout the 2014 and 2019 elections, many of the country's most prominent newspapers openly campaigned for specific candidates instead of providing public spaces that accommodated all political opinions. Tapsell (2015) notes, for example, that *The Jakarta Post* openly supported Joko Widodo in the 2014 presidential election through its editorials and news coverage.

Given that Indonesia is home to more than 175 million internet users, online news media and social media have become integral to political campaign activities; indeed, the two most recent general elections (held in 2014 and 2019) have been described as “social media elections” or “click democracy” (Gazali, 2014). Digital media have provided increasingly important platforms for discussing political issues, be it privately through instant messaging applications such as WhatsApp or publicly through social media such as Facebook and Twitter (now X) (Johansson, 2016). However, Lim (2017) notes with concern that the consumption of digital news and adoption of social media has provided users with the “freedom to hate”, which—in conjunction with widespread disinformation and paid trolls/buzzers—has reduced the quality of political arguments and undermined idea diversity. Because mainstream media tended to support the incumbent Joko Widodo during the 2019 general election, social media platforms were more important for some of Indonesia's political opposition. As an illustration, in 2019 the incumbent president's Twitter account had 11.1 million followers; his opponent in the election, Prabowo Subianto, had 3.7 million (Irawanto, 2019).

Exploring concentrated media ownership vis-à-vis Indonesia's 2019 election, Maulana and Situngkir (2020) investigated the contribution of social media and online news media to the extreme polarization of political discourse. Investigating the news consumption patterns of Twitter users throughout the election, they found that Indonesia's news media landscape has become politically fragmented, with communities creating political echo chambers for their members. Confirmation bias and selective exposure have further exacerbated the creation of politically homogeneous

¹ Known locally as Jabodetabek, the metropolitan area consists of Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi.

communities on social media. Those supporting Prabowo tended to identify themselves along religious lines (such as the Islamic news portals *eramuslim*, *portal-islam*, etc.), or belong to the political opposition (such as the Viva Group). Mainstream media such as *Kompas* and *The Jakarta Post*, meanwhile, tended to be neutral or support Joko Widodo.

Entering the digital era, as media ownership has remained centered in Jakarta, the politicization of the media and polarization of public opinion has increased in the past decade. The rise of partisan news portals and social media accounts evidences the politicization of internet media by Jakarta's political elite, a practice that undermines the diversity of political opinion. First, the political orientation of media owners can be ascertained by following entrepreneurs who enter politics or become structurally associated with political institutions. Second, it is important to recognize partisan tendencies in media coverage. In the lead-up to the 2024 general election, what are the tendencies in media ownership and political affiliation in Indonesia? This study will answer that question.

C. Previous Studies of Media Ownership

Assuming that the mass media is integral to Indonesia's electoral democracy, it is important to conduct a critical evaluation and mapping of the media ownership. However, we note that such academic initiatives remain uncommon in Indonesia. Unlike the developed democracies of North America and Europe, Indonesia has seen minimal advances in the study of its media system in the past ten years. Studies of Indonesia's media landscape are not conducted routinely by government agencies, but rather by individuals or not-for-profit research institutions. Consequently, previous studies have primarily been theoretical or data-oriented, rather than holistic.

For example, the Center for Innovation, Policy and Governance (CIPG) in Jakarta has conducted several studies: mapping the media industry in Indonesia (2012), mapping the state's media policies (2012), and questioning whether Indonesian media still upholds the principles of citizenship (2013). Likewise, the Media Regulation and Regulator Monitor (PR2Media)—an institution involved in research and policy advocacy—has published several studies of media regulations, including *Ironi Regulator Media di Negara Demokrasi* (2011), *Digitalisasi Televisi di Indonesia* (2012), *Kepemilikan dan Intervensi Politik di Televisi* (2014), and *Mengembangkan Sistem Komunikasi Indonesia* (2016). However, such studies have yet to map media ownership in the digital era or explore its connection with owners' political ambitions and intervention.

Since 2016, the Press Council has worked with Indonesian universities to publish a Press Freedom Index. These indices, completed three times as of writing, use qualitative analysis, expert evaluation, and surveys to measure the three pillars of press freedom (political, legal, and economic) throughout Indonesia. Unfortunately, these indices focus

solely on press freedom; they do not attempt to map media ownership or consider the more holistic elements of media diversity.

Figure 2.2 summarizes studies of media ownership that have been conducted in Indonesia since 2012.

Figure 2.2. Previous Studies of Media Ownership

Year	Title	Researcher(s)	Content
2011	Ownership and Its Impact on Journalists and Their Practices. In K. Sen., & D. Hill, <i>Politics and The Media in Twenty-first Century Indonesia: Decade of Democracy</i> (pp. 104–118)	Ignatius Haryanto	Effects of media ownership concentration on journalists and journalistic practices
2012	<i>The League of Thirteen: Media Conglomeration in Indonesia</i>	Merlyna Lim	Media conglomeration, with a particular focus on the television and radio sectors in Jakarta
2012	<i>Mapping the Landscape of the Media Industry in Contemporary Indonesia</i>	Nugroho, Y., Putri, D. A., & Laksmi, S.	Mapping the media industry through the ownership of national media
2019	<i>Media Power in Indonesia</i>	Ross Tapsell	A study of conglomeration and media oligarchies in Indonesia
2021	A survey of news media companies in Indonesia 2021	Masduki, Puji Rianto, Subhan Afifi	Statistical portrait of news media companies (print, broadcast, online)
2020–2021	<i>Media Directory</i>	Asmono Wikan et al., published by SPS	Annual profile of the members of the Union of News Media Companies (Serikat Perusahaan Pers, SPS)
2016–2021	Press Freedom Index by the Press Council	Sucofindo team	Survey of press freedom at the provincial level
2021	<i>Indonesian Digital Media Landscape</i>	Ignatius Haryanto, et al., published by AMSI	A map of digital media and its editorial management
2022	<i>The Media Landscape in Indonesia: The More Things Change, The More They Stay The Same</i>	Syarief Sofie, et al., published by ISEAS Singapore	A map of media ownership, with particular focus on media oligarchies

Source: Compiled from various sources by the researchers

Figure 2.2 provides an overview of studies conducted by academics, media associations and regulators to map the Indonesian media landscape. It can be seen these studies have focused on collecting institutional data, undertaken qualitative surveys of press autonomy, or limited themselves to specific sectors (for example, digital media or SPS members). The most recent study of media ownership in Indonesia and its Jakarta-

centric media landscape was conducted by Masduki and d’Haenens (2022). Its results are presented below:

Figure 2.3. Media Conglomerates in Indonesia in 2020

Owner	Holding Company	Media Company	Media Institutions
Chairul Tanjung	CT Corp	TransCorp	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TransTV • Trans7 • CNN TV • CNN Online • Detik.com • Transvision (70%)
Hary Tanoesoedibjo	Global Mediacom	MNC Tbk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MNCTV (10,6) • GTV (6,7) • RCTI (18,4) • iNews (1,5) • RCTI+ (OTT service) • Trijaya FM • Koran Sindo • SINDOnews.com • RDI • Global Radio • V-radio • MNC Vision (96,0) • MNC Pictures
Eddy Kusnadi Sariaatmadja	EMTEK	Surya Citra Media (SCMA) Tbk	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SCTV • Indosiar • Bangka TV • Surya Citra Pesona • Kapanlagi.com • Sinemart Indonesia • O-Channel • Liputan6.com • El-Shinta
James Riady	LIPPO Group	Berita Satu Media Holding	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Berita Satu TV • Berita Satu Online • Suara Pembaruan • First Media
Jakob Oetama	Kelompok Kompas Gamedia	Kompas Group (150 brand media)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kompas • KompasTV • Kompas.com • Tribun Group • Tribunnews.com • Sonora Radio • Kontan • Gamedia Digital
Aburizal Bakrie	Bakrie Brothers	Visi Media Asia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • tvOne (43 stations) • ANTV (44 stations) • VIVA Networks (digital)

Owner	Holding Company	Media Company	Media Institutions
Dahlan Iskan	Jawa Pos	Jawa Pos Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jawa Pos • Jawa Pos TV • Fajar FM • Jpnn.com
Surya Paloh	Media Group	Media Televisi Indonesia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metro TV • Media Indonesia • Metrotv-news.com

Source: compiled from Tapsell, 2017; Nainggolan, 2018; etc.

Figure 2.3 shows media ownership trends among conglomerates. Of the eight media groups identified, three—MNC, Emtek, and Visi Media Asia—control 75% of the coverage area, audience share, and advertising revenue (Nainggolan, 2019). More specifically, MNC controls approximately 35% of the market, followed by Emtek (22.8%) and Visi Media Asia (17.3%). TransTV has the greatest audience share of Indonesia’s private broadcasters (17.2%), followed by SCTV (16.5%) and RCTI (14.0%). Two news channels, tvOne and Metro TV, have audience shares of 3.1% and 1.6%, respectively. Masduki referred to a 2016 survey that identified several entertainment channels (primarily RCTI and Indosiar) as having an audience share of more than 10%, while TVRI—the country’s sole public television broadcaster—only had a share of 1% (NMR, 2018). In 2019, NMR reported that TVRI had a relatively stable audience share, hovering at 3.5%, between 2017 and 2019. For comparison, during this period the private television broadcasters SCTV, RCTI, and ANTV had shares of 15.2%, 13.3%, and 12.8%, respectively. In early 2020, TVRI—which had thirty-two branches throughout Indonesia—enjoyed a market share of 4.1%; however, it remained marginalized.

In the print media sector, which includes newspapers and magazines, the distribution of ownership is better than in the broadcast media sector; print media ownership is distributed throughout the major cities of Java. However, because print media ownership is not regulated as strictly as broadcast media ownership, media ownership has been concentrated in Java for much longer. The seven largest print media groups in Indonesia—Kompas Group, Jawa Pos, Republika, Media Indonesia, Kedaulatan Rakyat, Suara Merdeka, Pikiran Rakyat—have not changed in twenty years. However, in this time the readership of print media has declined.

Masduki and d’Haenens (2022) note that the owners of print media, as with the owners of commercial television broadcasters, have deliberately developed their own digital news platforms to improve media penetration. As a result, although some independent news portals have emerged, the majority are owned by established media conglomerates. According to Alexa Internet, Inc. (2020), five of the most popular news portals in Indonesia are owned by newspaper companies; the seven most popular news portals were Okezone, Tribunnews, Detik, Liputan6, Kompas, Grid.ID, and Sindonews.

This concentration of ownership has negative implications for equal ownership in Indonesia’s digital media landscape. What is the reality of media ownership in Indonesia in 2023? This is explored in Chapter III.

Publicly available documents issues between 2011 and 2020 show that most of Indonesia’s public media (radio, television, film, newspapers, etc.) are privately owned and headquartered in Jakarta. For instance, in 2016, Indonesia had 1,251 registered broadcasters (Ministry of Communication and Informatics, 2016), a number that included public, private, paid, and community television broadcasters. However, as shown by Lim (2012), private television broadcasters are entirely controlled by twelve conglomerates: MNC, Mahaka Media, Kompas Gramedia, Jawa Pos, Bali Post, Crown Eagle Tech, Lippo, Bakrie Brothers, Femina, Media Group, Mugi Reka Abadi, and Trans Corpora. These companies involved not only in television broadcasting, but also other in other forms of media.

Building on Lim, Robison and Hadiz (2014) and Kononczuk et al. (2017) note that oligarchy characterizes media ownership in Indonesia, which influences their coverage and political decisions. Widyatama (2018) writes that the oligopolistic Jakarta-based television media controls 98.8% of the market; these media are controlled by eight conglomerates, namely MNC, Visi Media Asia, Emtek (SCTV-Indosiar), Trans Corpora, Kompas Gramedia Group, Media Group, and Rajawali Corpora. Ironically, between 2018 and 2020, several companies—particularly MNC—were directly connected with political parties that supported President Joko Widodo:

Figure 2.4. Media Conglomerates and their Political Links (2016–2018)

No.	Media Institution(s)	Media Company	Related Political Party
1	MNC TV, RCTI, Global TV, SINDO TV	MNC Group	Perindo Party
2	tvOne, ANTV	Viva Group	Golkar Party (until 2018)
3	<i>Media Indonesia</i> , Metro TV	Media Group	Nasdem Party

Source: Lim, 2012; Widyatama, 2018

Figure 2.4 suggests a link between media owners and political structures, the topic of this research. It also shows that three media conglomerates had direct ties with the dominant power structure, as their owners (Hary Tanoesoedibjo, Aburizal Bakrie, and Surya Paloh) chaired political parties. Throughout the 2014 and 2019 presidential elections, they maintained strong ties with politicians and government officials. Through these ties, they fostered public policies that accepted monopolistic practices and hindered ownership diversification.

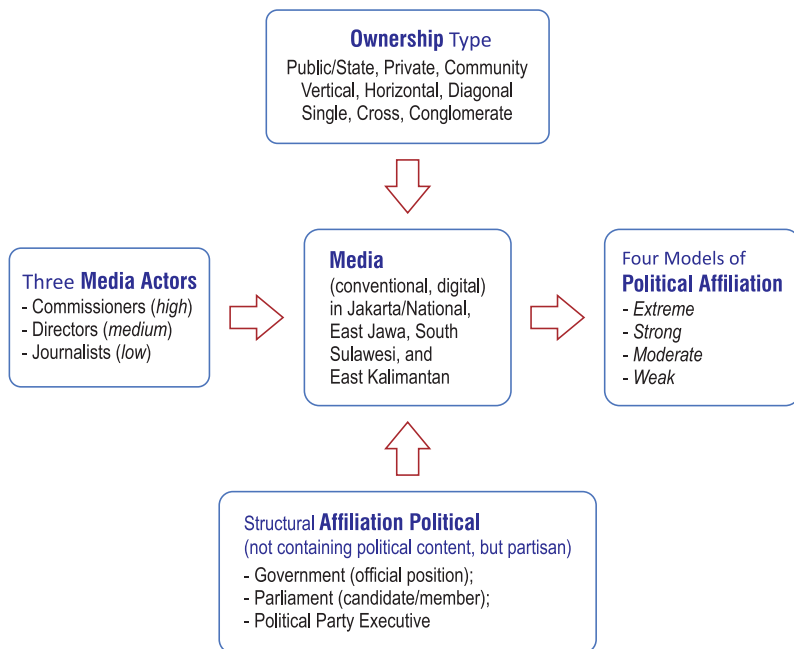
Hary Tanoesoedibjo controls television broadcasting activities through Global MediaCom (a holding company), which owns RCTI, MNCTV, and Global TV; collectively, these broadcasters enjoy a 65% share of television audiences. This group’s main competitor

is Visi Media Asia (the Viva Group), which operates two terrestrial television broadcast channels, ANTV (news/entertainment) and tvOne (24-hour national news); one paid digital television broadcast channel, Bloomberg Indonesia (24-hour news); the VivaNews online portal; and two daily newspapers. This media conglomerate is owned by Aburizal Bakrie, who at the time chaired Golkar—Indonesia’s second-largest political party.

Ownership of radio media has also been concentrated over the past ten years, with private broadcasters dominating public and community ones. The number of private radio stations increased rapidly, increasing competition with RRI—the national public radio broadcaster. In 2015, Indonesia had approximately 672 private radio stations, with 583 on the FM broadcast band and 89 on the AM broadcast band AM. Most of these stations are owned by Jakarta-based conglomerates. According to Media Scene (2015), West Java (120) has the most commercial radio stations in Indonesia, followed by Central Java (96) and East Java (93). In major cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Surakarta, and Semarang, private radio broadcasters have marginalized RRI and dominated audience shares. For example, between 2010 and 2014, the five most popular radio stations in Jakarta were Gen, Bens, Elangga, Elshint, and RRI; in Bandung, the most popular radio stations were Dahlia, Rama, Ardan, Cosmo, and Cakra; and in Semarang the largest broadcasters were Pop, KIS, Voice of Semarang, Gajah Mada, and Imelda.

Building on the above discussion, Figure 2.5 explores the link between media ownership and political affiliation in Indonesia.

Figure 2.5. The Interrelation of Media Ownership and Political Affiliation in Indonesia



Source: Collected from Various Sources

**OWNERSHIP AND
POLITICAL AFFILIATION:
NATIONAL MEDIA**

A. Introduction

This chapter explores the results of the interviews, literature review, and review of legal documents conducted by the PR2Media team to map the ownership and political affiliation of networked national media in 2023. From a legal perspective, it is important to note that Law No. 32/2002 regarding Broadcasting does not recognize the term “national broadcast media” but rather “networked media”. Meanwhile, the Job Creation Law allows private television broadcasters to conduct broadcasting activities nationally. This regulation has reinforced the conglomerate ownership model that has existed since the 2000s.

For its examination at the national level, this study focuses on five large media conglomerates with suspected political affiliations: the Emtek Group (PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk), MNC Group (PT Global Mediacom Tbk), Trans Group (PT Trans Media Corpora), Viva Group (PT Visi Media Asia), and Media Group (PT Sarana Dinamika Jaya).

These national media, all of which are headquartered in Jakarta, are important objects of research for this study and its exploration of media ownership. Through their local broadcasters, these companies have expanded their reach to national audiences. Previous studies have shown that these companies not only have complicated ownership structures and expansive business activities, but are also relatively open in their political affiliations. Data, thus, was relatively easy to procure.

For data collection, the researchers retrieved the registration documents for the five selected companies from the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Using these legal documents in conjunction with financial reports published by the Indonesian Stock Exchange (for publicly-traded companies), the researchers were able to identify companies’ major stockholders and directors. The researchers also conducted interviews with various stakeholders to uncover the connections between media ownership and political affiliation, including the involvement of journalists in practical politics.

Data from the Ministry of Communication and Informatics indicates that there are 697 registered television broadcasters in Indonesia. Figure 3.1 below provides a typology of television broadcasters in Indonesia before the analog switch-off at the end of 2022 (Sadya, 2022). Meanwhile, according to the Press Council (n.d.), Indonesia is home to 433 print media companies and 950 online media companies. These numbers, naturally, do not include those corporate entities that have not been registered with the Press Council.

Figure 3.1. Television Broadcasters in Indonesia

No.	Type of Television Broadcaster	Number
1.	Public Broadcaster (national)	1
2.	Public Broadcaster (local)	16
3.	Community Broadcaster	18
4.	Private Broadcaster	666
	Total	697

Source: Sadya, S. (2022)

B. Typology of Ownership and Diversification

Referring to the registration documents of the five selected media groups (Emtek Group, MNC Group, Trans Group, Viva Group, and Media Group), the researchers found that each was established as a holding company and diversified through horizontal, vertical, diagonal, and conglomerate mechanisms; these groups were also working to expand their reach internationally. The owners of these media groups were involved in more than media activities. Three of the five (Emtek Group, MNC Group, and Viva Group) are publicly-traded, and thus data regarding these groups was more readily accessible than the privately held holding companies (Trans Group and Media Group) due to transparency requirements.

The following discussion explores the ownership structures and diversification efforts of five holding groups.

1. Typology of Media Ownership

a. Emtek Group (PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk)

PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk (informally known as the Emtek Group) is a publicly-traded holding company with shares owned by members of the public, companies, and individuals with a controlling share. Some 25.2% of the company's stocks are held by small shareholders, while 21.94% of shares are owned by Eddy K. Sariatmadja and 11.6% are owned by Susanto Suwanto (Indonesian Stock Exchange, n.d.). Other shares are distributed between PT Adikarsa Sarana (10.5%), Piet Yaury (8.2%), PT Prima Visualindo (6.2%), the Northern Trust Company (7%), Anthoni Salim (9%), treasury stocks (0.4%), Yulinda Nasution (0.02%), Alvin W. Sariatmadja (0.058%), Sutanto Hartono (0.023%), Jay Geoffrey Wachter (0.03%), Sutiana Ali (0.006%), and Titi Maria Rusli (0.007%). None of these individuals have become directly involved in politics or openly established affiliations with political parties or government actors.

The Emtek Group's board of directors consists of Rd. Alvin W. Sariatmadja (Executive Director), Sutanto Hartono (Deputy Executive Director), Yulinda Nasution

(Director), Sutiana Ali (Director), Jay Geoffrey Wachter (Director), Titit Maria Rusli (Director). Rd. Alvin W. Sariaatmadja is the son of Eddy K. Sariatmadja, the company's largest shareholder and executive commissioner. Other commissioners include Susanto Suwanto, Stan Maringka, Pandu Patria Sjahrir, and Marianna Sutadi. None of these executives are directly and/or openly affiliated with political parties or government actors.

The Emtek Group (traded on the Indonesian Stock Exchange as EMTK) directly or indirectly owns several digital and broadcast media companies. Emtek has direct control of the outlets it owns directly, while the activities of companies it owns indirectly are informed by its subsidiary companies. Emtek directly owns four companies: PT Surya Citra Media Tbk (SCM), PT Omni Indovision (Omni), PT Elang Pesona Triloka (EPTL), and PT Elang Karya Persada (EKP). Not all of these companies are involved in broadcast media; PT Elang Pesona Triloka (EPTL) and PT Elang Karya Persada (EKP) are primarily involved in the service and trade industries (Indonesian Stock Exchange, n.d.).

Through SCM, Emtek directly owns various television broadcasters. Under the brands SCTV and Indosiar, it also owns 41 television broadcasters. Through SCM, Emtek owns three subscription television broadcasters; through Omni, it controls another television station (PT Omni Parahyangan-Bandung [Moji]). Through EPTL, Emtek indirectly owns Omni (operating as TV Moji-Banjarmasin), while through EKP it owns seven channels that operate under the Omni brand (in Banjarmasin, Surabaya, Palembang, Yogyakarta, Semarang, and Makassar).

In total, the Emtek Group directly or indirectly owns no fewer than 53 television broadcasters throughout Indonesia. The Emtek Group also indirectly owns eight web portals. A map of the group's holdings is presented in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2. Media Ownership within the Emtek Group

Direct Ownership	Indirect Ownership	Media
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 22 PT Indosiar in several provinces • 18 PT Surya Citra Televisi in several provinces • 1 PT Frontera Inter Media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Television (Indosiar) • Television (SCTV)
PT Surya Citra Media Tbk (SCM)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PT Super Fantasi Dot Com (SPF), Jakarta • PT Brilio Ventura Indonesia (BRVI), Jakarta • PT Kreator Kreatif Indonesia (KKI) • PT Liputan Enam Dot Com (LEDC), Jakarta • PT Kapan Lagi Dot Com Networks (KLN), Jakarta 	Internet portal
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PT Mediatama Televisi (MTV), Jakarta • PT Citaprima Jakarta Televisi (Mentari TV), Jakarta • PT Vidio Dot Com (VDC) • PT Surya Kreasi Film (SKF) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satellite-based subscription service • Satellite-based subscription service • Video-on-demand • Direct broadcast services/video streaming

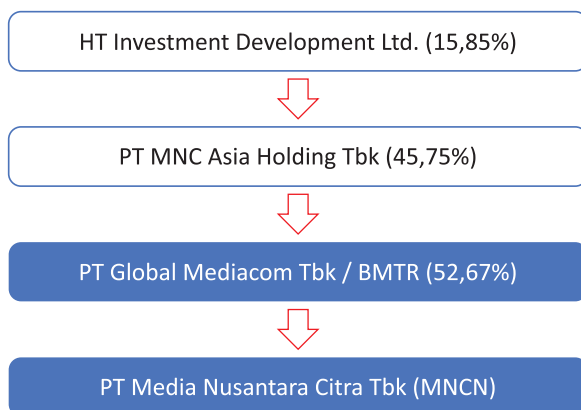
Direct Ownership	Indirect Ownership	Media
PT Omni Indovision/Omni	PT Omni Parahyangan-Bandung	Television (Moji)
PT Elang Pesona Triloka/EPTL	PT Omni Kencana-Banjarmasin	Television (Moji)
PT Elang Karya Persada/EKP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PT Omni Banjarmasin • PT Omni Surabaya • PT Omni Palembang • PT Omni Yogyakarta • PT Omni Semarang • PT Omni Makassar • PT Omni Polania 	Television (Moji)
PT Kreatif Media Karya/KMK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PT Reservasi Global • PT Bintang Dot Com • PT Bola Dot Com 	Internet portal

Source: PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk and its subsidiaries, interim financial report dated March 31, 2023. <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/laporan-keuangan-dan-tahunan>

b. MNC Group (PT Global Mediacom Tbk)

Legally, the MNC Group is registered as PT Global Mediacom Tbk. Its stocks are traded as BMTR, with shareholders including members of the public, corporations, and individuals with a controlling share. In its ownership structure, BMTR is far more complex. Not only does BMTR own several subsidiaries, but these subsidiaries also own subsidiaries. BMTR is the holding company of PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk (MNCN), the parent corporation of several media companies. BMTR is also part of (i.e., a controlling share is owned by) PT MNC Asia Holding Tbk. The hierarchy of shareholders within the MNC Group is presented in Figure 3.3 below.

Figure 3.3. Hierarchy of Shareholders within the MNC Group (PT Global Mediacom Tbk.)



Source: Compiled by the researchers from publicly available financial reports made by BMTR and MNCN to the Indonesian Stock Exchange

For PT Global Mediacom Tbk/BMTR, 47.72% of shares are owned by the general public; most of the remaining shares are held by PT MNC Asia Holding Tbk (45.75%). Major shareholders include Lo Kheng Hong (6.53%), Rosano Barack, Beti Puspitasari Santoso, John A. Prasetio, Mohamed Idwan Ganie, Hary Tanoesoedibjo (0.19%), Ruby Panjaitan, Indra Pudjiastuti, Syafril Nasution, and Christophorus Taufik (Indonesian Stock Exchange, n.d.).²

Members of the Board of Directors include Hary Tanoesoedibjo (Executive Director, also the Chair of the Perindo Party), Rubi Panjaitan (Director), Syafril Nasution (Director), Christophorus Taufik Siswandi (Director), and Indra Pudjiastuti Prastomiyono (Director). Commissioners, meanwhile, include Rosano Barack (Executive Commissioner), Mohamed Idwan Ganie (Commissioner), and Beti Puspitasari Santoso (Commissioner).

Several of these individuals have been affiliated with political parties. Hary Tanoesoedibjo, for example, is the founder and chair of the Perindo Party. In the 2024 election, he is seeking to represent the Banten constituency in the House of Representatives. Hary's wife and children have also contested parliamentary seats, representing various constituencies. Meanwhile, the Corporate Secretary of the MNC Group, Syafril Nasution, is also the Deputy Chair of the Perindo Party and is seeking to represent the Central Java constituency in the House of Representatives. Hary's family has also been involved in the political structure; his eldest daughter, Angela Herliani Tanoesoedibjo, has served as Deputy Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy since 2019 (CNN Indonesia, 2019)³.

Meanwhile, the ownership of PT MNC Asia Holding Tbk/BHIT is structurally diverse. The majority of shares (65.3%) are owned by members of the general public; other major shareholders include HT Investment Development Ltd. (15.85%) and DBS Bank Ltd S/A Caravaggio Holdings Ltd. (9.96%) (Indonesian Stock Exchange, n.d.).⁴ Shares are also distributed between PT Bhakti Panjiwira (6.3%), Hary Tanoesoedibjo (2.59%), treasury stocks, Darma Putra (0.05%), Liliانا Tanoesoedibjo (wife of Hary Tanoesoedibjo, 0.11%), Valencia Herliani Tanoesoedibjo (daughter of Hary Tanoesoedibjo), Susanty Tjandra Sanusi, Tien, Henry Suparman, Natalia Purnama, Mashudi Hamka, and Santi Paramita.

The Board of Directors at PT MNC Asia Holding Tbk/BHIT consists of Hary Tanoesoedibjo (Executive Director), Susanty Tjandra Sanusi (Deputy Executive Director), Tien (Director), Natalia Purnama (Director), Jiohan Sebastian (Director),

² Corporate Profile, PT Global Mediacom Tbk. <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/profil-perusahaan-tercatat/BMTR>

³ CNN Indonesia (October 25, 2019). Angela, Anak Hary Tanoe yang Jadi Wakil Menteri. <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/nasional/20191025155931-36-442893/video-angela-anak-hary-tanoe-yang-jadi-wakil-menteri>.

⁴ Corporate Profile, PT MNC Asia Holding Tbk <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/profil-perusahaan-tercatat/BHIT>

Henry Suparman (Director), Mashudi Hamka (Director), and Santi Paramita (Director). Its commissioners include Agung Firman Sampurna (Executive Commissioner), Darma Putra (Deputy Executive Commissioner), Liliana Tanaja (Commissioner), Valencia Herliani Tanoesoedibjo (Commissioner), and Ricky Herbert Parulian Sitohang (Commissioner).

Recognizing the structural complexity of the MNC group and its ownership, this study focuses on PT Global Mediacom Tbk/BMTR and PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk/MNCN to understand the link between this holding company’s media activities and its other enterprises.

In the media sector, BMTR owns and operates several companies. Through PT MNC Sky Vision Tbk (MNCSV), BMTR operates subscription television and broadband services. MNCSV has the license for television channels such as CNN International, HBO, ESPN, Discovery, TNT, Cartoon Network, Star Plus General Entertainment, Prime Sports, BBC World Service TV, CNBC Asia, News Service, NBC Super Channel, Discovery, and Channel (V) Int’l Music. BMTR controls most of its media indirectly, through its subsidiary MNCN.

MNCN owns four television broadcasters, each of which operates a multitude of television stations. First is PT Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI), which operates 17 television stations under the brand “RCTI”. Second is PT Global Informasi Bermutu (GIB), which operates 29 television stations under the brand “GTV”. Third is PT MNC Televisi Indonesia (MNCTV), which operates 17 television stations under the brand “TPI”. Fourth is PT MNC Network (MTN), which operates 35 television stations under various brands. MNCN thus indirectly operates 98 television stations throughout Indonesia.

Figure 3.4 below outlines the media companies owned by the MNC Group, as well as the sectors in which they are involved.

Figure 3.4. Media Ownership, MNC Group

Direct Ownership	Indirect Ownership	Media
PT MNC Vision Networks Tbk (MVN) ⁵	• PT MNC Sky Vision Tbk (MNCSV)	• Provider of paid television services
	• PT Media Citra Indostar (MCI through MNCSV)	• Provider of digital broadcast services
	• PT Mitra Operator Lokal (MOL)	• Subscription broadcast services
	• PT AMG Kundur Vision (through MOL)	• Subscription broadcast services
	• PT Punggawa Utama Sorong Media (Punggawa) (through MOL)	• Subscription broadcast services
	• PT MNC Kabel Mediacom (MKM)	• Broadband and IPTV services
	• PT Nusantara Vision (NV) *	• Subscription broadcast services
PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk (MNCN)	• PT Digital Vision Nusantara (DVN) *	• Subscription broadcast services
	• PT Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI)	Television
PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk (MNCN)	• 17 PT RCTI Satu, etc. (through RCTI)	Television
	• PT Global Informasi Bermutu (GIB)	Television
PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk (MNCN)	• 29 PT GTV Satu, etc. (through GIB)	Television
	• PT MNC Televisi Indonesia (MNCTV)	Television
PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk (MNCN)	• 17 PT TPI Satu, etc. (through MNCTV)	Television

Direct Ownership	Indirect Ownership	Media
PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk (MNCN)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PT MNC Network (MTN) 35 PT Semesta..., PT Deli..., PT Media Semesta..., etc. (through MTN) 	Television
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PT MNC Multimedia Networks (MMN) PT Radio Tridjaya Shakti/RTS (through MMN) PT Radio Praranca Buana Suara (RPBS) PT Radio Mancasuara (RM) PT Radio Swara Caraka Ria (RSCR) PT Radio Efkindo (RE) PT Radio Tjakra Awigra (RCA) 	Radio
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PT Radio Suara Monalisa/RSM (through MMN) PT Mediawisata Sariasih/MS (through MMN) PT Radio Arief Rahman Hakim/RATH (through MMN) PT Radio Sabda Sosok Sohor/RSSS (through MMN) 	Radio
	PT MNC OTT Network (OTT)	Streaming/Video on Demand (VOD)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PT MNC Digital Entertainment Tbk. (MSIN) PT MNC Digital Indonesia (through MSIN) PT MNC MeTube Indonesia (through PT MNC Digital Indonesia) 	Websites
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> PT MNC Portal Indonesia/MPI (through PT MSIN) PT MNI Global (MNIG) (through MPI) PT MNC Okezone Networks (Okezone) (through MPI) PT Media Nusantara Informasi (MNI) (through MPI) PT Menado Nusantara Informasi (MENI) (through MNI) PT Sindonews Portal Indonesia (SPI) (through MPI) PT Inews Digital Indonesia (through MPI) PT Highend Multimedia Indonesia (MNIE) (through MPI) PT MNC Media Baru 	Internet portals

Source: Financial Report of PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk. and Its Subsidiaries, Periods March 31, 2023 and December 31, 2022. <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/laporan-keuangan-dan-tahunan> and Corporate Profile of PT MNC Vision Networks Tbk./MVN. <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/profil-perusahaan-tercatat/IPTV>

Note: For PT MNC Vision Networks Tbk./MVN, the majority of stock is owned by PT Global Mediacom Tbk. (Financial Report of PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk. and Its Subsidiaries, Periods March 31, 2023 and December 31, 2022). <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/laporan-keuangan-dan-tahunan> and Corporate Profile of PT MNC Vision Networks Tbk./MVN. <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/profil-perusahaan-tercatat/IPTV>

Next, PT Global Mediacom Tbk has a 52.67% share of PT Media Nusantara Citra/MNCN; this is followed by public stocks (47.33%), treasury stocks, and stocks belonging to Hary Tanoesoedibjo (0.05%) (Indonesian Stock Exchange, n.d.).⁵ Individual shareholders include Valencia Herliani Tanoesoedibjo, Muhammad Zainul Majdi, Syafril Nasution, Joel Richard Hogarth, Noersing, Kanti Mirdiati Imansyah, Ella Kartika, Ruby Panjaitan, Tantan Sumartana, and Dini Aryanti Putri. No data is available regarding the share of stocks owned by these individuals.

The Board of Directors at PT Media Nusantara Citra/MNCN consists of several individuals who have been mentioned previously. These include Noersing (Executive Director), Kanti Mirdiati Imansyah (Deputy Executive Director), Valencia Herliani Tanoesoedibjo (Director), Ella Kartika (Director), Tantan Sumartana (Director), and Dini Ayanti Putri (Director). Its commissioners include Hary Tanoesoedibjo (Executive Commissioner), Muhammad Zainul Majdi (Deputy Executive Commissioner; a politician and former governor of West Nusa Tenggara) Joel Richard Hogarth (Deputy Executive Commissioner), and Syafril Nasution (Commissioner).

c. Trans Group (PT Trans Media Corpora)

Simply put, Trans Media Corpora is owned by Trans Corpora, a sub-holding company of PT CT Corpora, a conglomerate owned by Chairul Tanjung. According to the corporate profile registered with the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, as of June 6, 2023, PT CT Corpora’s largest shareholder is Chairul Tanjung; he owns 247,810,125 shares, worth Rp 247,810,125,000. The next largest shareholder is Anita Ratnasari, Chairul Tanjung’s wife, who owns 4,000,000 shares.

Figure 3.5 presents a list of the administrators and shareholders of PT CT Corpora, as reported to the Directorate General of General Legal Administration (Ditjen AHU), Ministry of Law and Human Rights.

Figure 3.5. Administrators and Shareholders, PT CT Corpora

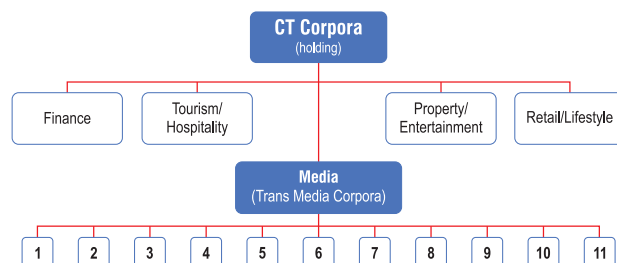
No.	Name	Position	Total Shares	Notes
1.	Ali Gunawan	Director	Not recorded	Sits on the boards of directors of several subsidiaries
2.	Anita Ratnasari	Not recorded	4,000,000	Wife of Chairul Tanjung
3.	Chairal Tanjung	Executive Director	400,000	Sibling of Chairul Tanjung
4.	Chairil Tanjung	Not recorded	400,000	Sibling of Chairul Tanjung

⁵ Profil Perusahaan PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk. <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/profil-perusahaan-tercatat/MNCN>

No.	Name	Position	Total Shares	Notes
5.	Chairul Tanjung	Executive Commissioner	247,810,125	Previously served as Minister of Finance, Acting Minister of Energy and Material Resources, and ad interim Ministry of Forestry under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono
6.	Lukman Hakim	Not recorded	400,000	Sibling of Chairul Tanjung
7.	Oki Hertian	Not recorded	400,000	Sibling of Chairul Tanjung

Generally speaking, PT CT Corpora is involved in five sectors: finance, tourism/hospitality, media, property/entertainment, and retail/lifestyle (CT Corpora, n.d.). All of the company's media units are under Trans Media Corpora, a subsidiary company active in television broadcasting, internet media, and subscription television. Its television and digital media services include Trans TV, Trans 7, CNN Indonesia (working with CNN International under license from Warner Bros, United States), CNBC (under license from NBC Universal), the Detik Network (Detik, Insert, Female Daily), and Transvision (a subscription television service).

Figure 3.6. Ownership Map, CT Corpora Business Group



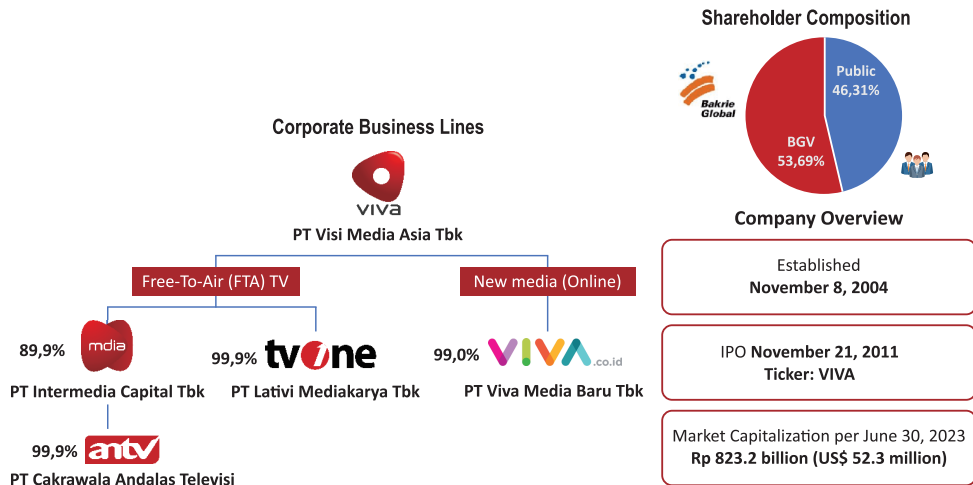
Notes:

- Finance: Bank Mega (PT Bank Mega Tbk.), Allo Bank (PT Allo Bank Indonesia Tbk.), Mega Insurance (PT Asuransi Umum Mega), etc.
- Tourism/Hospitality: Trans Hotel Group (PT Trans Hotel Internasional), PT Garuda Indonesia, PT Citilink Indonesia, PT Anta Express Tour & Travel Service, etc.
- Property/Entertainment: Trans Shopping Mall Group (PT Trans Mall Properti), PT Trans Studio, etc.
- Retail/Lifestyle: Trans Retail (PT Trans Retail Indonesia), Wendy's (PT Trans Burger), The Coffee Bean (PT Trans Coffee), etc.
- Media Networks (Trans Media Corpora), consisting of:
 1. Trans TV (PT Televisi Transformasi Indonesia) (television network)
 2. Trans7 (PT Duta Visual Nusantara Tivi Tujuh) (television network)
 3. Transvision (PT Indonusa Telemedia) (subscription television)
 4. CXO Media (online media)
 5. Beautynesia (online media)
 6. Female Daily (PT Daily Dinamika Kreasi) (online media)
 7. Hai Bunda (online media)
 8. Insert Live (online media)
 9. Detikcom (PT Agranet Multicitra Siberkom) (online media)
 10. CNN Indonesia (PT Trans News Corpora) (television network/online media, under license from Warner Bros. Discovery)
 11. CNBC Indonesia (PT Trans Berita Bisnis) (television network/online media, under license from NBC Universal)

d. Viva Group (PT Visi Media Asia Tbk)

PT Visi Media Asia Tbk, known popularly as the Viva Group, is a publicly-traded holding company that owns two television networks (ANTV and tvOne) as well as several online media through PT Visi Media Baru. Most shares are owned by Bakrie Global, an investment conglomerate owned by Aburizal Bakrie.

Figure 3.7. Business Structure and Shareholders, PT Visi Media Asia



Source: Public Presentation by PT Visi Media Asia to the Indonesian Stock Exchange, published July 14, 2023

For PT Cakrawala Andalas Televisi/ANTV, the majority of shares are held by PT Intermedia Capital Tbk, a subsidiary of PT Visi Media Asia that is involved in television broadcasting. ANTV operates 44 television stations that serve more than 160 of Indonesia’s cities and regencies. The President Commissioner of ANTV is Ardiansyah Bakrie, the son of Aburizal Bakrie, while its President Director is Ahmad R. Widarmana, who also serves as the director of tvOnenews.com. Aburizal Bakrie is the Chair of the Golkar Party’s Board of Supervisors, and between 2009 and 2014 he served as the party’s General Chair.

Meanwhile, PT Lativi Mediakarya/tvOne initially operated under the name Lativi and was owned by Abdul Latief, who had served as Minister of Labor during the New Order. Lativi, which began broadcasting in 1999, was acquired by Aburizal Bakrie in 2007 and rebranded tvOne in 2008. Around this time, it followed the footsteps of MetroTV to become Indonesia’s second twenty-four-hour news network. The President Commissioner of tvOne is Ardiansyah Bakrie, while its Executive Chair is Taufan Eko Nugroho—the nephew of Aburizal Bakrie.

PT Visi Media Asia’s media business activities are under the umbrella of Viva Networks (PT Visi Media Baru), which controls six online media platforms: viva.co.id

(general news), 100kpj.com (motorcycle news), vlix.com (video news), jagodangdut.com (*dangdut*/music), sahijab.com (*halal* lifestyle), and intipseleb.com (celebrity news).

According to the Monthly Shareholder Report to the Indonesian Stock Exchange for the period ending June 27, 2023, 43.16% of shares in PT Visi Media Asia (traded as VIVA) are owned by the public. A controlling share is owned by the Raiffeisen Bank in Indonesia (12.04%), which is affiliated with Aburizal Bakrie. Other large shareholders include Bakrie Global (9.79%), an investment conglomerate owned by Aburizal Bakrie, and Credit Suisse AG Singapore (7.95%).

Figure 3.8. Largest Shareholders, PT Visi Media Asia

No.	Name	Address	Percentage
1.	Public		43.16%
2.	Raiffeisen Bank (part of Raiffeisen Bank International, based in Austria)	Bakrie Tower 39th FL, Rasuna Epicentrum Complex, Jl. HR. Rasuna Said, Jakarta.	12.04% (controlling share)
3.	Bakrie Global	Bakrie Tower 39th FL, Rasuna Epicentrum Complex, Jl. HR. Rasuna Said, Jakarta.	9.79%
4.	Credit Suisse AG Singapore	1 Raffles Link #05-02 Singapore 039393	7.95%
5.	Banque Pictet and Cie SA	Route Des Acacias 60, 1211 Geneva 73	5.74%

Source: Monthly Shareholder Report to the Indonesian Stock Exchange for the period ending June 27, 2023

Based on the available data, PT Visi Media Asia has only applied horizontal (through two television networks) and vertical (through television and online media) ownership patterns in its media activities. It operates two television networks, ANTV (PT Cakrawala Andalas Televisi) and tvOne (PT Lativi Mediakarya). Online media, meanwhile, are under the umbrella of Viva Networks (PT Visi Media Baru), which controls six online media platforms: viva.co.id (general news), 100kpj.com (motorcycle news), vlix.com (video news), jagodangdut.com (*dangdut*/music), sahijab.com (*halal* lifestyle), and intipseleb.com (celebrity news).

e. Media Group (PT Sarana Dinamika Jaya)

The Media Group is an Indonesian holding company established by Surya Paloh, a prominent politician. This conglomerate is involved not only in the media sector (operating print, online, and television media), but also in the non-media sector. The conglomerate's website, <http://www.mediagroup.co.id/>, lists the diverse businesses that operate under the umbrella of the Media Group.

Initially, however, the Media Group was known as a media conglomerate. Media Indonesia, one of the companies under its umbrella, was established in January 1970.

It was first owned by the Warta Indonesia Foundation (1970–1987), which became the Media Indonesia Group (1987–2000) and later the Media Group (2000–today).

Presently, the Media Group operates several business units in the print, electronic, and online media sectors. These include Metro TV, *Media Indonesia*, *Lampung Post*, Medcom.id, IDM, MTI, Media Academy, Sai Radio, Digital Marketing Agency, Magna Channel, and BN TV. All of these media units operate under the umbrella of PT Media Group Network (MGN), which describes itself on its website as “a media ecosystem under the Media Group that is committed to providing impactful and influential information, news, and entertainment.”

Figure 3.9 provides an overview of the Media Group’s business structure.

Figure 3.9. Ownership and Media Businesses, Media Group

No.	Media Business Unit	Est.	Company	Business Unit
1.	<i>Media Indonesia</i>	1970	PT Citra Media Nusa Purnama	Daily newspaper (print media)
2.	<i>Lampung Post</i>	1974	PT. Masa Kini Mandiri	Daily newspaper (print media)
3.	MetroTV	1999	PT Media Televisi Indonesia	Television news (terrestrial)
4.	MG Radio Network	2021	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PT Radio Agustina Junior (Jakarta) • PT Radio Citra Delima Mandiri (Surabaya) • PT Radio Galaxy Makassar (Makassar) • PT Radio Bonsita (Medan) • PT Radio Suara Alam Indah (Lampung) • PT Radio Milenial Madani (Surabaya) 	Radio, distributing news and information. In November 2021, MGN acquired UFM Radio and began broadcasting in the Jakarta metropolitan area. Presently, the MG Radio Network covers six cities: Jakarta, Samarinda, Makassar, Medan, Lampung, and Surabaya.
5.	Sai Radio	-	PT Radio Suara Alam Indah	Terrestrial radio (Lampung), distributing news and information
6.	Magna Channel	2020	PT Mitra Media Digital (nine branches)	Terrestrial television network, semi-national; programming covers fashion, entertainment, music, and lifestyle
7.	BN tv	Tested 2019	PT Mitra Media Digital (nine branches)	Digital terrestrial television network; programming covers business, finance, and economic news
8.	Metro Globe Network	2021	PT Mitra Media Digital	International news broadcaster

No.	Media Business Unit	Est.	Company	Business Unit
9.	metrotvnews.com	-	PT Media Televisi Indonesia	Online media
10.	medcom.id	-	PT Citra Multimedia Indonesia	Internet/news video portal
11.	suma.id	-	PT Citra Multimedia Indonesia	News portal (Sumatra)
12.	lampost.co	-	PT Citra Multimedia Indonesia	News portal (Lampung)

Source: Business Units, Media Group. <http://www.mediagroup.co.id/business-unit> and other sources

2. Enterprise Diversification

The following section will discuss the diversification of business media groups in Jakarta.

a. Emtek Group (PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk)

As previously discussed, PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk/EMTK) operates various enterprises in both the media (vertical integration) and non-media sectors. In other words, the Emtek Group has a conglomerate business model.

The Emtek Group is vertically diversified through both direct and indirect means. Through PT Indosurya Menara Bersama/ISMB, Emtek directly owns companies that manage broadcast towers and sell/maintain communication equipment and spare parts (Emitennews.com, 2023).⁶ Through PT Pariwara Digital Media/PDM, Emtek is involved in the trade and service industries, while through PT Bitnet Komunikasindo/Bitnet it offers information technology services. As for Emtek's indirect vertical diversification, through SCM it offers broadcast tower rentals, information technology sales and services, film and content sales, content management and production services, film production, and talent management services.

Figure 3.10. Vertical Diversification, Emtek Group

Company	(Main) Business Activities	Ownership Status
PT Indosurya Menara Bersama (ISMB)	Tower rental services	Direct
PT Pariwara Digital Media (PDM)	Sales and services	Direct
PT Bitnet Komukasindo (Bitnet)	Information technology services	Direct
PT Indonesia Entertainment Group (IEG)	Film and content sales; content production and management services; film production; multimedia industry	Indirect, through SCM

⁶ Usaha Elang Mahkota (EMTK) Teken Perpanjangan Sewa Slot Menara. <https://www.emitennews.com/news/anak-usaha-elang-mahkota-emtk-teken-perpanjangan-sewa-slot-menara>.

Company	(Main) Business Activities	Ownership Status
PT Indonesia Entertainment Studio (IES)	Broadcast studio management and rental; film and multimedia production	Indirect, through SCM
PT Elang Media Karya (EMK)	Sales and services	Indirect, through SCM
PT Sinemart Indonesia (SNI)	Production house	Indirect, through SCM
PT Indonesia Entertainmen Produksi (IEP)	Content management and production; entertainment; multimedia	Indirect, through SCM
PT Screenplay Sinema Film (SSF)	Production house	Indirect, through SCM
PT Amanah Surga Produksi (ASP)	Production house	Indirect, through SCM
PT Screenplay Produksi (SCP)	Film production and video recording	Indirect, through SCM
PT ESS Jay Studios	Film production	Indirect, through SCM
PT Digital Rantai Maya (DRM)	Talent management	Indirect, through SCM
PT Visual Indomedia Produksi (VIP)	Content and multimedia, with a particular focus on film, video, and television production; television programming; broadcast activities	Indirect, through SCM
PT Surya Trioptima Multikreasi (STMK)	Talent management	Indirect, through SCM
PT Jenaka Sumber Rejeki (JSR)	Digital content, with a focus on entertainment (comedy)	Indirect, through SCM
PT Ama Deo Abadi (ADA)	Film production	Indirect, through SCM
PT Digital Rumah Publishindo (DRP)	Production house	Indirect, through SCM
PT Animasi Kartun Indonesia (AKI)	Production house	Indirect, through SCM
PT Kanika Satu Asa	Film production	Indirect, through SCM
Famous Allstars Singapore Pte. Ltd. (FASSG)	Digital content	Indirect, through SCM
PT Geo Teknologi Media (GTM)	Film production	Indirect, through SCM

Source: PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk and its subsidiaries, interim financial report dated March 31, 2023. <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/laporan-keuangan-dan-tahunan>

Emtek has also used diagonal diversification and practiced conglomeration. In its diversification, Emtek has expanded to include non-media enterprises. The company directly owns twenty-two companies, covering diverse fields such as health services, consultation management, and telecommunication services. For example, Emtek owns thirteen companies that are involved in digital advertising services, creative marketing, digital content, and management consulting. Through PT Abhimata Citra Abadi/ACA, Emtek operates several communication systems and telecommunication services. Through PT Kreatif Media Karya/KMK, Emtek is involved in the tourism sector; through TOPS, it operates management consulting services; through PT Elang Medika Corpora/

EMC, PT Sarana Meditama Metropolitan Tbk/SMM, and PT Kedoya Adyaraya Tbk/RSGK, it owns several businesses involved in the health sector.

Figure 3.11. Diagonal Diversification and Conglomeration, Emtek Group

Company	(Main) Business Activities	Ownership Status
PT Sarana Meditama Metropolitan Tbk (SMM)	Health services	Direct
PT Elang Media Visitama (EMV)	Sales	Direct
PT Teknologi Optimal Prioritas Sentosa (TOPS)	Sales and services	Direct
PT Elang Cakra Arena (ECA)	Management consulting	Direct
PT Abhimata Citra Abadi (ACA)	Telecommunication sales and services	Direct
PT Tangara Mitrakom (TM)	Telecommunication services	Direct
PT Sakalaguna Semesta (SS)	Telecommunication sales and services	Direct
PT Global Kencana Propertindo (GKcP)	Sales and services	Direct
PT Global Kriya Propertindo (GKP)	Sales and services	Direct
PT Elang Persada Teknologi (EPT)	Sales and services	Direct
PT Elang Graha Propertindo (EGP)	Sales	Direct
PT Pratama Landasan Usaha Sejahtera (PLUS)	Management consulting	Direct
PT Indopay Merchant Services (IMS)	Telecommunication sales and services	Direct
PT Elang Prima Retailindo (EPR)	Information technology sales and services	Direct
PT Elang Karya Persada (EKP)	Sales and services	Direct
PT Elang Aliansi Sejahtera (EAS)	Sales and services	Direct
PT Elang Pesona Triloka (EPTL)	Sales and services	Direct
PT Integral Pertama Persada (IPP)	Management consulting	Direct
PT Roket Cipta Sentosa (RCS)	Management consulting	Direct
PT Selancar Formula Sejahtera (SFS)	Management consulting	Direct
PT Helios Berkat Teknologi (HBT)	Management consulting	Direct
PT Astika Gerbang Timur (AGT)	Telecommunication sales and services	Direct
Whisper Media Pte. Ltd (Whisper), Singapura	Digital advertising services	Indirect, through SCM
PT Benson Media Kreasi (BMK)	Creative marketing, advertising services, and event planning	Indirect, through SCM
PT Formasi Agung Selaras (FAS)	Digital content	Indirect, through SCM
PT Binary Ventura Indonesia (BVI)	Advertising, sales, and services	Indirect, through SCM
PT Estha Yudha Ekatama (EYE)	Outdoor advertising services	Indirect, through SCM

Company	(Main) Business Activities	Ownership Status
PT Wisper Media (WM)	Digital advertising services	Indirect, through SCM
PT Sata Apurva Talenta Universa (SATU)	Advertising services	Indirect, through SCM
Whisper Media Pvt. Ltd, India (WM-IN)	Digital advertising services	Indirect, through SCM
PT Belanja Online Streaming (BOS)	Advertising services and management consulting	Indirect, through SCM
PT Geo Solusi Media (GSM)	Advertising services	Indirect, through SCM
Whisper Media Sdn Bhd. (WM-MY), Malaysia	Digital advertising services	Indirect, through SCM
PT Surya Media Citaprima (SMC)	Management consulting	Indirect, through SCM
PT Pusat Kesenangan Masa Kini (PKMK)	Management consulting	Indirect, through SCM
PT Wahana Solusi Pintar (WSP)	Communication system services	Indirect, through ACA
PT Rintis Lingkar Nusantara (RLN)	Telecommunication sales and services	Indirect, through ACA
PT Reservasi Global Digital	Tourism	Indirect, through KMK
Eagle Crown Capital Ptn. Ltd. Singapore	Management consulting	Indirect, through TOPS
PT Surya Cipta Medika (SCMed)	Health services	Indirect, through EMC
PT Unggul Pratama Medika (UPM)	Health services	Indirect, through EMC
PT Graha Mitra Insani (GMI)	Health services	Indirect, through EMC
PT Utama Pratama Medika (UTPM)	Health services	Indirect, through EMC
PT Pakuwon Sentrawisata (PSW)	Real estate, industrial, and agricultural sales and services	Indirect, through EMC
PT Sentul Investindo (SI),	Medical equipment sales	Indirect, through EMC
PT Elang Medika Corpora (EMC)	Sales and services	Indirect, through SMM
PT Kedoya Adyaraya Tbk (RSGK)	Health	Indirect, through SMM
PT Sarana Meditama International (SMI)	Health	Indirect, through SMM
PT Kurnia Sejahtera Utama (KSU)	Health	Indirect, through SMM
PT Sarana Meditama Anugerah (SMA)	Health	Indirect, through SMM
PT Sarana Meditama Nusantara (SMN)	Health	Indirect, through SMM
PT Sentosa Indah Sejahtera (SIS)	Health	Indirect, through SMM
PT Sinar Medika Sejahtera (SMS)	Health	Indirect, through RSGK
PT Sinar Medika Sutera (SMAS)	Health	Indirect, through RSGK
PT Daya Guna Usaha (DGU)	Medical equipment sales	Indirect, through RSGK
PT Sinar Medika Farma (SMF)	Health	Indirect, through RSGK

Source: PT Elang Mahkota Teknologi Tbk and its subsidiaries, interim financial report dated March 31, 2023.
<https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/laporan-keuangan-dan-tahunan>

b. MNC Group (PT Global Mediacom Tbk)

As with the Emtek Group, PT Global Mediacom Tbk/BMTR has also combined vertical and diagonal approaches to diversification. Through its subsidiary MNCN, BMTR indirectly owns companies involved in film production, talent management, licensing, gaming, etc. Take, for example, PT MNC Digital Entertainment Tbk/MSIN (previously PT MNC Studios International Tbk), which is involved primarily in the production and distribution of television programs, films, and other digital content. PT MNC Digital Entertainment Tbk/MSIN owns nine companies involved in media activities. It produces films, infotainment, entertainment content, and reality shows through companies such as PT MNC Pictures/MNCP, PT MNC Infotainment Indonesia, etc.; offers talent management services through PT Star Media Nusantara/SMN; acquires licenses through PT MNC Lisensi Internasional/MLI; and provides game services (PT MNC Infotainment Indonesia/ESI). Figure 3.12 provides an overview of these companies.

Figure 3.12. Vertical Diversification, MNC Group*

Company	(Main) Business Activities	Ownership Status
PT MNC Digital Entertainment Tbk. (MSIN)	Television program production; distribution of television programming, film, and other digital content	Indirect, through MNCN
PT Mediate Indonesia (MI)	Media agency, including digital strategies and advertising	Indirect, through MSIN
PT Multi Media Integrasi (MMI)	Content and technology	Indirect, through MI
PT MNC Pictures (MNCP)	Production house	Indirect, through MSIN
PT MNC Movieland Indonesia	Integrated film and serial production	Indirect, through MNCP
PT Star Media Nusantara (SMN)	Talent management	Indirect, through MSIN
PT Star Cipta Musikindo (SCM)	Talent management	Indirect, through SMN
PT Suara Mas Abadi (SMA)	Talent management	Indirect, through SMN
PT Swara Bintang Abadi (SBA)	Talent management	Indirect, through SMN
PT MNC Infotainment Indonesia	Production house	Indirect, through MSIN
PT MNC Film Indonesia	Production house	Indirect, through MSIN
PT Asia Media Production	Production house	Indirect, through MSIN
PT MNC Lisensi Internasional (MLI)	Licensing of cartoon characters, both domestic and international	Indirect, through MSIN
PT Blockbuster Media Visual (BMV)	Production house	Indirect, through MSIN
PT Esports Star Indonesia (ESI)	Gaming and e-sports	Indirect, through MSIN

* The data provided here is a sample of companies under the MNC Group; it does not present a comprehensive portrait of the company's holdings.

Source: Financial Report of PT Media Nusantara Citra Tbk. and Its Subsidiaries, Periods March 31, 2023 and December 31, 2022. <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/laporan-keuangan-dan-tahunan> and Corporate Profile of PT MNC Vision Networks Tbk./MVN. <https://www.idx.co.id/id/perusahaan-tercatat/profil-perusahaan-tercatat/IPTV>

Diagonal diversification, leaning towards conglomeration, has also been practiced by the MNC Group. Through PT MNC Media Utama/MMU, it is involved in construction; through PT MNC Media Investasi/MMI, it is involved in investment; through PT Infokom Elektrindo/Infokom, it is involved in telecommunication—particularly infrastructure and multimedia—; and through PT MNC GS Homeshopping it is involved in e-commerce. The diversification and conglomeration of the MNC Group is presented in Figure 3.13.

Figure 3.13. Diagonal Diversification and Conglomeration, MNC Group

Company	(Main) Business Activities	Ownership Status
PT MNC Media Utama	Construction	Indirect, through MNCN
MNC International Middle East Limited (MIMEL),	Sales and services	Indirect, through MNCN
Linktone International Limited (LIL)	Interactive entertainment products and services	Indirect, through MIMEL
MNC Innoform Pte. Ltd (Innoform)	Sales and services	Indirect, through LIL
PT Anak Muda Group (AMG)	Subscription video-on-demand	Indirect

c. Trans Group (PT Trans Media Corpora)

Referring to the three types of corporate expansion and ownership offered by Doyle (2002), Trans Media Corpora has applied all three simultaneously: horizontal (combining businesses in the same field, such as television broadcasters, under one holding company), vertical (controlling the production chain, from upstream to downstream), and diagonal (expanding to include complementary media activities). It has also practiced conglomeration by diversifying to non-media activities.

Trans Corpora’s horizontal business model can be seen in its operation of Trans TV and Trans 7, as well as the TransVision subscription television service. Diagonal expansion is evident in its involvement in television broadcasting and online media, which began with the acquisition of Detikcom then continued to include CXO Media, Beautynesia, Female Daily, Hai Bunda, and Insert Live (known collectively as the DetikNetwork). Outside of the media, the Trans Group is also involved in the banking, retail, lifestyle, and property sectors. A corporate map of CT. Corpora was provided in Figure 3.6 above.

d. Viva Group (PT Visi Media Asia Tbk)

According to data published by the Indonesian Stock Exchange, PT Visi Media Asia is involved only in the media sector. Referring to the corporate expansion and ownership models offered by Doyle (2002), the Viva Group has adopted the horizontal (combining businesses in the same field under one holding company) and diagonal (expanding

to include complementary media activities, such as from television to online media) models.

Horizontal diversification is evident in the Viva Group's operation of two television networks, namely ANTV (PT Cakrawala Andalas Televisi) and tvOne (PT Lativi Mediakarya). Meanwhile, diagonal diversification is evident in the Viva Group's simultaneous operation of television and online media. Visi Media Asia's online media outlets are under the umbrella of Viva Networks (PT Visi Media Baru), which covers six platforms: *viva.co.id* (general news), *100kpj.com* (motorcycle news), *vlix.com* (video news), *jagodangdut.com* (*dangdut*/music), *sahijab.com* (*halal* lifestyle), and *intipseleb.com* (celebrity news). A corporate map the Viva Group was provided in Figure 3.7 above.

e. Media Group (PT Sarana Dinamika Jaya)

The Surya Paloh-owned Media Group, which owns major media outlets such as Metro TV and *Media Indonesia*, is Indonesia's largest media group. Its very name, as also included on its website, reflects the company's focus on the media business. It has practiced horizontal, vertical, and diagonal diversification, thereby becoming involved in print media, online media, broadcasting, and marketing consulting.

The Media Group has also practiced conglomeration by expanding into the food, hospitality, property, and investment sectors. Likewise, under the umbrella of the Media Group Peduli Foundation, the Media Group has conducted humanitarian activities in the health, education, and disaster relief sectors.

As the Media Group is not publicly traded, it is difficult to map shareholderness within the company. However, referring to the company's official website (<http://www.mediagroup.co.id/>), it is possible to develop assumptions regarding its business activities. In the media sector, the Media Group has become involved in the print, television, and online media. It has also established indirect ties with marketing agencies and media training centers. Through these models, the Media Group appears to be optimizing its use of resources, particularly its networks and experiences in the media sector.

C. Political Affiliation: MNC Group and Media Group

This section will discuss our findings of media owners' affiliation with political structures. Generally, the researchers found that two companies—the MNC Group and Media Group—are openly and directly affiliated with political parties. Hary Tanoesoedibjo, the founder of the MNC Group, is the General Chair of the Indonesia Raya Party (Perindo). Meanwhile, Surya Paloh, the founder of the Media Group, is the General Chair of the Nasdem Party. Meanwhile, Aiman Witjaksono—the editor-in-chief of iNews (part of the MNC Group)—is contesting a parliamentary seat in the 2024 election through the Perindo Party. Also contesting the election with Perindo is Syafril Nasution, the Corporate

Secretary of the MNC Group. Both the Media Group and MNC exemplify an affiliation between ownership, journalistic content, media actors, and political structures that remains “rare” in Indonesia and around the world.

The MNC Group and Media Group have enacted different policies in response to their founders, commissioners, and employees’ interest in entering parliament or political parties. Both groups’ owners have described active participation in parliament and/or political parties as the inalienable constitutional right of every citizen, and thus they have made no effort to curtail political participation. The MNC Group does not have a written requirement that journalists who contest parliamentary seats must recuse themselves from media activities; once they officially take office, they are expected to resign. Only after the end of their term are they allowed to return (Syafрил Nasution, interview, June 16, 2023).

Meanwhile, the Media Group is stricter in limiting its journalists’ involvement in political parties. For example, when journalists with Metro TV or Media Indonesia join a political party or contest a parliamentary seat, they must resign (Budiyanto, interview, June 15, 2023). Unfortunately, this guideline does not apply to the owner (Surya Paloh).

Figure 3.14. Identified Cases of Political Affiliation involving Media Owners/Administrators

Model	Position	Name	Media	Political Party	National/Local Parliament	Government	Ad Hoc Political Team
Extreme	Owner, commissioner, and executive director	Hary Tanoesoedibjo	MNC Group	General Chair of the Perindo Party	Parliamentary candidate (House of Representatives), 2024–2029	Daughter is Deputy Minister of Tourism and Creative Economy	National campaign team for Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD
Strong	Owner, commissioner, and executive director	Surya Paloh	Media Group	General Chair of the Nasdem Party	Child is member of House of Representatives (2019–2024) and parliamentary candidate (House of Representatives), 2024–2029	Nasdem Party has three cabinet ministers during the second term of President Joko Widodo (2019–2024)	No data
Moderate	Corporate Secretary	Syafрил Nasution	MNC Group	Primary Administrator of Organizational Matters, Perindo Party	Parliamentary candidate (House of Representatives), 2024–2029	No	No data
Low	Journalist, Editor-in-Chief, iNews	Aiman Witjaksono	MNC Group	No data	Parliamentary candidate (House of Representatives), 2024–2029	No	Spokesperson for the national campaign team for Ganjar Pranowo and Mahfud MD

D. Implications of Political Affiliation: MNC Group and Media Group

Our interviews with media practitioners in Jakarta provided interesting insight into the direct political affiliation of three media broadcast groups. This was summarized by Arief Suditomo, who has worked at all three groups—the Emtek Group, MNC Group, and the Media Group (Metro TV). When interviewed, he had recently become the Chief Business Development Officer of the Media Group, having previously served as the editor-in-chief at Metro TV.

“I have worked at several television stations. At Emtek (SCTV) for ten years, and at MNC (RCTI) for fifteen years, and now at Metro TV. Emtek is relatively free of political interests, while MNC is affiliated with Perindo and Metro TV is currently associated with Nasdem. Based on my journey, to be honest, I would like to say that my time at the MNC Group and Metro TV have been roughly similar, we must ‘test the waters’, ‘play nice’, every day, deal with a situation where there are three interests involved in everything: party interests, editorial interests, and—the trickiest of them—market interests.” (Arief Suditomo, online interview, June 17, 2023).

The informant, Arief Suditomo, served as a Member of the House of Representatives for the 2014–2019 period. He had been supported by the Hanura Party, which at the time was still associated with the MNC Group’s owner—Hary Tanoesoedibjo. He explained that his decision to contest a parliamentary seat was motivated in part by Hary Tanoesoedibjo.

“Mr. HT asked, ‘Aren’t you interested in politics? Your screen has been journalism, your canvas television... do you not want to make public policy your next canvas?’ Thus began my entrance into practical politics.” (Arief Suditomo, online interview, June 17, 2023).

Arief Suditomo explicitly recognized the political affiliations of these two media groups (MNC and Media Group) as challenging journalists, who need to strike a balance between party interests, editorial interests, and market interests. He recognized this situation as ‘test[ing] the waters’ (*meniti buih*), a metaphor that implies hardship by striking the image of a “boat, its gunwale almost level with the water, taking in foam”. Suditomo explained that, due to these challenges, he and other journalists had to ‘play nice’ and strike a balance between diverse interests.

A different view was expressed by Aiman Witjaksono, the editor-in-chief of MNC News and deputy editor of iNews, who has announced his intention to contest a

parliamentary seat, representing the Jakarta constituency, in the 2024 parliamentary election with the backing of the Perindo Party. Other journalists with the MNC Group who have announced their intention to contest the 2024 parliamentary election have included Ratu Nabilla (a news anchor with iNews TV; seeking election to the Banten Provincial Parliament) and Prabu Revolusi (Managing Director of the iNews Media Group and Editor-In-Chief of iNews TV; seeking election to the House of Representatives representing the Jakarta Constituency).

Aiman Witjaksono explained that his announced candidacy and association with the Perindo Party was not influenced by Hary Tanoesoedibjo, the owner of the MNC Group. Rather, he described his candidacy as a continuation of his ongoing efforts to promote public interests.

“Reporters are political actors, as they help inform how politics are presented to the public. So (my planned candidacy) does not mean changing sectors, but rather taking a new role or authority. My interest remains the same: to work for the public. Reporters work for the public, and good politicians also work for the public. Today, all people can become journalists; not everyone can make laws.” (Aiman Witjaksono, interview, June 17, 2023).

Before joining the MNC Group in late 2022, Aiman Witjaksono had enjoyed a decade of popularity as a journalist and news anchor with Kompas TV (2012–2022). Explaining his decision to contest the 2024 parliamentary election, rather than the elections that occurred during his tenure with Kompas TV, Aiman Witjaksono explained:

“To be honest, Kompas maintains a great distance from political parties; it very carefully maintains its independence. So, does MNC not maintain independence? Yes, but there is something different; MNC, it happens to be owned by the leader of the Perindo Party. So here, I can say that I’ve found a media platform where I can also participate in party politics. But not mix the two! We have independence, and we maintain it, and we can prove that we don’t attack other parties and we maintain balance (in news coverage)” (Aiman Witjaksono, interview, June 17, 2023).

Aiman Witjaksono emphasized that his decision to enter politics did not influence his integrity as a journalist.

“In the Press Law, in the journalistic code of ethics, and even in communication science, there is no need for journalists to be *neutral*—journalists must be *independent*. As such, when journalists decide to cover something, they must do so independently rather than under pressure from other groups or individuals. They

must be independent, follow their conscience. Some media can be quite offensive when they state their opposition to the government, for example. Does MNC do that? I've never seen it. We provide balanced coverage of the available information, both sides, and even those whose political views are opposed to Perindo's we transmit on MNC's television screens. So, we are balanced in our coverage, and we reflect the reality of the issue. The media business is a business of trust; once trust is lost, business will suffer. I'm sure that Hary Tanoesoedibjo knows that, too." (Aiman Witjaksono, interview, June 17, 2023).

A similar point was made by Syafril Nasution, the Corporate Secretary of the MNC Group, who is contesting the 2024 parliamentary election in order to represent the Central Java constituency in the House of Representatives. Syafril emphasized the importance of maintaining reader and viewer trust. He stated that MNC's journalists are expected to only share the facts. Syafril holds that the public's trust in MNC is evidenced by its popularity.

"Every journalist with the MNC Group is required to maintain their journalistic integrity. Even if people sometimes have trouble distinguishing between MNC and Perindo, take a look... I can prove that the public trusts our media. Look at our television, iNews, as well as okezone, portalnews.co.id, inews.com, and sindonews.com; all of them are popular among readers. This is because we have never reported anything that doesn't reflect the facts. I have no doubts; iNews TV is the biggest television news channel today, with ratings even higher than TvOne, according to the most recent Nielsen survey." (Syafril Nasution, interview, June 16, 2023).

Syafril Nasution also explained that the MNC Group has not required its employees, almost thirty-thousand in total, to become members of the Perindo Party. Regarding the journalists who have announced their candidacies, Syafril stated that MNC has not required their resignation; rather, they have been asked to ensure that they maintain their professionalism in their journalistic activities. Aiman stated that, should his candidacy be accepted (at the time of the interview, the announcement was scheduled for November 4, 2023), he would take a leave of absence. Such leave is prescribed by Statement of the Press Council No. 1/2022 regarding a Responsible and Independent Press for a Healthy 2024 Election (Dewan Pers, 2022). As stated by Yadi Hendriana, the Chair of the Commission for Press Ethics Complaints and Arbitration at the Press Council:

"According to that statement, we must recognize and respect that all citizens have political rights. Consequently, there is no blanket provision prohibiting journalists

from entering politics. However, when they do become involved in politics, they must recuse themselves or take leave. When must they recuse themselves or take leave? Legally, formally, the latest they can do this is when their candidacy is accepted.” (Yadi Hendriana, interview, June 14, 2023).

The Media Group, according to Arief Suditomo—who had, as mentioned above, previously served as the editor-in-chief of Metro TV—has direct political affiliations with the Nasdem Party. As a result, journalists must maintain balance between party interests, editorial interests, and market interests. According to Arief, this was similar to his experience with the MNC Group. Likewise, Budiyanto, the current editor-in-chief of Metro TV, stated that there was no direct intervention from the Media Group’s owner, Surya Paloh, who is also the General Chair of the Nasdem Party.

“So far, Mr. Surya has never intervened in newsroom independence. This independence is maintained, for example, when journalists make decisions through meetings, lengthy discussions, and then transform information into journalistic products for television broadcast. So there is no intervention. There is no agenda, demand to cover certain political parties. All political parties are covered; our principle is proportionality” (Budiyanto, interview, June 15, 2023).

Budiyanto explained that Metro TV’s foremost obligation is to the Indonesian people, as represented by four elements: *Pancasila* (the national philosophy), *Kebhinekaan* (diversity), *NKRI* (the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia), and *Undang-Undang* (law). Independence may not mean neutrality. However, any biases must favor the public. This also includes those who lead the nation.

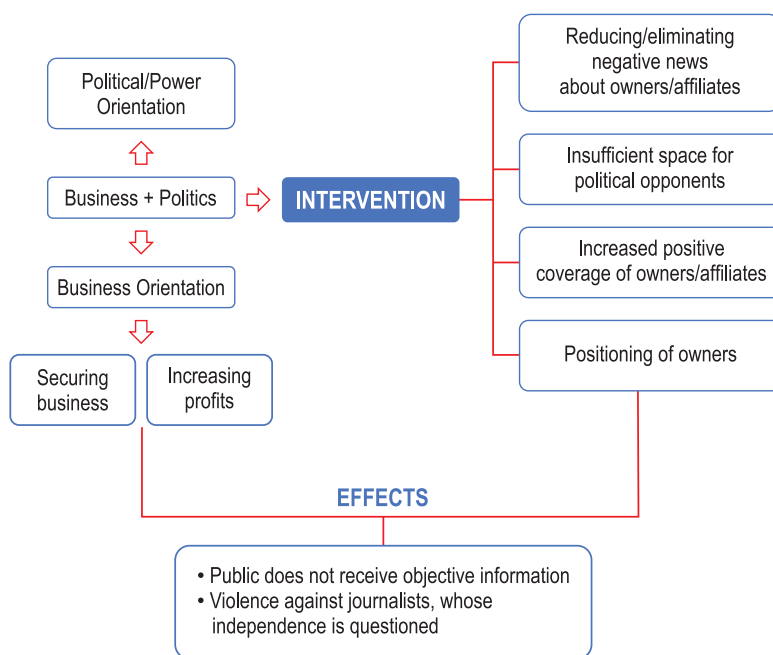
“For example, if Metro TV is seen as siding with Jokowi [i.e., Joko Widodo], that is only because Metro TV seeks to construct good candidates for leading the nation. In other words, the construction of good candidates for national leadership determines the biases of Metro TV” (Budiyanto, interview, June 15, 2023).

Generally, the informants who worked for the above-discussed media groups viewed their participation in practical politics as a continuation of their ongoing endeavors as journalists. The dynamics of the newsroom, shaped under pressure from owners and their political affiliations, require journalists to “play nice” as they advance media owners’ interests in conjunction with the public good. This view is diametrically opposed with that espoused by journalists, media activists, and researchers from outside these organizations. For example, Sasmito Madrim (the Chair of the Alliance of Independent Journalists [AJI]) and Yovantra Arief (the Executive Director of Remotivi)

both expressed concern that media owners' direct political affiliation with political parties and government actors has resulted in various forms of newsroom intervention.

Sasmito Madrim (interview, June 14, 2023) stated that intervention is inevitable when business and politics mix. This occurs as a result of democracy's "dark passengers". Journalists recognize the boundary between editorship and business, but due to their weak position they are compelled to allow intervention. According to Sasmito Madrim, a lack of unionization has likewise undermined journalists' independence. At the same time, journalists permit intervention because they dismiss its danger—even though intervention may be categorized as violence against journalists, as the practice undermines journalists' ability to provide independent and objective coverage.

Figure 3.15. Motives, Channels, and Forms of Intervention



Ultimately, the politicization of the media has resulted in political bias, thereby reducing the quality of the information made available to the public (Heychael & Dhona, 2014; Siregar et al., 2014; Souisa, 2020). This is unfortunate, as the quality of available information informs the health of a nation's democracy by shaping voters' preferences (McNair, 2011). Over time, such practices will undermine public trust, thereby injuring the reputation of the press. Furthermore, Sasmito viewed media ownership by politicians, as well as the involvement of journalists in practical politics, as a violation of the Press Law. Such practices, he argued, reduce the quality of journalism and are detrimental to its ability to promote public interests.

**OWNERSHIP AND
POLITICAL AFFILIATION:
MEDIA IN EAST KALIMANTAN**

A. Introduction

In 2019, President Joko Widodo announced that a new national capital would be established in East Kalimantan. As the future home of Indonesia’s national capital, this province drew intense interest and became a center of national journalistic activities. At the same time, East Kalimantan has highly dynamic local politics, which has been driven in part by the tensions and struggles over access to natural resources (particularly mineral resources) and the economic benefits they provide. Data from Mongabay (2023) indicates that, since 2018, some 168 illegal coal mines have been identified in East Kalimantan; these are frequently sources of conflict..

Given this dynamicity, an intriguing portrait of media ownership and political affiliation is inescapable—especially since these factors are heavily intertwined with the representation of conflict. In this context, it is important to understand the political and economic landscape of the East Kalimantan to contextualize its media and the political affiliations that shape local opinion.

Forty-three media companies in East Kalimantan are registered with the Press Council, including eleven print media companies (25.58%), fifteen television media companies (34.88%), and seventeen online media companies (39.54%). This already indicates that online media operations are the most common among local corporations; informants stated that even more online media companies operate without recognition from the Press Council. Figure 4.1. presents a list of the online media companies based in East Kalimantan.

Figure 4.1. List of Online Media in East Kalimantan Accredited by the Press Council Per September 2023

No.	Media Name	Registrant	Editor-In-Chief	Legal Name
1.	busam.id	Tri Wahyuni	Tri Wahyuni	Busam Media Digital
2.	Akurasi.id	Rachman Wahid	Rachman Wahid	Karya Grafika Kaltim
3.	Beritakaltim.co	Charles Siahaan	Charles Siahaan	Charle Media Grup
4.	Selasar.co	Achmad Ridwan	Achmad Ridwan	Selasar Lingkar Media
5.	kaltimtoday.co	Maturidi	Maturidi	Media mandiri perkasa
6.	kaltimkece.id	Felanans Gevrido Yosef Mustari	Felanans Gevrido Yosef Mustari	Kaltim Keren Cerdas
7.	Mediakaltim.com	Agus Susanto	Agus Susanto	Media Kaltim Promosindo
8.	Nomorsatukaltim.com	Devi Alamsjah	Devi Alamsyah	Kalimantan Media Nusantara
9.	headlinekaltim.co	Mohammad Abduh Kuddu	Mohammad Abduh Kuddu	Kaltim Tama Cakrawala
10.	tribunkaltim.co	Sumarsono	Sumarsono	Mahakam Media Grafika
11.	newsnusantara.com	Suyono SE	Suyono SE	Berau Nusantara Abadi

No.	Media Name	Registrant	Editor-In-Chief	Legal Name
12.	infosatu.co	Samsul Arifin	Samsul Arifin	Media Rizqi Pratama
13.	Insitekaltim.com	Samsul Arifin	Samsul Arifin	Media Pratama Insite Indonesia
14.	pusaranmedia.com	Supiansyah	Supiansyah	Lintas Bangun Media
15.	niaga.asia	Rachmat Rolau	Rachmat Rolau	Kaltim Prima Multi Media
16.	korankaltim.com	Supiansyah	Supiansyah	Media Bangun Bersama
17.	prokal.co	Faroq Zamzami	Indra Zakaria	Duta Prokal Multimedia

Source: Compiled from Press Council (n.d.).

Interviews and focus group discussions, as well as available documents, revealed that online media had mushroomed in East Kalimantan in recent years. Many individuals, both entrepreneurs and journalists, had entered the local media market by establishing their own websites but had not yet been recognized by the Press Council. Nevertheless, the data provided by the Press Council can be used to map media ownership in East Kalimantan.

For this study, the researchers selected a sample of five East Kalimantan-based media companies: *Koran Kaltim* (print/online), *Tribun Kaltim* (print/online), *Kaltim Kece* (online), *Kaltim Post* (print/online), and *Selasar.co* (online).

Of the five media companies discussed here, registration documents were accessible for three: *Kaltim Kece* (online media), *Kaltim Post* (print/online), and *Selasar.co* (online). Details on the other two companies, *Koran Kaltim* (print/online) and *Tribun Kaltim* (print/online), were collected through interviews, focus group discussions, analysis of legal documents, and a review of the literature.

First, *Kaltim Kece* (kaltimkece.id)—officially PT Kaltim Keren Cerdas—is an online media company that was established in 2018. According to Document No. AHU-0030090.AH.01.02, issued in 2022, this company provides two services: (1) data communication, including the transmittal of high-quality audio-visual content, information, data, and packets through secure connections; and (2) a commercial internet portal/digital platform. This data, as well as interviews with the company’s commissioner, suggests that *Kaltim Kece* has employed horizontal diversification as both activities are in the same field.

According to its registration documents, *Kaltim Kece* has nine administrators and shareholders: Carolus Borromeus Beatrix Tuah, Felanans Gevrido Yosef Mustari, Raf’an Arif Dwinanto, Muhamad Yasin, M. Andi Faisal, Widya Arianthy, Hera Nuraeni, Heru Pratama, and Fitri Ekadinanti.

Analysis of legal documents indicate that one of *Kaltim Kece’s* shareholders and one of its directors has political affiliations. The former, M. Andi Faisal, was elected

to the Kukar Regency Parliament as a member of the Golkar Party during the 2019 election (DPRD Kutai Kartanegara, n.d.). By August 2023, Jumiati had taken this seat as an intermediary substitute (beritaalternatif.com, 2023).

Director Fitri Ekadinanti also has direct political affiliations, having served as secretary to Awang Faroek Ishak, the Governor of East Kalimantan, from 2008 through 2018 (Fel GM, 2020). Ishak had contested the 2008 election with the support of fourteen parties, including PAN and PBB (Kompas.com, 2008). With the backing of PAN, Fitri also sought election to the East Kalimantan Provincial Parliament in the 2014 (Antara Kaltim, 2013) and 2019 parliamentary election (MnewsKaltim, 2018). Digital evidence indicates that she served as PAN's treasurer between 2015 and 2020 (Pemerintah Provinsi Kalimantan Timur, 2016).

Second is *Kaltim Post*, officially registered as PT Duta Manuntung. According to Document No. AHU-0025314.AH.01.02, issued in 2019, PT Duta Manuntung is involved in five sectors: (1) newspaper, journal, bulletin, and/or magazine publication; (2) commercial internet portal and/or digital platform; (3) private-sector newsroom activities; (4) wholesale of print and publication products; and (5) direct sale of print and publication products. All of these activities are integral to the *Kaltim Post's* mass media operations; as such, its diversification and ownership practices exhibit both horizontal and vertical tendencies.

According to its registration documents, PT Duta Manuntung has twelve directors and shareholders: Dorothea Samola, Haji Hermain Okol, Sumirih, Hajjah Mulia Sulaiman, Ratnawiyah Syarifuddin Yoes, Ivan Firdaus, Fitriansyah Noor, Haji Zainal Muttaqin, Rusdiansyah Aras, Erwin Dede Nugroho, Suhendro Boroma, and Maesa Samola. Officially, it is a subsidiary of PT Jawapos Jaringan Media Nusantara, due to its status as part of that Surabaya-based company's network.

Of the twelve directors and shareholders, several have held government positions or been affiliated with political parties. First is Hermain Okol, who served as Acting Mayor of Balikpapan between 1989 and 1991 (JDIH Balikpapan, n.d.); he died on June 17, 2022 (Kaltim Post, 2022), but is still recorded as one of the *Kaltim Post's* commissioners. Second is Rusdiansyah Aras, the Director of the *Kaltim Post*, who is serving as the Chair of the National Sports Committee of Indonesia (KONI), East Kalimantan, for the 2022–2026 term (Antara Kaltim, 2022). Third is Suhendro Boroma, the Executive Commissioner of *Kaltim Post*, who was backed by the Indonesian Democratic Party – Struggle (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Perjuangan; PDIP) in the East Bolaang Mongondow Regency election of 2020 (Pilar Sulut, 2020). Presently, he is a member of the Presidium of the Alumni Corps of the Muslim Students' Association (KAHMI) of North Sulawesi (Kemenag Sulawesi Utara, 2023).

Third is Selasar.co, an online media company that is registered as PT Selasar Lingkar Media. Document No. AHU-0027816.AH.01.02, issued in 2021, Selasar.co only operates

a commercial internet portal/digital platform—a website through which users can access periodically refreshed internet content. Based on this data, Selasar.co employs a singular ownership model; it has not practiced horizontal, vertical, or diagonal diversification.

Selasar.co is owned and administered by five people: Eric Garincha, Fakhru Azmi, Achmad Ridwan, Henny, and Gunawan. Of these individuals, one is directly affiliated with a political party. Achmad Ridwan, the Executive Commissioner of Selasar.co, has announced his intention to contest Samarinda's 2024 parliamentary election, seeking to represent the Sungai Kujang constituency with the backing of the Democrats (Kaltim Post, 2023). A review of available data on the website of the General Elections Commission confirmed that, as of writing, Achmad Ridwan was still registered as a potential contender (KPU.go.id., n.d.).

B. Media Ownership

This chapter seeks to answer two key questions: (1) to what extent have the media of East Kalimantan exhibited political affiliations in ownership and coverage?; and (2) What types of ownership are found used by media companies in East Kalimantan?

To answer these questions, the researchers collected data using a combination of four methods. First, the researchers explored and analyzed the legal documents of five local media in East Kalimantan. These documents were obtained from the of the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights. Second, interviews were conducted with Desman Minang Endianto (Executive Director of Koran Kaltim) and Mohammad Fairoussaniy (a journalist with Tribun Kaltim). Third, content analysis was used to understand media coverage of political issues. Finally, a focus group discussion was conducted to enrich the data and perspectives collected through the previous methods. Invited to this online FGD was Mukhasan Ajib (Commissioner of the General Elections Commission, East Kalimantan), Hari Darmanto (member of the General Election Supervisory Agency), Nofiyatul Chalimah (Chair of the Alliance of Independent Journalists [AJI], Samarinda), Abdurrahman Amin (representing the Indonesian Journalists Association [PWI], East Kalimantan), Muhammad Idris (representing the Indonesian Television Journalists Association [IJTI]), and Nurliah (an academic with Mulawarman University).

1. Koran Kaltim

Koran Kaltim, officially PT Media Bangun Bersama, was established on November 22, 2006, and bears Press Council certificate 682/DP-Verifikasi/K/IV/2021 (Koran Kaltim, n.d.). Initially a daily newspaper printed and distributed in Tenggarong, it has expanded

to include offices in Samarinda, Balikpapan, and North Kalimantan (STT Bandung, n.d.). Presently, the print edition of *Koran Kaltim* reaches readers throughout East Kalimantan province; through its online media presence, it reaches audiences both within and without East Kalimantan.

Koran Kaltim was established at a time of fierce competition between local print media, exacerbated by the influx of national news media. According to interviews with Executive Director Desman Minang Endianto, *Koran Kaltim* recognized the importance of providing readers with clear and targeted local information. Such information, it believed, could not be obtained from the sparse coverage provided by national media.

As of 2020, *Koran Kaltim*—operating online as korankaltim.com—has one subsidiary: pusanmedia.com. Established by Desman Minang Endianto in Tenggarong, this platform was created to provide tourism, politics, business, government, and sports news, both local and national. Officially, pusanmedia.com is registered as PT Lintas Bangun Media (Fahlevi, 2020). According to data from the Electronic Procurement Service of Kutai Kartanegara Regency, in 2022 this media outlet won a tender to publish online media from the Office of Communication and Informatics, Kutai Kartanegara Regency, worth Rp 146,338,500.00 (Layanan Pengadaan Secara Elektronik Kabupaten Kutai Kartanegara, 2022). Unfortunately, no registration information is available on the website of the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, and thus no further data could be collected.

According to Document No. AHU-0028780.AH.01.02, issued in 2022, *Koran Kaltim* is owned by PT Media Bangun Bersama. It consists of four administrators and shareholders: Desman Minang Endianto (director), Fajri Tridalaksana (commissioner), Khairudin, S.P. (executive commissioner), and Rusdiansyah (commissioner). Together, these four individuals have administered PT Media Bangun Bersama, including its horizontal and vertical expansion. See Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2. Business Activities of PT Media Bangun Bersama (*Koran Kaltim*)

No.	Sector	Description
1.	General printing	This category includes the printing of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals (tabloids, journals), as well as pamphlets, books, brochures, sheet music, maps, atlases, posters, catalogs, advertising materials, journals, calendars, and forms; it is also includes offsetting, flexography, photogravure, embossing, and photocopying; direct printing on textiles, plastics, glass, metals, wood, and ceramics; and the printing of labels/marks (lithography, gravestones, etc.). The category includes the reproduction of materials using computers, stencils, etc. Such activities often involve copyrights. Included in this category is the printing of labels and cardboard boxes, included in category 17099.

No.	Sector	Description
2.	Newspaper, journal, and bulletin/magazine publication	This category includes the publication of newspapers, advertisements, journals, bulletins, general and technical magazines, and comics; it also includes the publication of radio and television schedules. Such information may be published using print or electronic media, including on the internet.
3.	Other publication activities	This category includes the printing of photographs, graphic art, postcards, forms, posters, art reproductions, and other print materials. It also includes the publication of statistics and other information on the internet and/or using microfilm.
4.	Commercial internet portal/digital platform	This category includes the operation of commercial websites that use search engines to produce and maintain large and easily accessible databases of internet addresses and content internet; the content is renewed periodically and used, either directly or indirectly, for commercial purposes. This category also includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for electronic transactions, including the facilitation and/or mediation of goods and/or services through the internet and/or electronic devices and/or other electronic systems, for commercial purposes (i.e., profit), with activities including one, some, or all elements of electronic transactions (ordering, payment, shipment). It includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for commercial purposes and the facilitation and/or mediation of electronic transactions, including marketplace activities, digital advertising, and on-demand online services. It does not include the operation of financial technology, peer-to-peer lending technology (6495), or payment technology (6641).
5.	Private-sector newsroom activities	This category includes the collation and dissemination of news content through print or electronic media, with the intent of conveying information to the general public.
6.	Other information services	This category includes the provision of other information services that cannot be classified elsewhere, including telephone-based information services; reciprocal/contract-based information retrieval services, news clipping services; etc. This includes the provision of content.

Source: Document No. AHU-0028780.AH.01.02, issued 2022

Based on the above document, it is evident that PT Media Bangun Bersama has employed both horizontal and vertical ownership and diversification. Horizontal ownership is evident in its private-sector newsroom, through which it collates and disseminates news stories through print and online media. Meanwhile, the vertical model is evident in the company's general printing operations; its printing of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals can be used to support other media activities.

2. **Tribun Kaltim**

The history of *Tribun Kaltim* is inexorably intertwined with that of the Kompas Gramedia Group in Jakarta. In 1989, Kompas Gramedia established a regional press unit, later known as Indopersda Primamedia, to support local newspapers that had had difficulty

obtaining a press license. In 2003, Kompas Gramedia introduced the “Tribun” brand to East Indonesia; this included *Tribun Kaltim* on May 8, 2003. Today, *Tribun Kaltim* has readers in all of East Kalimantan’s cities and regencies.

According to Document No. AHU-0059889.AH.01.02, filed with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights in 2021, *Tribun Kaltim* is owned by PT Mahakam Media Grafika—a closed corporation. This legal document identified PT Mahakam Media Grafika as involved in various business activities, as elucidated in Figure 4.3 below.

Figure 4.3. Business Activities of PT Mahakam Media Grafika

No.	Sector	Description
1.	General printing	This category includes the printing of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals (tabloids, journals), as well as pamphlets, books, brochures, sheet music, maps, atlases, posters, catalogs, advertising materials, journals, calendars, and forms; it also includes offsetting, flexography, photogravure, embossing, and photocopying; direct printing on textiles, plastics, glass, metals, wood, and ceramics; and the printing of labels/marks (lithography, gravestones, etc.). The category includes the reproduction of materials using computers, stencils, etc. Such activities often involve copyrights. Included in this category is the printing of labels and cardboard boxes, included in category 17099.
2.	Wholesale of various print and publication products	This category includes the wholesale of print and publication products, including books, magazines, newspapers, etc.
3.	Newspaper, journal, and bulletin/magazine publication	This category includes the publication of newspapers, advertisements, journals, bulletins, general and technical magazines, and comics; it also includes the publication of radio and television schedules. Such information may be published using print or electronic media, including on the internet.
4.	Other publishing activities	This category includes the printing of photographs, graphic art, postcards, forms, posters, art reproductions, and other print materials. It also includes the publication of statistics and other information on the internet and/or using microfilm.
5.	Other media services	This category includes multimedia services not covered in category 61921 through 61924.
6.	Development of internet-based mercantile applications (e-commerce)	This category includes the development of internet-based mercantile applications (e-commerce); activities may include consultation, analysis, and the programming of internet-based applications for commercial purposes.
7.	Commercial internet portal/digital platform	This category includes the operation of commercial websites that use search engines to produce and maintain large and easily accessible databases of internet addresses and content internet; the content is renewed periodically and used, either directly or indirectly, for commercial purposes. This category also includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for electronic transactions,

No.	Sector	Description
		including the facilitation and/or mediation of goods and/or services through the internet and/or electronic devices and/or other electronic systems, for commercial purposes (i.e., profit), with activities including one, some, or all elements of electronic transactions (ordering, payment, shipment). It includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for commercial purposes and the facilitation and/or mediation of electronic transactions, including marketplace activities, digital advertising, and on-demand online services. It does not include the operation of financial technology, peer-to-peer lending technology (6495), or payment technology (6641).
8.	Advertising	This category includes various advertising services (both direct and subcontracted), including consultation, creation, production, planning, and acquisition services. Activities may include the creation and publication of advertisements in newspapers, magazines, and tabloids, as well as through radio, television, and internet media; the creation and publication of advertisements on billboards, posters, and other outdoor media; through flyers, periodicals, pamphlets, and brochures; exhibition spaces; automobile and bus advertisements; the sale of advertising time and space; aerial advertising; distribution and/or dissemination of advertising materials and examples; the provision of advertising space on billboards and other outdoor media; the creation of stands and other exhibition spaces; and the creation of marketing campaigns and other advertising services to attract and maintain client interest, including product promotion, point-of-sale marketing, direct mail, and marketing consultation.
9.	Meeting, incentive, convention, and exhibition (MICE) services	This category includes the preparation, promotion, and/or management of events, including meetings of persons (civil servants, businesspersons, academics, etc.). Also included in this category are the planning, preparation, and realization of incentive travel programs and business services of trade exhibitions, conventions, conferences, and meetings. Also known as MICE (meeting, incentive, convention, and exhibition).
10.	Special event services	This category includes activities related to the realization of special events that require dedicated preparation and planning, be they requested by clients as a means of realizing certain goals or undertaken by companies themselves; activities include concept development, planning, preparation, execution, and completion. Special events may include festivals, carnivals, sports events, music events, cultural events, personal events, etc.
11.	Education support services	This category includes the provision of recommendations and operation support to the education sector, including consulting, counseling, and guidance services, as well as test scoring and evaluation services

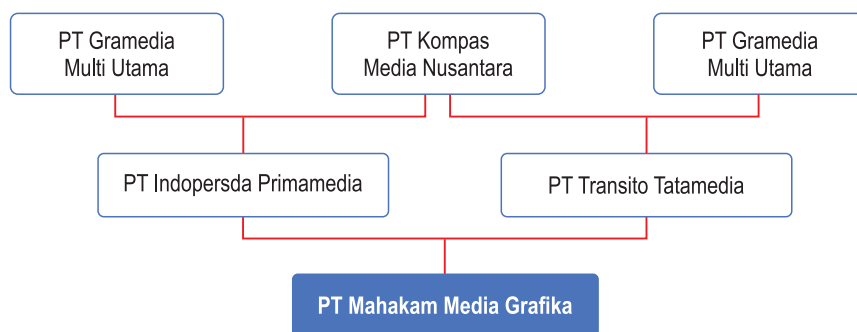
Source: Document AHU-0059889.AH.01.02, dated 2021

Based on Figure 4.2, PT Mahakam Media Grafika has combined horizontal, vertical, and diagonal approaches to ownership and diversification. The horizontal model is evident in the company's activities in the advertising sector. Meanwhile, the vertical

model is evident in the company’s involvement complementary activities—i.e., the wholesale of various printed and published materials, which includes the printing of books, magazines, newspapers, etc. Finally, the diagonal model is evident in the company’s involvement in activities such as educational support services; special event services; and the development of internet-based mercantile applications (e-commerce).

PT Mahakam Media Grafika is owned by two companies, PT Indopersda Primamedia and PT Transito Tatamedia. These, in turn, are owned by three other companies; see Figure 4.3 below.

Figure 4.4. Ownership Hierarchy, PT Mahakam Media Grafika (*Tribun Kaltim*)



Source: Based on the corporate profile registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights

According to the legal documents on file for PT Mahakam Media Grafika, *Tribun Kaltim* is owned and operated by the same persons involved in PT Indopersda Primamedia: Executive Director Febby Mahendra Putra and Commissioner Sentrijanto. Limited information is available on Febby Mahendra Putra; he is recorded only as the director of *Tribun Kaltim*. Meanwhile, Sentrijanto, was appointed Chief-Executive-Officer (CEO) of the *Tribun* Network in 2020 (Mykg.id., n.d). Digital records indicate that Sentrijanto previously served as Vice CEO of the Media Kompas Gramedia Group (Ponge, 2019) and as Vice Group Director of PT Indopersda Primamedia (LinkedIn, n.d.).

Below, the five companies that own PT Mahakam Media Grafika will be discussed in detail.

PT Indopersda Primamedia is the company responsible for Kompas Gramedia’s group of regional newspapers, all of which operate under the *Tribun* brand (Tribuneo.id). This company was established in 2005 and is headquartered in the Kompas Group of Regional Newspapers Building in Palmerah, Central Jakarta. Based on Document AHU-0010624.AH.01.02, dated 2022, PT Indopersda Primamedia is involved in the following sectors:

Figure 4.5. Business Activities of PT Indopersda Primamedia

No.	Sector	Description
1.	Wholesale of various print and publication products	This category includes the wholesale of print and publication products, including books, magazines, newspapers, etc.
2.	Wholesale of software	This category includes the wholesale of software.
3.	Wholesale of office and industrial processing equipment, spare parts, and accessories	This category includes the wholesale of office and industrial equipment, except for computers, as well as their accessories; this includes machines for processing woods and metals, as well as various machines used in industrial and office settings, such as processing/ production robots, computer-operated textile machines, and computer-operated knitting machines.
4.	Film, video, and television program production (government)	This category includes the creation and production of moving images, films, videos, animations, television programs for the government on a reciprocal basis, as well as the creation of films for television broadcast; the distribution of films; and the novelization of films. This category does not include the reduplication or reproduction of audio/video materials from master copies (18202) or animation post-production (5912).
5.	Commercial internet portal/digital platform	This category includes the operation of commercial websites that use search engines to produce and maintain large and easily accessible databases of internet addresses and content internet; the content is renewed periodically and used, either directly or indirectly, for commercial purposes. This category also includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for electronic transactions, including the facilitation and/or mediation of goods and/or services through the internet and/or electronic devices and/or other electronic systems, for commercial purposes (i.e., profit), with activities including one, some, or all elements of electronic transactions (ordering, payment, shipment). It includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for commercial purposes and the facilitation and/or mediation of electronic transactions, including marketplace activities, digital advertising, and on-demand online services. It does not include the operation of financial technology, peer-to-peer lending technology (6495), or payment technology (6641)
6.	Advertising	This category includes various advertising services (both direct and subcontracted), including consultation, creation, production, planning, and acquisition services. Activities may include the creation and publication of advertisements in newspapers, magazines, and tabloids, as well as through radio, television, and internet media; the creation and publication of advertisements on billboards, posters, and other outdoor media; through flyers, periodicals, pamphlets, and brochures; exhibition spaces; automobile and bus advertisements; the sale of advertising time and space; aerial advertising; distribution and/or dissemination of advertising materials and examples; the provision of advertising space on billboards and other outdoor media; the creation of stands and other exhibition spaces; and the creation of marketing campaigns and other advertising services to attract and maintain client interest, including product promotion, point-of-sale marketing, direct mail, and marketing consultation.

No.	Sector	Description
7.	Meeting, incentive, convention, and exhibition (MICE) services	This category includes the preparation, promotion, and/or management of events, including meetings of persons (civil servants, businesspersons, academics, etc.). Also included in this category are the planning, preparation, and realization of incentive travel programs and business services of trade exhibitions, conventions, conferences, and meetings. Also known as MICE (meeting, incentive, convention, and exhibition).
8.	Special event services	This category includes activities related to the realization of special events that require dedicated preparation and planning, be they requested by clients as a means of realizing certain goals or undertaken by companies themselves; activities include concept development, planning, preparation, execution, and completion. Special events may include festivals, carnivals, sports events, music events, cultural events, personal events, etc.

Source: Document AHU-0010624.AH.01.02, dated 2022

As seen in Figure 4.5, PT Indopersda Primamedia has combined the horizontal, vertical, and simultaneous models of ownership and diversification. The horizontal model is evident in the company's ownership of enterprises that support its main business activities, namely the wholesale of printed and published materials. The vertical model is evident in the publication of books, magazines, newspapers, etc. Finally, the diagonal model is evident in the company's involvement in such varied enterprises as providing meeting, incentive, convention, and exhibition (MICE) services; providing special event services; and the wholesale of software.

Next is PT Transito Tatamedia, a subsidiary of Kompas Gramedia. According to Document AHU-0074799.AH.01.02., dated 2019, the company is owned by two corporations and three individuals. PT Transito Tatamedia's corporate owners are PT Kompas Media Nusantara and PT Gramedia. The individual owners, meanwhile, are Antonius Irwan Oetama (the son of Jakob Oetama), Remigius Harli Ojong (the son of Petrus Kanisius Ojong), and Hari Susanto Surjotedjo. Remigius Harli Ojong is also identified on the registration documents of PT Indopersda Primamedia, and available data indicates that Hari Susanto Surjotedjo is the Director of PT Gramedia (Hutagaol, 2022) and holds shares in PT Transito Tatamedia.

The above-mentioned document shows that PT Transito Tatamedia is only involved in one field, management consulting. Figure 4.6 describes the sectors in which PT Transito Tatamedia is involved.

Figure 4.6. Business Activities of PT Transito Tatamedia

Sector	Description
Other management consulting activities	This category includes the provision of advice, guidance, and consulting services to support companies in their operational activities and resolution of organizational and managerial issues (such as strategy and organizational planning); financial decisions; marketing; human resource planning, practices, and policies; production planning, scheduling, and control. This also includes the provision of advice, guidance, and consulting services to support various management functions: management consulting by agronomists and agricultural economists in the field of agriculture, etc.; accounting methods, procedures, and programs; expenditure monitoring procedures; the provision of advice, guidance, and consulting services to improve the planning, organization, efficiency, and monitoring of information management, etc.

Source: Document AHU-0074799.AH.01.02, dated 2019

Looking at PT Transito Tatamedia’s business activities, it has employed a diagonal model of ownership and diversification by entering into new areas that support its media activities. Based on the above discussion, it may be concluded that PT Mahakam Media Grafika, PT Indopersda Primamedia, and PT Transito Tatamedia combine the horizontal, vertical, and diagonal models of ownership and diversification.

C. Political Affiliation

This section explores the affiliation of East Kalimantan’s media with the local political structure. Exploration of the local media’s political affiliation was conducted based on the legal documents of the five sampled media as well as interviews with representatives of three media (*Koran Kaltim*, *Tribun Kaltim*, and *Kaltim Kece*). The effects of this political affiliation were ascertained through a content analysis of two media, *Tribun Kaltim* and *Koran Kaltim*. These media were selected based on their significant audience penetration in East Kalimantan.

This review found that the political affiliation of the media in East Kalimantan falls into three categories: extreme, strong, and moderate. Extreme affiliation occurred when media owners and their families were involved in both media and political activities: they are shareholders, commissioners, and/or media directors, even as they chair political parties, contest/occupy seats in parliament, or advise the central/local government. Strong affiliation, meanwhile, occurs when media owners act simultaneously as commissioners and party administrators; parliamentary candidates/incumbents; and/or occupy a position in the central/local government. Finally, moderate affiliation occurs when media directors/executives are also party administrators, parliamentary candidates/incumbents; and/or employees of the central/local government.

1. Koran Kaltim

As discussed above, several of the persons involved in PT Media Bangun Bersama—as registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, through Document AHU-0028780.AH.01.02, dated 2022—have direct political affiliations. Desman Minang Endianto, the Executive Director of *Koran Kaltim*, was on the Board of Directors of the Democrats between 2017 and 2021, with the portfolio of Media and Press Affairs (Komisi Pemilihan Umum, n.d.). In the upcoming 2024 election, Desman Minang Endianto is contesting the Kutai Kartanegara parliament with the backing of the National Awakening Party (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa; PKB); he will be number four on the ballot (Sestiani, 2023). Meanwhile, the Executive Commissioner of *Koran Kaltim*, Khairudin, S.P. served as a member of the Kutai Kartanegara Parliament between 2009 and 2014 as part of the Golkar faction (DPRD Kutai Kartanegara, 2009). One 2017 article identified Khairudin, S.P., as chairing the Regional Representatives Council of East Kalimantan’s Youth Committee (Alamijaya, 2017). Finally, Commissioner Fajri Tridalaksana was a member of the team backing Golkar’s aspiring candidate in the Kukar Regency’s 2020 executive election (Bayong, 2020).

Referring to the three types of political affiliation described above, *Koran Kaltim* has leaned toward strong political affiliation. Such affiliation occurs when media owners and directors also serve as party administrators, parliamentary candidates/incumbents, and/or government officials. Unfortunately, no information was available online for recent years, and thus the researchers were unable to ascertain whether these individuals retained their political affiliations. The researchers only found that *Koran Kaltim*’s current director has registered as a candidate in the 2024 parliamentary election. If this is the company’s only political affiliation, then *Koran Kaltim* is currently showing moderate political affiliation.

2. Tribun Kaltim

A review of the individuals reported to Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, through Document AHU-0059889.AH.01.02 of 2021 suggests that the directors of PT Mahakam Media Grafika (*Tribun Kaltim*) did not find political affiliations. The researchers were unable to identify and links between Febby Mahendra Putra, Sentrijanto, and political parties; likewise, neither of these men had occupied a government position or parliamentary seat. Both, however, have clear involvement in other members of the Kompas Group; for instance, both Sentrijanto and Febby Mahendra Putra are associated with PT Indopersda Primamedia in its legal documents.

The other individuals associated with PT Indopersda Primamedia (Dahlan, Lilik Oetomo, and Remigius Harli Ojong) and PT Transito Tatamedia (Remigius Harli Ojong,

Antonius Irwan Oetama, and Hari Susanto Surjotedjo) likewise have not been found to have any political affiliations. The three executives of PT Mahakam Media Grafika (Remigius Harli Ojong, Antonius Irwan Oetama, and Lilik Oetomo) are descended from the founders of *Kompas*, namely Jakob Oetama and Petrus Kanisius Ojong; none, however, has shown indications of political affiliation. Likewise, there is no information available online that indicates whether Dahlan and Hari Susanto Surjotedjo have any political affiliations.

Although the researchers' analysis of *Tribun Kaltim's* registration documents was unable to find any political affiliations, interviews found some among individual journalists. In an interview with the researchers, Mohammad Fairoussaniy—a reporter with *Tribun Kaltim*—indicated that journalists frequently become personally associated with political figures. Such practices commonly result in media companies being accused of having political affiliations, due to their intensive coverage of specific actors; accusations of partisanship are particularly common during elections. Unlike structural affiliation, wherein media companies' leaders are directly linked with specific political actors, this occurs due to personal ties between journalists/media professionals and politicians. Due to these conditions, many journalists find it challenging to maintain their neutrality during elections. As mentioned by Mohammad Fairoussaniy:

“The challenge to *Tribun*, it's the requirement to be neutral [...] as reporters in the field, we're asked to remain neutral. With candidates contesting the parliamentary elections, of course we ask for information and create profiles. We focus on what programs they intend to implement after being elected, so that people know. We are asked to be truly neutral in our content, without being partisan to anyone, so that our information can be referenced or used as a source of information for others.” (Mohammad Fairoussaniy, interview, June 6, 2023).

Likewise, many journalists have put themselves forward as parliamentary candidates. This is dilemmatic; when journalists attempt to enter parliament, it creates potential conflicts of interest that could threaten the neutrality of news coverage.

Journalists' parliamentary candidacies were identified as problematic by Abdurrahman Amin (member of the Indonesian Journalists Association [PWI], East Kalimantan), Nofiyatul Chalimah (Chair of the Alliance of Independent Journalists [AJI], Samarinda Branch), and Muhammad Idris (member of the Indonesian Television Journalists Association [IITI], East Kalimantan). They emphasized the need for stricter regulations.

“In East Kalimantan, several PWI members have become regional executives or members of local parliament. In our organization, our rules are clear; if you enter

practical politics, you have to recuse yourself as a journalist and as a PWI member. Only recently PWI has reshuffled two administrators who have announced their candidacies.” (Abdurrahman Amin, FGD, July 7, 2023).

“If reporters want to contest an election, they’re welcome, but they’re asked to leave journalism as the two professions have a conflict of interest. In AJI, this rule is strictly enforced.” (Nofiyatul Chalimah, FGD, 7 Juli 2023).

“IJTI requires journalists who become political candidates to leave the profession. This must be verified by the General Elections Commission and the General Election Supervisory Agency through a letter that declares that the candidate has recused themselves from the field of journalism.” (Muhammad Idris, FGD, July 7, 2023).

Nevertheless, the requirement for media owners or journalists to recuse themselves has been established by professional associations. No such requirement has been set by the General Elections Commission at the local and national levels. This was mentioned by Mukhasan Ajib, a member of the General Elections Commission of East Kalimantan:

“Under the regulations of the General Elections Commission, journalists need not recuse themselves to become candidates. Only if they are administrators of other political parties, civil servants, soldiers, or police. For the media, there is no such requirement.” (Mukhasan Ajib, FGD, July 7, 2023).

Nofiyatul Chalimah identified security and journalistic capacity as the greatest problems faced by journalists when covering elections. According to Nofiyatul, partisanship is ultimately an issue of journalistic capacity, as in such instances journalists lack the strength to refuse coverage that does not reflect the ideals of journalism. Capacity is also necessary for journalists to read survey results.

“During election season, there are journalists who want to avoid partisanship. But if the media ecosystem or company requires them to be partisan, to employ a soft approach, or if—on the other hand—a journalist doesn’t favor anybody but takes a combative tone they may be assumed to be siding with that candidate’s political opinion... that is very common..” (Nofiyatul Chalimah, FGD, July 7, 2023).

The issues of security and safety are also highly complicated. Nofiyatul described how journalists may face subpoenas or legal action for their electoral coverage. Consequently, elections pose “challenging risks.”

Regarding the risks of political affiliation, Executive Director of *Koran Kaltim* Desman Minang Endianto indicated that the media attempts be balanced in its coverage, especially during elections.

“Let people say we’re associated with political parties; that’s a perception, perspective. But as long as we comply with applicable laws, well, I suppose that means we’re safe. We emphasize balance. To ensure that we don’t side with any one candidate, we need to accommodate everyone.” (Desman Minang Endianto, interview, June 6, 2023).

Based on the above data, it may be concluded that, although the directors and commissioners of *Tribun Kaltim* have no political affiliations, interviews indicate that individual journalists are close with members of the East Kalimantan government. Consequently, the company has weak political affiliations.

D. Implications of Political Affiliation

This section will analyze the influence of local media companies’ political affiliation with their news content. The researchers reviewed a sample of news stories published by *Koran Kaltim* and *Tribun Kaltim*. These companies were selected based on their structural differences; *Koran Kaltim* is an unaffiliated local newspaper, while *Tribun Kaltim* is part of the Tribun News Network and Kompas Gramedia.

In this section, the researchers will discuss local media outlets’ coverage of political issues such as elections and the planned construction of the new national capital. Although the political affiliation of local media may not have been found to directly influence news coverage, some partisan practices have been identified in the coverage of local politics in East Kalimantan.

Media partisanship can be measured using three variables: objectivity, factuality, and critical news coverage. Objective news refers to news coverage that avoids using excessive emotional framing, presents its arguments justly, and refrains from favoring any individual party. Factual news, meanwhile, refers to carefully referenced and verifiable news that accountably uses anonymous sources and presents all perspectives. Finally, news coverage is critical when it is skeptical in reporting politics.

The first media company discussed here is *Koran Kaltim*. In covering the 2019 election, *Koran Kaltim* leaned more toward incumbent candidate Joko Widodo and his running mate Ma’ruf Amin (Jokowi–Ma’ruf) than his opponent Prabowo Subianto/running mate Sandiaga Uno (Prabowo–Sandiaga). Content analysis began with the headlines. In its coverage of the 2019 presidential between September 26, 2018 and April 13, 2019, *Koran Kaltim* only used the keyword “Prabowo” five times in its headlines: twice in 2018 and thrice in 2019. In the same period, *Koran Kaltim* used the keyword “Jokowi” (a common nickname for Joko Widodo) in twenty-one headlines, seven in 2018 and fourteen in 2019. This shows disparity in the outlet’s coverage of the candidates.

Similar inequalities were found in *Koran Kaltim's* coverage of the support received by the individual presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Few stories reported the endorsements received by Prabowo–Sandiaga. Meanwhile, several stories covered the support received by Jokowi–Ma'ruf, including “Yenny Wahid Dukung Jokowi–Ma'ruf Amin” (“Yenny Wahid Endorses Jokowi–Ma'ruf Amin”, *Koran Kaltim*, 2018a), “JKSN Kaltim Klaim Suara Santri Bulat untuk Jokowi–Ma'ruf” (“JKSN Kaltim Claims All *Santri* Votes for Jokowi–Ma'ruf Amin”, *Koran Kaltim*, 2019b), and “Jelang Pilpres 2019, Jokowi Kumpulkan Kepala Daerah dan Caleg” (“Before the 2019 Election, Jokowi Gathers Regional Executives and Parliamentary Candidates”, *Koran Kaltim*, 2019a).

Reviewing these stories, only the coverage of Yenny Wahid's endorsement was objective, indicating that representatives of the parties backing Prabowo–Sandiaga had been reached for comment. Neither of the other two stories were objective, factual, or critical. This lack of objectivity is evident in the news stories' framing, as well as their use of a singular informant and espousal of arguments that solely promoted Jokowi–Ma'ruf. The use of only one informant meant that these stories were not factual, as they failed to provide responses or counterarguments from other sources. Finally, these stories were published without further investigation, and they thus failed to be critical in their coverage—even though several elements could have been investigated further, as per local regulations regarding endorsements in presential elections.

Analysis also found polarization in *Koran Kaltim's* coverage of the 2019 election. This can be seen in its hyperbolic language. For example, the article “Timses Jokowi Investigasi Pelanggaran Reuni 212” (“Jokowi Campaign Team Investigates Violations by the 212 Reunion”) describes the 212 Reunion—an annual rally of Islamist groups in commemoration of the December 2016 Jakarta protests—as “sangat aneh” (*Koran Kaltim*, 2018b). This phrase, which translates to “extremely weird”, is used as a journalistic expression to indicate that the Jokowi–Ma'ruf team had found evidence that the 212 Reunion had violated prohibitions against making comments along racial, religious, and communal lines.

The headline “Timses Jokowi Investigasi Pelanggaran Reuni 212” is also problematic, as it frames the story by taking only one side. It does not provide any space for counterargument, nor does it allow for the views of Prabowo–Sandiaga—the candidates supported by the 212 Reunion. In this manner, the media presents itself as partisan, supporting only Jokowi–Ma'ruf. A similar problem is identified in the headline “PDIP: Jokowi dan Prabowo Sahabat Baik” (“PDIP: Jokowi and Prabowo are Good Friends”, *Koran Kaltim*, 2018c), wherein the newspaper appears to confirm a statement made by only one party: PDI Perjuangan, one of the parties backing Jokowi–Ma'ruf. It did not include any responses from Prabowo–Sandiaga or their supporters. Neither of these news stories could be considered objective, due to their failure to

present comprehensive arguments. Likewise, neither article is critical due to the lack of skepticism warranted by political issues.

Based on the above content analysis, it is evident that *Koran Kaltim* tended to support Jokowi–Ma’ruf during the 2019 election. These candidates were backed by ten political parties, including PDI Perjuangan, Golkar, and PPP.

Coverage in *Tribun Kaltim* was slightly different. Between September 2018 and February 2019, a period that encompassed several months prior to the April election, most stories showed partisanship toward either Jokowi–Ma’ruf or Prabowo-Sandiaga. In other words, *Tribun Kaltim* was varied in its support; it did not back any single group.

In one story, titled “Bandingkan ‘Sontoloyo’ Jokowi dan Soekarno, Rocky Gerung: Dia Butuh 10 Pemuda Bukan Kakek–kakek” (“Comparing the ‘Sontoloyo’ of Jokowi and Soekarno, Rocky Gerung: He Needs Ten Youths, Not Grandfathers”, *Tribun Kaltim*, 2018), the newspaper wrote, “According to Rocky Gerung, Jokowi has been psychologically disturbed. This can be said, according to Rocky Gerung, in his uncontrolled use of language”⁷ (*Tribun Kaltim*, 2018). In this story, *Tribun Kaltim* echoes the aggressive attacks made by supporters of Prabowo–Sandiaga against Jokowi–Ma’ruf. Meanwhile, in a story titled “Sindir Prabowo, Jokowi: Belum Jadi Pemimpin Kok Sudah Pesimis” (“Mocking Prabowo, Jokowi: Not Yet a Leader, Already Pessimistic”, *Tribun Kaltim*, 2019), *Tribun Kaltim* quotes Jokowi as saying, “Not yet a leader, yet [you’re] already pessimistic. This great nation should be built with a great sense of optimism.”⁸ Through this story, *Tribun Kaltim* relayed the aggressive attacks made by Jokowi–Ma’ruf against Prabowo-Sandiaga.

Reviewing its coverage of the 2019 election, it is apparent that *Tribun Kaltim* presented stories with diverse perspectives and viewpoints. It attempted to present the arguments of both sides, albeit in separate articles. However, as its stories relied mostly on singular informants, the objectivity of this media platform was not readily apparent. One could only perceive *Tribun Kaltim*’s efforts to maintain objectivity after reading numerous stories. Readers who read only one story, conversely, would perceive *Tribun Kaltim* as partisan due to its failure to consult multiple sources, provide the arguments of both sides within the same story, and critically frame the information presented.

Meanwhile, reviewing coverage of Samarinda’s 2020 mayoral election, analysis of stories published between September 6 and December 5, 2020, identified only

⁷ “Menurut Rocky Gerung, psikologis Jokowi nyatanya kini telah terganggu. Hal itu terlihat dari penggunaan kata dari Jokowi menurut Rocky Gerung sudah tak bisa lagi dikontrol.”

⁸ “Belum jadi pemimpin kok sudah pesimis. Harusnya bangsa yang besar ini dibangun dengan rasa optimisme yang tinggi.”

six headlines that explicitly mentioned Andi Harun/AH, the Mayor of Samarinda for the 2021–2024 term. Two of the stories dealt with the same topic, a report filed by Andi Harun’s legal team against social media accounts that were disseminating false information. An equal number of stories mentioned Andi Harun’s opponent, Zairin Zain, in their headlines. There was thus no disparity in *Tribun Kaltim*’s coverage of the two candidates contesting the Samarinda mayoral election.

Nevertheless, *Tribun Kaltim* was not critical of the information it reported. This can be clearly seen in how *Tribun Kaltim* provided space for all informants to express their views or opinions. No claims were refuted or differing viewpoints were presented, at least in the same story; such tendencies are common in Indonesia’s online media. This is problematic, as readers are expected to consult several stories to obtain a comprehensive understanding of events—even though one story could easily accommodate everything.

Finally, in regards to the new national capital, no data were available as to the influence of political affiliation on coverage. In both *Koran Kaltim* and *Tribun Kaltim*, coverage of the new national capital focused primarily on infrastructure development. News stories were produced that reflected the interests of these outlets’ editors. For example, in an interview with the researchers, Desman indicated that *Koran Kaltim* sought to remain up-to-date on the most recent developments.

“When it comes to information on the new national capital, we always remain up-to-date. Like yesterday, if I’m not mistaken, the most recent news was that the capital was at 30% completion. We posted the update on our cover [...]” (Desman Minang Endianto, interview, June 6, 2023)

Desman’s answer is reflected in a story published by *Koran Kaltim* on January 31, 2023, titled “Kota Bontang Berpeluang jadi Penopang Sektor Industri di IKN Nusantara” (“Bontang has the Potential to Become the Industrial Center of the New National Capital”). In this story, *Koran Kaltim* quoted Seno Aji, the Deputy Speaker of the East Kalimantan Parliament, as promoting Bontang City as the backbone of industry in the new Indonesian capital.

Tribun Kaltim likewise covered the capital through references to various government officials throughout East Kalimantan, including regents, mayors, and the governor. One example can be seen in *Tribun Kaltim*’s story “5 Pesan Wali Kota Balikpapan Rahmad Masud di Hari Lebaran 2023, Soal Persatuan Jelang Tahun Politik” (“5 Messages from Mayor of Balikpapan on Eid ul-Fitr 2023, Regarding Unity in a Political Year”). In this story, *Tribun Kaltim* quotes Rahmad Masud as saying, “Especially given that Balikpapan will support the new national capital. As a consequence, Rahmad said, there will be a massive increase in population and non-infrastructure development. ‘This will affect

our comfort in Balikpapan. I hope that people will be patient and accept the situation.”⁹ This story was written with only one informant, the Mayor of Balikpapan, and thus was not comprehensive. Likewise, the reporter did not question the messages conveyed, giving the impression that coverage was less than critical.

Overall, exploration of *Koran Kaltim* and *Tribun Kaltim* through their legal documents and online media coverage shows indications that several owners and journalists are affiliated with the local government, parliament, and political parties. Such tendencies vary, from the weak to the strong, and emerge because journalists, directors, and shareholders are all affiliated (as shown by digital records) with practical politics. This affiliation may affect news production. For instance, the researchers have found a link between media owners’ proximity with political parties and their support for Jokowi–Ma’ruf during the 2019 presidential election—as reflected in their news coverage.

Analysis of available data also indicated that the horizontal and vertical models of media ownership and diversification are more prevalent in East Kalimantan. *Koran Kaltim* and *Tribun Kaltim* both employ a horizontal ownership model, in which they combine business activities in the same sector, and a vertical ownership model, in which they combine various upstream and downstream business activities. Furthermore, *Tribun Kaltim* is the only media outlet in East Kalimantan that combines the horizontal and vertical models of ownership with the diagonal model, as it has diversified into complementary sectors. Due to the limited availability of data, a consequence of most of the sampled media being closed corporations, the researchers have had difficulty investigating the subsidiaries of the companies discussed herein. Nevertheless, this study has provided a foundation for further research into media ownership in East Kalimantan, a province that is becoming increasingly prominent as the future home of Indonesia’s national capital.

⁹ Apalagi mengingat Balikpapan menjadi penyangga IKN Nusantara. Sebagai konsekuensinya, Rahmad membeberkan, terjadi lonjakan penduduk serta pembangunan non infrastruktur. ‘Sehingga berdampak pada kenyamanan kota Balikpapan. Saya berharap masyarakat dapat bersabar dan memaklumi situasi ini’”

**OWNERSHIP AND
POLITICAL AFFILIATION:
MEDIA IN SOUTH SULAWESI**

A. Introduction

South Sulawesi occupies a highly strategic location in eastern Indonesia, and its capital Makassar has long been viewed as the gateway to the eastern parts of the nation. This is true both in the political and media sectors.

Looking at its political map, South Sulawesi exhibits great complexity, which was only exacerbated by the mushrooming of new political parties during the *Reformasi* Era (Albintani, 2017). Political contestations since the fall of the New Order have seen the Golkar Party lose much of its power; in the 2019–2024 term, the party had only thirteen representatives in the South Sulawesi Parliament, some 15% of available seats (BPS Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan, 2023).

As for the local media, South Sulawesi is home to 69 media outlets that have been verified by the Press Council, consisting of 44 (63%) online media outlets, 13 print media outlets, and 13 television media outlets. A list of the online media is presented in Figure 5.1 below.

Figure 5.1. List of Online Media in South Sulawesi Accredited by the Press Council Per August 2023

No.	Media Name	Registrant	Editor-In-Chief	Legal Name
1.	herald.id	Alief Sappewali	Alief Sappewali	Herald Indonesia Media
2.	bonepos.com	A. Dedhy Sendhy	A. Dedhy Sendhy	Cipta Indomedia Mandiri
3.	beritabersatu.com	Asdar Palewai	Asdar Palewai	Alim Pratama Intermedia
4.	sulseleksespres.com	M. Yusdin	M. Yusdin	Megarezky Digital Publika
5.	bacapesan.com	Akbar	Akbar	Mahamu Utama Intermedia
6.	ujungjari.com	Fachruddin Palapa	Fachruddin Palapa	Ujung Jari Com
7.	abatanews.com	Dewi Yuliani	Dewi Yuliani	Abata Media Nusantara
8.	penarakyat.com	Jumardi	Jumardi	Fuma Nusantara Media
9.	koranseruya.com	Chaerul Baderu	Chaerul Baderu	Wisnu Aditya Intermedia Palopo
10.	halosulsel.com	Zaharuddin	Zaharuddin	PT Halo Media Grup
11.	beritanasional.id	Bakri Remmang	Bakri Remmang	Media Bakri Centre
12.	tekape.co	Indar Ismail Jamaluddin	Indar Ismail Jamaluddin	Tempat Kreatifitas Anak Muda Pore
13.	rakyat.news	M. Anwar Mahendra	M. Anwar Mahendra	Mata Grup Nusantara
14.	kabardesa.co.id	Jumardi	Jumardi	Media Kabar Desa
15.	infosulawesi.com	Yulhaidir Ibrahim H	Yulhaidir Ibrahim H	Solusindo Intermedia Sulawesi
16.	pesanku.co.id	Zaharuddin	Zaharuddin	Media Kahir Grup
17.	ritmee.co.id	Buyung Maksum	Buyung Maksum	Asa Mandiri Multimedia

No.	Media Name	Registrant	Editor-In-Chief	Legal Name
18.	okesulsel.com	Firmansyah	Firmansyah	Media Oke Sulsel
19.	teraskata.com	Asdar	Asdar	Rania Press Mediatama
20.	mediabahana.com	Moh. Supriyadi Syarifuddin	Moh. Supriyadi Syarifuddin	Media Bahana Indonesia
21.	lintascelebes.com	Moh. Supriyadi Syarifuddin	Moh. Supriyadi Syarifuddin	Media Lintas Celebes
22.	palopopos.co.id	Muh. Akbar	Muh. Akbar	Palopo Pos Media Syber
23.	wajoterkini.com	Bakri Remmang	Bakri Remmang	Media Wajo Terkini
24.	katasatu.co.id	Arisal	Arisal	Kata Satu Intermedia
25.	upeks.co.id	Syamsuddin Yoko	Syamsuddin Yoko	Portal Upeks Indonesia
26.	bukamatanews.id	Dewi Yuliani	Dewi Yuliani	Mata Asia Intermedia
27.	republiknews.co.id	Dahlan Abubakar	Dahlan Abubakar	Sinar Panorama Mandiri
28.	sulselsatu.com	Yulhaidir Ibrahim H	Yulhaidir Ibrahim H	Latama Media Satu
29.	jalurinfo.com	Muhammad Idris Hamid	Muhammad Idris Hamid	Jalur Info Nusantara
30.	mediasinergi.co	Ismail Asnawi	Ismail Asnawi	Media Sinergi Cyber
31.	pedoman.media	Zakarias Aris. B	Zakarias Aris. B	Media Rakyat Publik
32.	pijarnews.com	Dian Muhtadiah Hamna	Dian Muhtadiah Hamna	Pijar Media Global
33.	parepos.co.id	Ade Cahyadi	Ade Cahyadi	Ajatappareng Mega Media
34.	portalmedia.id	Muhammad Yusuf	Muhammad Yusuf	Portal Makassar Media
35.	rakysatsulsel.co	Lukman	Lukman	Media Rakyat Sulselbar
36.	fajar.co.id	Agus Salim Alwi Hamu	Rasid	Fajar National Network
37.	readtimes.id	Mahbub	Mahbub	Indonesia Data Kreatif
38.	terkini.id	Muhammad Yunus	Muhammad Yunus	Makassar Indomedia
39.	makassar.terkini.id	-	-	PT
40.	rakysatu.com	Ichsan Mahmud	Ichsan Mahmud	Lintas Media Sakti
41.	bugispos.com	Usdar Nawawi	Usdar Nawawi	Bugispos Tujua Utama
42.	rakyatku.com	Subhan	Subhan	PT Lintas Media Intermedia
43.	kabarmakassar.com	-	-	PT
44.	tribun-timur.com	Nur Thamzil Thahir	Nur Thamzil Thahir	PT Bosowa Media Grafika

Source: Compiled from <https://dewanpers.or.id/data/perusahaanpers>. Data for [Tribun-Timur.com](https://tribun-timur.com) collected from <https://makassar.tribunnews.com/redaksi/>, as said outlet is still under Press Council verification.

As shown by the above table, online media have a strong presence in South Sulawesi. As such, South Sulawesi's online media, including their political positions and affiliations, offer an interesting topic for research (Belekebun, 2015).

Of the registered online media in South Sulawesi, five have been selected as the object of this research. Three, Celebesmedia.id, Sulselsatu.com, and Jejakfakta.com, will be discussed in brief as the researchers only conducted an analysis of their legal documents and digital traces. The other two media, Fajar.co.id and Tribun-timur.com, will be explored in detail using data collected through analysis of legal documents, interviews, focus group discussions, content analysis, and literary review.

First, Celebesmedia.id is an online media outlet registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, under the name PT Celebes Media Olahraga; this information is also available on the company's official website. According to its legal documents, PT Celebes Media Olahraga has been known under three names: PT Bosowa Media Utama (per Document AHU-27212.AH.01.01 of 2010), PT Bosowa Media Olahraga (per Document AHU-0937852.AH.01.02 of 2015), and PT Celebes Media Olahraga (per Document AHU-0010218.AH.01.02 of 2018).

Shareholdership is divided between two individuals. The first, Sadikin Aksa, is recorded as holding 2,500 shares worth Rp 2,500,000,000; the second, Erwin Aksa, is recorded as holding 7,500 shares worth Rp 7,500,000,000.

According to Document AHU-AH.01.03-0143528, PT Celebes Media Olahraga is under the leadership of Commissioner Danang Hery Pramono and Director Andi Suruji. PT Celebes Media Olahraga is involved in the publication of newspapers, journals, magazines; private-sector television broadcasting and programming activities; internet service provision; internet protocol television (IPTV) services; and private-sector newsroom activities.

The second outlet, Sulselsatu.com, operates as part of PT Latama Media Satu, as recorded on its official website (<https://www.sulselsatu.com/redaksi>) and in data submitted to the Press Council (<https://dewanpers.or.id/data/perusahaanpers>). The researchers reviewed the website of the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights (ahu.go.id), but were unable to locate any of the company's legal documents. To overcome this obstacle, the researchers attempted to collect data by reviewing the company's digital traces.

According to the information published by Sulselsatu.com, its editorial structure consists of Yulhaidir Ibrahim (Editor-in-Chief); Asrul (Managing Editor); Sri Wahyu Diastuti and Jahir Majid (Editors); Muhammad Junaedi, Andi Fardi, Dedi Jentak, and Asriadi Rijal (Reporters); Andi (Video Editor); Warda Makkulau (Financial Manager); and Musdalifah S. (Advertising and Outreach).

Third, Jejakfakta.com is an online media outlet registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights as PT Jejak Fakta Kreasindo. As per Document AHU-0001407.AH.01.01, issued on January 9, 2023, it is involved in various activities: film, video, and television programming post-

production activities; non-commercial internet portal/digital platforms; commercial internet portal/digital platforms; and advertising.

The ownership and shareholdership of PT Jejak Fakta Kreasindo involves one corporation and several individuals. Based on its documents, the company is relatively new, and thus it has likely never experienced a change in ownership, shareholdership, or business activities. Per the registration document, Panorama Mediatama holds the vast majority of shares in PT Jejak Fakta Kreasindo: 375 shares, worth Rp 375,000,000. Individual shareholders include A. Widya Warsa and Ilham (25 shares each), as well as Nurdin Amir (75 shares). Although they are recorded as shareholders, none of these individuals are involved in the administration of the company. Suhardi Hamid occupies the position of Executive Director; Alem Febri Sonni and Muhammad Zakri Djamaluddin are identified as directors; and Hendra Sirajuddin serves as Commissioner.

This chapter now seeks to answer two questions: (1) to what extent have the media of South Sulawesi exhibited political affiliations in ownership and coverage?; and (2) What types of ownership are found used by media companies in South Sulawesi? These questions will be answered using the cases of Fajar.co.id and Tribun-timur.com, online media that were selected based on their popularity and prominence in South Sulawesi. Fajar.co.id is under the auspices of *Harian Fajar*, which is owned by H. M. Alwi Hamu, and has experienced rapid growth since its merger with the Jawa Pos Group. Indeed, *Harian Fajar* owns the largest local media group in South Sulawesi (Riza, Zaenal & Yusnita, 2016). Meanwhile, Tribun-timur.com is the online platform of *Tribun Timur*, a collaborative project established by Aksa Mahmud's Bosowa Group and the Kompas Gramedia Group (Riza, Zaenal & Yusnita, 2016).

For this case study, five data collection methods were used: interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), analysis of legal documents, analysis of news content, and a review of the literature. Face-to-face interviews were conducted between June 20th and 21st, 2023, with four informants, consisting of two of the companies' directors, one media observer, and one executive of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) Makassar. An additional online interview was conducted on October 19, 2023, with a *Tribun Timur* journalist. To ensure the anonymity of informants, they have been pseudonymized using codes when quoted.

An FGD was conducted online on July 7, 2023, with seven participants. Informants involved in this discussion included members of the Regional Information Commission of South Sulawesi; the South Sulawesi Ombudsman; the General Elections Commission, Makassar branch; the General Election Supervisory Agency; the Indonesian Cybermedia Association (ASMI), Makassar branch; and the Indonesian Broadcast Commission, Makassar Branch; as well as academics and practitioners. Again, to ensure the anonymity of informants, codes are used when referencing informants' statements.

The researchers also analyzed the legal documents of the companies associated with *Tribun Timur*: Bosowa Media Grafika, registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights through Document AHU-AH.01.03-0169923 (Dated: March 17, 2021) and Indopersda Primamedia, registered with Document AHU-0010624.AH.01.02 (Dated: February 11, 2022). Also retrieved was Document AHU-AH.01.09-0137870 (Dated: December 30, 2022), which details the Fajar National Network—under which Fajar.co.id operates.

Complementing the above data, the researchers analyzed seventeen news stories published by Fajar.co.id and twenty-one news stories published by *Tribun-timur.com*. These stories were selected thematically and dealt with three topics: the 2019 presidential election (September 23, 2018 through April 13, 2019); the 2024 presidential election (January 1 through May 1, 2023); and local politics/the corruption of public infrastructure funds in Makassar City (January 1, 2022, through May 1, 2023). These four topics were selected based on the political climate created in South Sulawesi by these specific cases. They were not strictly defined, but understood loosely to better illustrate the tendencies contained in media coverage of political topics.

A review of the literature was also conducted. The researchers collected various documents related to media ownership and political affiliation in South Sulawesi, including journal articles, research reports, parliamentary membership, candidacy information, and news coverage.

B. Typology of Media Ownership

Mapping media ownership in South Sulawesi is particularly challenging as no previous studies have been conducted. As mentioned by one FGD participant (EF, FGD, July 7, 2023).

“We also collect data on the media in South Sulawesi, be they print, cyber, or broadcast media, particularly those that have established contracts with the local governments in South Sulawesi. However, we also have difficulty identifying owners. If we look at the companies, they are quite varied, but if we try a bit we’ll surely find something. ‘Oh, these are the leaders. That means that it’s affiliated with some big group.’ Such information is apparent. So it is not impossible for us to map the oligopoly and present it to the public before the 2024 election. This will allow people to see for themselves where the power lies, so that they can monitor it.” (EF, FGD, 7 Juli 2023).

To overcome this challenge, the following section will map the ownership and business activities of Fajar.co.id and *Tribun-timur.com*.

1. Media Ownership

This section will use data from the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, to explore the ownership of Fajar.co.id and Tribun-timur.com. Supplemental data were collected from secondary sources, including journal articles, research reports, and news stories.

a. Fajar.co.id

Fajar.co.id is an internet news portal operated by *Koran Fajar*, commonly known as *Harian Fajar*, which began publication on December 17, 1996, under the auspices of PT Media Fajar Koran (Lenggawa, 2019). The Makassar-based *Koran Fajar* is the largest newspaper in eastern Indonesia.

According to Mukmin (2015), *Harian Fajar* traces its roots to the student publication activities of H. M. Alwi Hamu, who was associated with the Indonesian Students' Action Front (KAMI). Using a loan from his father, Haji Muhammad Syata, H. M. Alwi Hamu began publication of the newspaper in 1966. It was ordered closed by the government in 1970, and two years later H. M. Alwi Hamu established the magazine *Intim* in conjunction with Mattulasa, Rahman Arge, Husni Djamaluddin, and Arsal Alhabsi. Between 1978 and 1981, H. M. Alwi Hamu served as Deputy Executive Director of the newspaper *Tegas*. It is in 1981 that H. M. Alwi Hamu, working with his colleagues Harun Rasyid Djibe and Sinansari Encip, established *Harian Fajar*. Initially, he operated the newspaper with three other journalists (Abun Sanda, Aidir Amin Daud, and Hamid Awalludin), while financial and administrative matters were handled by Syamsu Nur. Over time, however, he became solely responsible for the newspaper, and he thus brought in the entrepreneurs Jusuf Kalla and Aksa Mahmud.

After it merged with the Jawa Pos Group, which was attempting to strengthen its holdings in Eastern Indonesia, in 1988, *Fajar Media* grew rapidly. Shares were divided between as follows: 41% for the Jawa Pos Group, 20% for *Harian Fajar* employees, and 39% for other owners (including Jusuf Kalla and Sinansari Encip) (Christiani, 2015). Jusuf Kalla occupied an important position in the company, even providing his own land for the development of office space as the company expanded (Mukmin, 2015). Meanwhile, before the merger Sinansari Encip had worked with Eric Samola to implement a program in which *Harian Fajar* journalists interned with the Jawa Pos Group; this program continued until the merger of the two companies was completed. Still under the leadership of Alwi Hamu, *Harian Fajar* became officially known as PT Fajar Group, and over time it became the largest local media outlet in South Sulawesi (Riza, Zaenal & Yusnita, 2016).

The merger of *Harian Fajar* and the Jawa Pos Group also enabled the company to expand its activities throughout South Sulawesi and into other territories (Suryawati & Irawan, 2022). The PT Fajar Group operates several newspapers, including *Berita Kota*

Makassar, Ujung Pandang Ekspres, Palopo Pos, and Kendari Pos. It has also established a television broadcaster, Fajar TV Makassar, and a radio broadcaster, Fajar FM 89.3 MHz Makassar. The company is also involved in the education sector, operating Universitas Fajar Makassar (previously the Makassar School of Communication Science) and the NITRO Business and Finance Institute. The PT Fajar Group has also diversified into non-media sectors such as transportation and agrobusiness.

To adapt to the digital revolution, *Harian Fajar* established the internet portal Fajar.co.id in 2009 (Suryawati & Irawan, 2022). However, it traces its roots further back, to 1996, when it was spearheaded by PT Media Fajar Koran—*Harian Fajar's* holding company. However, it was not yet fully operational, as it only reproduced stories that had been published in the print edition of *Harian Fajar*.

In April 2016, a year after Fajar.co.id opened its branch office in Jakarta, it took the name PT Fajar National Network, announced a new management structure, and officially positioned itself as a national news portal (Fajar.co.id, n.d.). Since then, it has been considered one of Indonesia's national digital media (Suryawati & Irawan, 2022). According to Document AHU-0027762.AH.01.01, PT Fajar National Network was established on June 8, 2016, as a closed corporation headquartered in Kebayoran Lama, Jakarta. At the time of its establishment, PT Fajar National Network had Rp. 2.5 billion in capital, with shares held by PT Media Fajar (60%), PT Fajar Perintis Usaha (20%), and PT Hamu Investama Corporindo (20%). In the years since, the company has shuffled its boards of directors and commissioners four times. Most recently, in Document AHU-AH.01.09-0137870, dated December 30, 2022, the current directors and commissioners are as follows:

Figure 5.2. Directors, Commissioners, and Shareholders of PT Fajar National Network Per December 30, 2022

No.	Name	Position	No. of Shares	Share Value (Rp)
1.	Andi Faisal Syam	Commissioner	-	-
2.	Arsyad Hakim, SS	Director	-	-
3.	Deniary Rachmad, SE	Commissioner	-	-
4.	Faisal Palapa, S.PD	Director	-	-
5.	Lili Dewi Candinegara, SS	Deputy Executive Commissioner	700	700,000,000
6.	Moh. Agus Salim	Executive Director	-	-
7.	Muhammad Ridwan Arif	Executive Commissioner	-	-
8.	PT Fajar Indonesia Corporindo	-	1,260	1,260,000,000
9.	PT Fajar Perintis Utama	-	560	560,000,000
10.	PT Hamu Investama Corporindo	-	560	560,000,000
11.	PT Media Fajar Koran	-	420	420,000,000
12.	Suwardi Thahir	Commissioner	-	-

Source: Document AHU-AH.01.09-0137870

As seen in Figure 5.2, the most recent data on PT Fajar National Network shows that it is owned by one individual and four companies: Lily Dewi Candinegara, SS (20%), PT Fajar Indonesia Corporindo (36%), PT Fajar Perintis Utama (16%), PT Hamu Investama Corporindo (16%), and PT Media Fajar Koran (12%).

According to data collected from the human resources page of the South Sulawesi provincial government, Lily Dewi Candinegara—who holds 20% of the shares in PT Fajar National Network—is also the Manager of General Affairs at PT Huadi Nickel Alloy Indonesia (Dinas Komunikasi Informatika, Statistik, dan Persandian Provinsi Sulawesi Selatan, n.d.). As for the network’s corporate owners, there is no information available on the companies, as none of them have an official website. However, it may be assumed that most of PT Fajar National Network’s owners are within the Jawa Pos Group’s networks. The involvement of Lily Dewi Candinegara is important, as it evidences a link between local entrepreneurs and the company’s ownership structure.

b. Tribun-timur.com

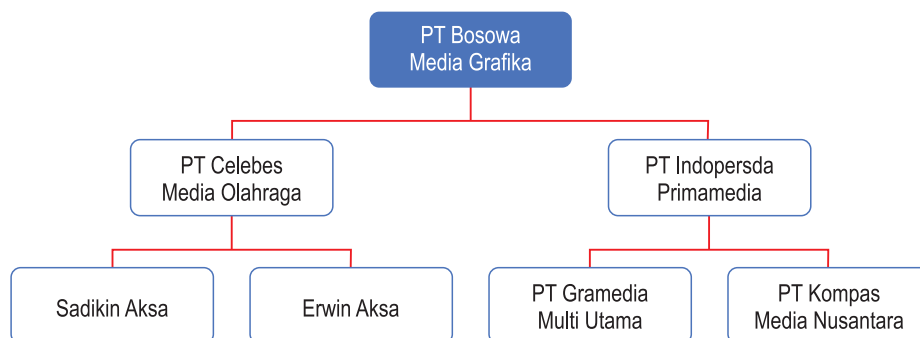
Tribun-timur.com is an online media company that can be accessed through <https://makassar.tribunnews.com/makassar>. According to the corporate data on file with the Press Council, *Tribun Timur* is one of thirteen print media in South Sulawesi (Dewan Pers, n.d.). According to an interview with a *Tribun Timur* journalist, the company’s online platform is still in the process of being verified by the Press Council (SE, interview, October 19, 2023)

The print edition of *Tribun Timur* was first published on National Press Day—February 9, 2004 (Sucipto, Patahuddin, & Ridha, 2018). However, the process began in 2003, when Aksa Mahmud—a journalist and entrepreneur who had previously established PT Bosowa Media Grafika—recognized the business potential of creating a new print media company in Makassar (Sucipto, Patahuddin, & Ridha, 2018). His desire to establish a print media company in Makassar was received well by like-minded individuals such as Jusuf Kalla, his brother-in-law. Jusuf Kalla asked the Jakarta-based Kompas Gramedia Group to establish a local newspaper in Makassar (Sucipto, Patahuddin, & Ridha, 2018). Once an agreement was reached between Aksa Mahmud, representing the Bosowa Group, and Jakob Oetama, representing Kompas Gramedia, *Tribun Timur* was officially born.

As such, *Tribun Timur* is part of the *Tribun* network—a loose affiliation of local news outlets published by the Kompas Gramedia group (Nainggolan, 2017; Simamora, 2016; Nugroho, Putri, & Laksmi, 2013). Over time, *Tribun Timur* began to work with *Tribunnews.com* to develop the online news portal *TribunMakassar.com*, also known as *Tribun-timur.com* (Sucipto, Patahuddin, & Ridha, 2018). According to Aminah (2023), *Tribun-timur.com* began operations in 2006.

The association of these companies is recorded in their legal documents. *Tribun Timur* is operated by PT Indopersda Primamedia and published by Kompas Gramedia in conjunction with Bosowa Media Grafika; ownership is divided evenly between PT Celebes Media Olahraga (a South Sulawesi-based company) and PT Indopersda Primamedia (a national company). PT Celebes Media Olahraga is owned by two shareholders, Sadikin Aksa and Erwin Aksa. PT Indopersda Primamedia, meanwhile, is owned by two corporations: PT Gramedia Multi Utama and PT Kompas Media Nusantara.

Figure 5.3. Media Ownership Structure, *Tribun Timur*



Source: Compiled by researchers from legal documents

This study’s analysis of ownership and diversification will focus on three companies: PT Bosowa Media Grafika, PT Celebes Media Olahraga, and PT Indopersda Primamedia.

First, PT Bosowa Media Grafika is a closed corporation whose owners and shareholders are presented in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4. Directors, Commissioners, and Shareholders of Bosowa Media Grafika Per March 17, 2021

No.	Name	Position	No. of Shares	Share Value (Rp)
1.	Andi Suruji	Director	-	-
2.	Dahlan	Executive Director	-	-
3.	Danang Hery Pramono	Commissioner	-	-
4.	Drs. Sentrijanto	Commissioner	-	-
5.	Hadrianus Tjiptyantoro	Director	-	-
6.	PT Celebes Media Olahraga	-	5,000	5,000,000,000
7.	PT Indopersda Primamedia	-	5,000	5,000,000,000
8.	Sadikin Aksa	Executive Commissioner	-	-

Source: Document AHU-AH.01.03-01 69923, dated March 17, 2021

Second, PT Celebes Media Olahraga is a closed corporation owned by two individuals, the South Sulawesi-based entrepreneurs Sadikin Aksa and Erwin Aksa.

Figure 5.5. Directors, Commissioners, and Shareholders of Celebes Media Olahraga Per March 4, 2021

No.	Name	Position	No. of Shares	Share Value (Rp)
1.	Danang Hery Pramono	Commissioner	-	-
2.	Sadikin Aksa	-	2,500	2,500,000,000
3.	Erwin Aksa	-	7,500	7,500,000,000
4.	Andi Suruji	Director	-	-

Source: Document AHU-AH.01.03-0143528, dated March 5, 2021

Based on the above two figures, it is evident that PT Bosowa Media Grafika dan PT Celebes Media Olahraga share several directors and commissioners. For example, Danang Hery Pramono is recorded as a commissioner of both companies, while Andi Suruji holds the position of director. Referring to ownership, it is evident that PT Celebes Media Olahraga is owned by two individuals: Sadikin Aksa, also the Executive Commissioner of PT Bosowa Media Grafika, holds 25% of shares, while Erwin Aksa holds 75% of shares. These shareholders are the children of Aksa Mahmud, the founder and owner of the Bosowa Group. The ownership of this media, thus, remains within a single family.

Meanwhile, a review of Document AHU-AH.01.03-0404266, dated November 4, 2020, provided the following ownership and administrative structure for PT Indopersda Primamedia:

Figure 5.6. Directors, Commissioners, and Shareholders of PT Indopersda Primamedia Per November 4, 2020

No.	Name	Position	No. of Shares	Share Value (Rp)
1.	Dahlan	Executive Director	-	-
2.	Doktorandus Setrijanto	Commissioner	-	-
3.	Febby Mahendra Putra	Director	-	-
4.	Lilieket Oetomo	Executive Commissioner	-	-
5.	PT Gramedia Multi Utama	-	1,320	1,320,000,000
6.	PT Kompas Media Nusantara	-	108,680	108,680,000,000
7.	Remigius Harli Oyong	Commissioner	-	-

Source: Document AHU-AH.01.03-0404266, dated November 4, 2020.

Figure 5.6 shows that the vast majority (98.8%) of shares in PT Indopersda Primadia are owned by PT Kompas Media Nusantara, with the remaining 1.2% of shares held by PT Gramedia Multi Utama. Both companies are part of the Kompas Gramedia Group, which is headquartered in Jakarta.

2. Business Diversification

This section discusses the diversification efforts undertaken by Fajar.co.id and Tribun-timur.com, highlighting the business sectors in which they are involved as well as their use of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal models.

a. Fajar.co.id

Referring to Document AHU-0042977.AH.01.02, issued in 2020, the Fajar National Network has employed a vertical diversification model, seeking to expand its operations to include upstream and downstream media activities. It is involved in seven sectors, as seen in Figure 5.7 below:

Figure 5.7. Business Diversification, PT Fajar National Network

No.	Sector	Description
1.	Commercial internet portal/digital platform	This category includes the operation of commercial websites that use search engines to produce and maintain large and easily accessible databases of internet addresses and content internet; the content is renewed periodically and used, either directly or indirectly, for commercial purposes. This category also includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for electronic transactions, including the facilitation and/or mediation of goods and/or services through the internet and/or electronic devices and/or other electronic systems, for commercial purposes (i.e., profit), with activities including one, some, or all elements of electronic transactions (ordering, payment, shipment). It includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for commercial purposes and the facilitation and/or mediation of electronic transactions, including marketplace activities, digital advertising, and on-demand online services. It does not include the operation of financial technology, peer-to-peer lending technology (6495), or payment technology (6641).
2.	Private-sector newsroom activities	This category includes the collation and dissemination of news content through print or electronic media, with the intent of conveying information to the general public.
3.	General printing services	This category includes the printing of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals (tabloids, journals), as well as pamphlets, books, brochures, sheet music, maps, atlases, posters, catalogs, advertising materials, journals, calendars, and forms; it also includes offsetting, flexography, photogravure, embossing, and photocopying; direct printing on textiles, plastics, glass, metals, wood, and ceramics; and the printing of labels/marks (lithography, gravestones, etc.). The category includes the reproduction of materials using computers, stencils, etc. Such activities often involve copyrights. Included in this category is the printing of labels and cardboard boxes, included in category 17099.

No.	Sector	Description
4.	Specialized printing services	This category includes the printing of postage stamps, tax/excise stamps, and other protected documents; checks, money, stocks, certificates, bonds, share certificates, and other valuable documents; passports; airplane tickets; and other specialized documents.
5.	Newspaper, journal, and bulletin/magazine publication	This category includes the publication of newspapers, advertisements, journals, bulletins, general and technical magazines, and comics; it also includes the publication of radio and television schedules. Such information may be published using print or electronic media, including on the internet.
6.	Other publication activities	This category includes the printing of photographs, graphic art, postcards, forms, posters, art reproductions, and other print materials. It also includes the publication of statistics and other information on the internet and/or using microfilm.
7.	Other information services	This category includes the provision of other information services that cannot be classified elsewhere, including telephone-based information services; reciprocal/contract-based information retrieval services, news clipping services; etc. This includes the provision of content.

Source: Corporate profile of PT Fajar National Network, registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights

Initially, the Jawa Pos Group-affiliated Fajar National Network focused on media activities. Over time, however, it has become involved in other fields.

According to the data presented above, the Fajar National Network has combined the horizontal and vertical models of ownership. Horizontally, it has become involved in various aspects of the print media industry, including the publication of newspapers, journals, bulletins, and magazines. Meanwhile, vertical diversification is evidenced in the Fajar National Network's involvement in internet portals, newsroom activities, printing services (general and specialized), and digital platforms.

Meanwhile, as part of the Jawa Pos Group, the Fajar National Network may be classified as a diversified communications conglomerate, a media conglomerate that has become involved in other activities (Nainggolan, 2017).

b. Tribun-timur.com

According to the researchers' analysis of legal documents, *Tribun Timur* is owned by two companies, PT Bosowa Media Grafika and PT Indopersda Primamedia.

PT Bosowa Media Grafika, commonly abbreviated Bosowa, was established as a closed company in 2003 through Document C-28530 HT.01.01.TH.2003. This document identified it as a press company that operated a newsroom and published periodicals such as daily newspapers, tabloids, and magazines. Through 2021, as seen in Document AHU-0053868.AH.01.02, issued in 2021, Bosowa has embraced a diagonal model of diversification. It is currently involved in ten sectors, as seen in Figure 5.8.

Figure 5.8. Business Diversification, PT Bosowa Media Grafika

No.	Sector	Description
1.	General printing services	This category includes the printing of newspapers, magazines, and other periodicals (tabloids, journals), as well as pamphlets, books, brochures, sheet music, maps, atlases, posters, catalogs, advertising materials, journals, calendars, and forms; it also includes offsetting, flexography, photogravure, embossing, and photocopying; direct printing on textiles, plastics, glass, metals, wood, and ceramics; and the printing of labels/marks (lithography, gravestones, etc.). The category includes the reproduction of materials using computers, stencils, etc. Such activities often involve copyrights. Included in this category is the printing of labels and cardboard boxes, included in category 17099.
2.	Wholesale of various print and publication products	This category includes the wholesale of print and publication products, including books, magazines, newspapers, etc.
3.	Newspaper, journal, and bulletin/magazine publication	This category includes the publication of newspapers, advertisements, journals, bulletins, general and technical magazines, and comics; it also includes the publication of radio and television schedules. Such information may be published using print or electronic media, including on the internet.
4.	Other media services	This category includes multimedia services not covered in category 61921 through 61924.
5.	Development of internet-based mercantile applications (e-commerce)	This category includes the development of internet-based mercantile applications (e-commerce); activities may include consultation, analysis, and the programming of internet-based applications for commercial purposes.
6.	Commercial internet portal/digital platform	This category includes the operation of commercial websites that use search engines to produce and maintain large and easily accessible databases of internet addresses and content internet; the content is renewed periodically and used, either directly or indirectly, for commercial purposes. This category also includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for electronic transactions, including the facilitation and/or mediation of goods and/or services through the internet and/or electronic devices and/or other electronic systems, for commercial purposes (i.e., profit), with activities including one, some, or all elements of electronic transactions (ordering, payment, shipment). It includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for commercial purposes and the facilitation and/or mediation of electronic transactions, including marketplace activities, digital advertising, and on-demand online services. It does not include the operation of financial technology, peer-to-peer lending technology (6495), or payment technology (6641).
7.	Advertising	This category includes various advertising services (both direct and subcontracted), including consultation, creation, production, planning, and acquisition services. Activities may include the creation and publication of advertisements in newspapers, magazines, and tabloids, as well as through radio, television, and internet media; the creation and publication of advertisements on billboards, posters, and other outdoor

No.	Sector	Description
		media; through flyers, periodicals, pamphlets, and brochures; exhibition spaces; automobile and bus advertisements; the sale of advertising time and space; aerial advertising; distribution and/or dissemination of advertising materials and examples; the provision of advertising space on billboards and other outdoor media; the creation of stands and other exhibition spaces; and the creation of marketing campaigns and other advertising services to attract and maintain client interest, including product promotion, point-of-sale marketing, direct mail, and marketing consultation.
8.	Meeting, incentive, convention, and exhibition (MICE) services	This category includes the preparation, promotion, and/or management of events, including meetings of persons (civil servants, businesspersons, academics, etc.). Also included in this category are the planning, preparation, and realization of incentive travel programs and business services of trade exhibitions, conventions, conferences, and meetings. Also known as MICE (meeting, incentive, convention, and exhibition).
9.	Special event services	This category includes activities related to the realization of special events that require dedicated preparation and planning, be they requested by clients as a means of realizing certain goals or undertaken by companies themselves; activities include concept development, planning, preparation, execution, and completion. Special events may include festivals, carnivals, sports events, music events, cultural events, personal events, etc.
10.	Education support services	This category includes the provision of recommendations and operation support to the education sector, including consulting, counseling, and guidance services, as well as test scoring and evaluation services

Source: Profile of PT Bosowa Media Grafika, registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights

As seen in this figure, PT Bosowa Media Grafika has combined three models of diversification: horizontal, vertical, and diagonal. Horizontally, it can be seen that the company has become involved in such aspects of print media as the publication of newspapers, journals, bulletins, and magazines. Meanwhile, the vertical and diagonal models are evident in PT Bosowa Media Grafika's involvement in complementary activities such as providing digital platforms as well as advertising, special event, and education support services.

What about the companies behind PT Bosowa Media Grafika? The following section will deal with the diversification activities of PT Celebes Media Olahraga and PT Indopersda Primamedia.

Figure 5.9 presents the diversification activities of PT Celebes Media Olahraga.

Figure 5.9. Business Diversification, PT Celebes Media Olahraga

No.	Sector	Description
1.	Newspaper, journal, and bulletin/magazine publication	This category includes the publication of newspapers, advertisements, journals, bulletins, general and technical magazines, and comics; it also includes the publication of radio and television schedules. Such information may be published using print or electronic media, including on the internet.
2.	Private-sector television broadcasting and programming services	This category includes activities involved in the private-operations of private-sector broadcasting and television relay stations, including the production of television programming, be it licensed programming (films, documentaries, etc.), directly produced programming (local news, direct reports), or a combination thereof; on-demand video programming; and broadcasting data integrated into television programming. Television programming may be broadcast directly or distributed by a third party, such as a cable company or satellite television provider. Programming may be general interest or specialized (for instance, using limited formats such as news programs, sports, education, or children’s television), and may be made available freely or on a subscription basis. The reciprocal (fee-based) or contract-based broadcasting of radio and television signals, either directly or via relay stations, is categorized as 61933.
3.	Internet Service Provider	This category includes the provision of services that enable customers to access the internet; also known as internet gateways.
4.	Internet Protocol Television (IPTV) services	This category includes the provision of convergent access to radio, television, audio, visual, text, graphics, and data elements by internet protocol, which ensures the quality, security, reliability, and interactivity of communication services.
5.	Private-sector newsroom activities	This category includes the collation and dissemination of news content through print or electronic media, with the intent of conveying information to the general public.

Source: Profile of PT Celebes Media, registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights

Based on its various activities, PT Celebes Media Olahraga has exhibited the horizontal and diagonal models of expansion and ownership. Its horizontal diversification is evident in its various activities in the print sector, i.e., the publication of newspapers, journals, bulletins, and magazines. Meanwhile, its diagonal diversification can be seen in its expansion into sectors that support its media activities, such as its provision of internet services.

Meanwhile, according to Document AHU-0010624.AH.01.02, PT Indopersda Primamedia is involved in eight sectors.

Figure 5.10. Business Diversification, PT Indopersda Primamedia

No.	Sector	Description
1.	Wholesale of various print and publication products	This category includes the wholesale of print and publication products, including books, magazines, newspapers, etc.
2.	Wholesale of software	This category includes the wholesale of software.

No.	Sector	Description
3.	Wholesale of office and industrial processing equipment, spare parts, and accessories	This category includes the wholesale of office and industrial equipment, except for computers, as well as their accessories; this includes machines for processing woods and metals, as well as various machines used in industrial and office settings, such as processing/ production robots, computer-operated textile machines, and computer-operated knitting machines.
4.	Film, video, and television program production (government)	This category includes the creation and production of moving images, films, videos, animations, television programs for the government on a reciprocal basis, as well as the creation of films for television broadcast; the distribution of films; and the novelization of films. This category does not include the reduplication or reproduction of audio/video materials from master copies (18202) or animation post-production (5912).
5.	Commercial internet portal/digital platform	This category includes the operation of commercial websites that use search engines to produce and maintain large and easily accessible databases of internet addresses and content internet; the content is renewed periodically and used, either directly or indirectly, for commercial purposes. This category also includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for electronic transactions, including the facilitation and/or mediation of goods and/or services through the internet and/or electronic devices and/or other electronic systems, for commercial purposes (i.e., profit), with activities including one, some, or all elements of electronic transactions (ordering, payment, shipment). It includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for commercial purposes and the facilitation and/or mediation of electronic transactions, including marketplace activities, digital advertising, and on-demand online services. It does not include the operation of financial technology, peer-to-peer lending technology (6495), or payment technology (6641).
6.	Advertising	This category includes various advertising services (both direct and subcontracted), including consultation, creation, production, planning, and acquisition services. Activities may include the creation and publication of advertisements in newspapers, magazines, and tabloids, as well as through radio, television, and internet media; the creation and publication of advertisements on billboards, posters, and other outdoor media; through flyers, periodicals, pamphlets, and brochures; exhibition spaces; automobile and bus advertisements; the sale of advertising time and space; aerial advertising; distribution and/or dissemination of advertising materials and examples; the provision of advertising space on billboards and other outdoor media; the creation of stands and other exhibition spaces; and the creation of marketing campaigns and other advertising services to attract and maintain client interest, including product promotion, point-of-sale marketing, direct mail, and marketing consultation.
7.	Meeting, incentive, convention, and exhibition (MICE) services	This category includes the preparation, promotion, and/or management of events, including meetings of persons (civil servants, businesspersons, academics, etc.). Also included in this category are the planning, preparation, and realization of incentive travel programs and business services of trade exhibitions, conventions, conferences, and meetings. Also known as MICE (meeting, incentive, convention, and exhibition).

No.	Sector	Description
8.	Special event services	This category includes activities related to the realization of special events that require dedicated preparation and planning, be they requested by clients as a means of realizing certain goals or undertaken by companies themselves; activities include concept development, planning, preparation, execution, and completion. Special events may include festivals, carnivals, sports events, music events, cultural events, personal events, etc.

Source: Profile of PT Indopersda Primamedia, registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights

Based on the above data, PT Indopersda Primamedia has employed three models of diversification: vertical, horizontal, and diagonal. The vertical diversification of the company can be seen in its involvement in various print media activities. The horizontal model can be seen in the company’s expansion into relevant sectors, including film, video, and television program production; internet portals; and advertising. Finally, diagonal diversification is evident in PT Indopersda Primamedia’s expansion into the software, MICE, and special events sector.

As with its parent company, the Kompas Gramedia Group, PT Indopersda Primamedia began as a media company before expanding into other sectors. Indeed, the Kompas Gramedia Group—which began in 1963 with *Intisari* magazine, followed by the newspaper *Kompas* in 1965—is best categorized as a diversified communications conglomerate, a media conglomerate that has expanded into other sectors (Nainggolan, 2017).

C. Political Affiliation

In examining the political affiliation of Fajar.co.id and Tribun-timur.com, this chapter uses four categories of media affiliation: extreme, strong, medium, and weak. Extreme political affiliation refers to a situation wherein media owners or their families occupy a position in the government, parliament, or political party; for example, this may involve the director or commissioner of a media company chairing a political party, contesting a parliamentary seat, or seeking an executive position at the local/national level. Strong political affiliation refers to a situation in which media owners or their families occupy a position of power, albeit one of less power than in extreme cases; for example, this may involve the director or commissioner of a media company serving an executive position in a political party, parliament, or government. Medium political affiliation occurs when members of the board of directors/commissioners simultaneously act as political party administrators, members of parliament, or local/national government executives. Finally, weak political affiliation occurs when journalists become involved in political

parties and campaign teams or contest parliamentary/government seats themselves. Based on these categories, this study finds that both Fajar.co.id and Tribun-timur.com may be categorized as having weak political affiliations. These are discussed in detail below.

1. Fajar.co.id

Based on a review of various documents, Fajar.co.id may be seen as having weak political affiliation. This is evidenced by the fact that, of the company's directors and commissioners, only one has been involved with the government, parliament, or a political party—and that has been limited. This individual is Deniary Rachmah, also known as Deniary R. Alwi Hamu, who has been associated with several political parties. Deniary contested South Sulawesi's 2004 parliamentary election with the backing of PPP; ten years later, with the support of the Gerindra Party, he sought election to the House of Representatives (South Sulawesi 1 Constituency) in the 2014 parliamentary election; he was unsuccessful in both bids. Deniary, who is currently a commissioner with PT Fajar National Network, also considered contesting the 2020 Makassar mayoral election with the backing of Gerindra, but ultimately did not run (Macca News, 2019).

One informant, an editor of political news at Fajar.co.id, indicated that Deniary R. Alwi Hamu had previously intervened to prevent negative coverage of Prabowo Subianto.

“Regarding the media owners’ intervention during editorial meetings, in my experience, it might be as rare as once a month or once every six months. Executive Director Deniary Alwi Hamu is a politician with the Gerindra Party, [and so] his intervention was to curtail any negative tones in the coverage of Prabowo,” (M, online interview, June 20, 2023).

Although this intervention directly affected the editorship, Fajar.co.id is still identified as having weak political affiliation, as Deniary R. Alwi Hamu is neither a government official nor a member of a political party's executive body.

Looking further, although he is not registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, as occupying an official position within PT Fajar National Network, H. M. Alwi Hamu—the father of Deniary R. Alwi Hamu—is nonetheless one of the founders and owners of *Harian Fajar*. He likewise lacks any strong ties with politics. H. M. Alwi Hamu chairs the Fajar Group, the holding company under which *Harian Fajar* operates together with such publications as *Ujung Pandang Ekspres*, *Berita Kota Makassar*, *Timor Ekspres*, *Ambon Ekspres*, *Kendari Ekspres*, *Kendari Pos*, *Radar Buton*, *Radar Bone*, *Radar Sulbar*, *Palopo Pos*, *Pare Pos*, and *Radar Bulukumba*.

Over the course of his career, H. M. Alwi Hamu has served as the chair of the Press Company Union (Serikat Perusahaan Pers, SPS) and as a special staff member of Jusuf Kalla during his two terms (2004–2009, 2014–2019) as Indonesia’s vice-president (Hasanuddin, 2015; Assifa, 2019; JPNN, 2019). Other members of Hamu’s family occupy positions and commissioners and directors of PT Fajar National Network, including his son H. M. Agus Salim (also known as H.M. Agus Salim Alwi Hamu)—the executive director of PT Fajar National Network. However, none of them have been found to be politically affiliated with government officials, legislators, or political parties.

2. **Tribun-timur.com**

The political affiliation of *Tribun-timur.com* may be categorized as *weak* because none of the commissioners or directors of *Tribun Timur*’s shareholders—PT Bosowa Media Grafika and PT Celebes Media Olahraga—have been found to be politically affiliated with government officials, legislators, or political parties. Meanwhile, PT Indopersda Primamedia was not found to have political affiliations. Using digital resources, the authors identified several commissioners/directors with potential political affiliations.

Haji Muslim Salam, identified in the registration document as Muslim Salam, served as the director of PT Bosowa Media Grafika in 2009. With the backing of the Nasdem Party, he contested the 2019 South Sulawesi parliamentary election, but was not elected (Sulsel.kpu.go.id, 2019).

In 2003, Sjamsul Kahar was recorded as one of PT Bosowa Media Grafika’s commissioners. At the time of writing, his son Nezar Patria is serving as Deputy Minister of Communication and Informatics of the Republic of Indonesia (Magfirah, 2023).

Next, Haji Maddo Pammusu has been recorded variously as a director and commissioner of *Tribun Timur* (as per registration documents from 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, and 2016). He is a member of the Gerindra Party’s local executive in South Sulawesi (Mappanganro, 2017). Maddo previously served as the deputy treasurer of the Golkar Party, South Sulawesi, under the leadership of Syahrul Yasin Limpo (Sugiyarto, 2014). In 2018, he was proposed by PPP elites as a potential candidate for regent in the Jenepono local election (Emba, 2017).

In 2016, Munafri Arifuddin was recorded as the Executive Commissioner of PT Bosowa Media Grafika. During Makassar’s 2018 mayoral election, Munafri was the Golkar Party’s candidate for deputy mayor; however, his bid was unsuccessful (Ikbal, 2023).

Sadikin Aksa is the son of Muhammad Aksa Mahmud, the founder of the Bosowa Group. His mother, Ramlah Kalla, is Jusuf Kalla’s younger sister; consequently, Sadikin is the former vice president’s nephew. He was recorded as one of the group’s commissioners in 2003, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2018, 2019, and 2021. Sadikin Aksa also holds a 25% share in PT Celebes Media Olahraga. In 2021, Sadikin Aksa was accused

of corruption and became the subject of a criminal investigation; the investigation was ultimately terminated (Maharani & Rastika, 2021).

Erwin Aksa, the son of Aksa Mahmud and brother of Sadikin Aksa, was recorded as the company's executive director in 2003, 2006, and 2008; he is also the nephew of Jusuf Kalla. Erwin Aksa holds a 75% share of PT Celebes Media Olahraga. EA, as he is known among his peers, served as the Deputy Treasurer of the Golkar Party between 2009 and 2014. Between 2014 and 2020, he was a member of the Central Leadership Council of the Golkar Party, responsible for cooperatives and small/medium enterprises; as of writing, he handles the party's strategic fundraising (Partai Golkar, 2023). Between 2008 and 2011, Erwin Aksa served as General Chair of the Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association's Office of Planning and Development (Kompas.com, 2008).

PT Fajar National Network's political affiliation is evident through Muhammad Aksa Mahmud, the father of Executive Commissioner Sadikin Aksa and brother-in-law to Jusuf Kalla. He served as a member of the Regional Delegates Faction of the People's Consultative Assembly of Indonesia between 1999 and 2004. An entrepreneur with projects spread throughout eastern Indonesia and West Java, Muhammad Aksa Mahmud received the most votes to represent South Sulawesi in the Regional Representative Council during the 2004–2009 term. During this term, he also served as Deputy Speaker of the People's Consultative Assembly (Nurdin, 2016).

Next, several of PT Celebes Media Olahraga's board members have been found to have weak political affiliations. Haji Maddo Pammusu was recorded as one of the company's commissioners and/or directors in 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, and 2016. He is a member of the Gerindra Party's local executive in South Sulawesi (Mappanganro, 2017). Maddo previously served as the deputy treasurer of the Golkar Party, South Sulawesi, under the leadership of Syahrul Yasin Limpo (Sugiyarto, 2014). In 2018, he was proposed by PPP elites as a potential candidate for regent in the Jeneponto local election (Emba, 2017).

Husain Abdullah was registered as PT Celebes Media Olahraga's executive director in 2009, as director in 2010, and as commissioner in 2011, 2012, and 2013. He served as the spokesperson for Jusuf Kalla during the latter's second term (2014–2019) as vice-president (Rini, 2022). In 2018, he was announced as PDI Perjuangan's candidate for Deputy Mayor of Makassar; ultimately, however, he cancelled his bid and withdrew from the election (Kabarmamuju.com, 2017).

Melinda Aksa was registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, as one of PT Celebes Media Olahraga's commissioners in 2010. She has been announced as one of the Golkar Party's candidates in Indonesia's 2024 parliamentary election (Legion News, 2022). Presently, she is the Director of the Bosowa Foundation (Uccang, 2013). She is the daughter of Aksa Mahmud, the Bosowa Group's founder, and the niece of Jusuf Kalla. She is married to

Munafri Arifuddin, who unsuccessfully contested one of Makassar’s mayoral elections with the backing of the Golkar Party (Mirsan, 2020; Kita, 2020).

Atirah Aksa was recorded as one of PT Celebes Media Olahraga’s commissioners in 2010. The daughter of Aksa Mahmud, the Bosowa Group’s founder, she is the niece of Jusuf Kalla. Meanwhile, Andi Fatmawati Manggabarani was registered as the company’s executive director in 2010. She is the wife of Erwin Aksa, who served as the Deputy Treasurer of the Golkar Party between 2009 and 2014. Between 2004 and 2020, he sat on the Central Leadership Council of the Golkar Party, where he was tasked with matters related to cooperatives and small/medium enterprises (Hidayatullah, 2022).

Sadikin Aksa is the son of Muhammad Aksa Mahmud, the founder of the Bosowa Group. He does not occupy a formal position in PT Celebes Media Olahraga, but was recorded as holding 2,500 shares in the company (worth Rp 2.5 billion) in 2012, 2013, 2014, 2018, and 2021. His brother, Erwin Aksa, was recorded as holding 7,500 shares in PT Celebes Media Olahraga (worth Rp 7.5 billion) in 2013, 2014, 2018, and 2021. Their mother, Ramlah Kalla, is the younger sister of former Vice President of Indonesia Jusuf Kalla. Erwin Aksa served as the Deputy Treasurer of the Golkar Party between 2009 and 2014. Between 2014 and 2020, he was a member of the Central Leadership Council of the Golkar Party, responsible for cooperatives and small/medium enterprises; as of writing, he has taken the strategic fundraising portfolio (Partai Golkar, 2023). Between 2008 and 2011, Erwin Aksa served as General Chair of the Indonesian Young Entrepreneurs Association’s Office of Planning and Development (Kompas.com, 2008).

D. Implications of Political Affiliations

The political affiliation and partisanship of Fajar.co.id and Tribun-timur.com can be identified and analyzed through an analysis of their news content. The PR2Media researchers collected a sample of 59 news stories (35 from Tribun-timur.com; 24 from Fajar.co.id) dealing with three topics: (1) electoral support during the 2019 presidential election; electoral support during the 2024 presidential election; and (3) local politics/the corruption of public infrastructure funds in Makassar City.

These three topics were selected due to the political climates they create as well as the potential biases and paradigms that may be involved. Analysis relied on three variables: objectivity, factuality, and critical reporting.

1. Electoral Coverage and Polarization during the 2019 Presidential Election

The selected media companies’ coverage of the endorsements received by candidates during the 2019 presidential election was analyzed based on their framing of the support received by Joko Widodo—Ma’ruf Amin (Jokowi—Ma’ruf) and Prabowo

Subianto–Sandiaga Uno. Analysis of the news stories produced by Fajar.co.id between September 2018 and April 2019 showed bias in the platform’s coverage of Indonesia’s 2019 presidential election.

During the 2019 election, Fajar.co.id tended to favor Jokowi–Ma’ruf in its political coverage. This can be seen, for example, in the decision to exclude the urgency and significance of the events covered. For example, in the article “Ikut Deklarasi Projo, Kepala Daerah se-Riau Ambil Cuti Sehari” (“Participating in the Projo Declaration, Riau’s Local Executives Take the Day Off”), published October 10, 2018 (Wakhyono, 2018a), these politicians’ decision to voice support for Jokowi–Ma’ruf was covered with no emphasis on the urgency and significance of their executive position. At the same time, coverage was not balanced with interviews with those supporting Prabowo–Sandiaga.

Elsewhere, anonymous sources were used by Fajar.co.id without identifying their importance or relevance. Take, for example, the story “Simpatisan Gubernur Sumsel Fokus Menangkan Jokowi-Ma’ruf Amin” (“Backers of South Sulawesi Governor Focus on Electing Jokowi–Ma’ruf Amin”), published September 29, 2018 (Wakhyono, 2018b). This article indicates that Fajar.co.id was not objective in its coverage of specific issues or situations, as it relied entirely on an anonymous source but failed to clarify that informant’s relevance. As in the previously mentioned example, Fajar.co.id did not balance its coverage with responses from those supporting Prabowo–Sandiaga, even though space was available. In other words, the media platform failed to cover both sides while dealing with the election.

In its coverage of the same topic, *Tribun-timur.com* took a different position. Although this platform covered polarizing topics related to the 2019 presidential election, the stories written and published by *Tribun-timur.com* was more varied in its implied support. Such expressions can be divided into three categories.

First are those stories that implied *Tribun Timur’s* support for Jokowi–Ma’ruf. This can be seen, for example, in the articles “Yenny Wahid Dukung Jokowi, Kader Demokrat: Satu Kolam dengan Cak Imin yang Kudeta Gus Dur di PKB” (“Yenny Wahid Backs Jokowi, Democrats: Same Group as Cak Imin who Overthrew Gus Dur in PKB”), published September 27, 2018 (Vintoko, 2018), and “Ini Alasan Keluarga Gus Dur Pilih Jokowi-Ma’ruf di Pilpres 2019 Mendatang, Penjelasan Yenny Wahid” (“This is Why Gus Dur’s Family will Vote for Jokowi–Ma’ruf in the Upcoming 2019 Election, According to Yenny Wahid”), published September 27, 2018 (Dewi, 2018). Both articles present information about and take the perspective of Yenny Wahid, using her to represent the Gusdurians’ decision to endorse Jokowi–Ma’ruf.

Second are those stories that implied support for Prabowo–Sandiaga. This was examined through two articles, titled “Bukan Jokowi–Ma’ruf, Kiai & Santri Nahdliyin Dukung Prabowo–Sandiaga, Klaim Konsolidasi di Provinsi” (“Not Jokowi–Ma’ruf, Nahdliyin Kiais & Santris Support Prabowo–Sandiaga, Claim Province is Consolidated”),

published December 2, 2018 (Rasni, 2018), and “Fakta–Fakta Reuni 212 Jakarta Dihadiri Prabowo Subianto, Anies Baswedan. Apa Kata Polisi” (“The Facts about the 212 Reunion in Jakarta; Attended by Prabowo Subianto, Anies Baswedan; What do Police Say?”), published December 2, 2018 (Vebri, 2018). In both articles, *Tribun-timur.com* only provided space for those supporting Prabowo–Sandiaga and presented solely their proponents’ perspectives. Not only did it fail to cover both sides, but it relied entirely on a press release from those backing Prabowo–Sandiaga (Rasni, 2018).

Third are those articles in which *Tribun-timur.com* presented itself as seeking solely to present the dynamics of the 2019 presidential election and its participants. This can be seen in stories that highlighted the polarization between the candidates’ supporters, including the fragmentation that occurred in one of Indonesia’s largest social organizations: Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), which was split between pro-Jokowi and pro-Prabowo members. Articles that sought to maintain balanced coverage included “Loyalis Jokowi–Prabowo Mesra di Unhas” (“Jokowi–Prabowo Loyalists Friendly at Unhas”), published September 26, 2018 (Irawan, 2018), and “Adu Kekuatan Tokoh Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) di Kubu Jokowi dan Prabowo Subianto di Pilpres 2019” (“Contestations of Power between Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Leaders Supporting Jokowi dan Prabowo Subianto in the 2019 Presidential Election”), published November 4, 2018 (Mansur, 2018b). In the first story, *Tribun-timur.com* sought to portray a sense of peace and harmony between the two opposing sides. Meanwhile, in the second story, the platform seemingly presented readers with analytical insight into the polarization that was occurring within the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). These articles used informants from both sides, and thus attempted to maintain balanced coverage.

Based on the above analysis and categorization of articles on Indonesia’s 2019 presidential election published by *Tribun-timur.com*, it is evident that it attempted to accommodate the supporters of both candidates in its coverage.

2. Electoral Coverage and Polarization during the 2024 Presidential Election

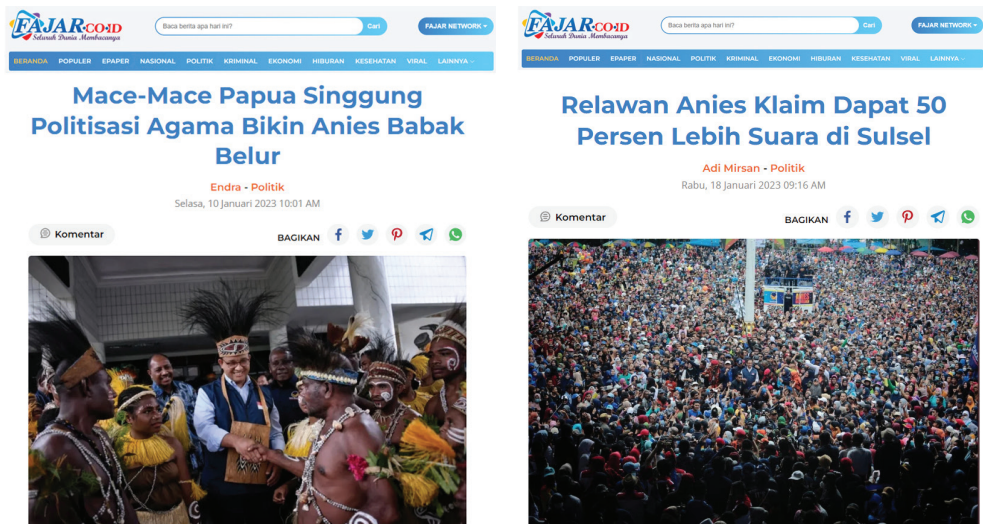
Referring to the topic of the electoral support received by candidates during the 2024 presidential election, both *Fajar.co.id* and *Tribun-timur.com* have actively covered the political contestations and maneuvers of central figures such as President Joko Widodo, Prabowo Subianto, Anies Baswedan, and Ganjar Pranowo.

Based on the authors’ review, *Fajar.co.id* began actively covering Indonesia’s 2024 presidential election as early as January 2023. Coverage to date has seemingly put greater emphasis on one potential candidate, Anies Baswedan. This can be seen in three articles: “Mace–Mace Papua Singgung Politisasi Agama Bikin Anies Babak Belur” (“The Women of Papua Decry the Politicization of Religion against Anies”), published January 10, 2023 (Endra, 2023); “Relawan Anies Klaim Dapat 50 Persen Lebih Suara di Sulsel”

(“Volunteers for Anies Claim More than Fifty Percent of Votes in South Sulawesi”), published January 18, 2023 (Mirsan, 2023); and “Anies Baswedan Dapat Dukungan dari Masyarakat Flores NTT” (“Anies Baswedan receives Support from the People of Flores, NTT”), published January 21, 2023 (Nursam, 2023).

All three stories highlight the support received by Anies Baswedan in Indonesia, specifically in Papua, South Sulawesi, and Flores (East Nusa Tenggara). Based on the data collected from these three articles, it is evident that Fajar.co.id has tended to present Anies Baswedan as having majority support in eastern Indonesia. Such framing is also apparent in these articles’ selection of illustration; two of the three include photographs of the candidate standing in the middle of a crowd, presenting him as a “man of the people” who has been widely accepted by the people of eastern Indonesia (see Figure 5.9).

Figure 5.11. Selection of Photographs in Coverage of Anies Baswedan



Source: Fajar.co.id

Fajar.co.id has also published several stories describing the political parties that have pledged their support for Anies Baswedan. It has covered at least two endorsements, from the Prosperous Justice Party (Partai Keadilan Sejahtera, PKS) in the article “PKS Ingin Cetak Sejarah di Pilpres 2024, Siap Kerja Keras Menangkan Anies Baswedan” (“PKS Intends to Make History in the 2024 Election, Ready to Work Hard for Anies Baswedan”; published February 27, 2023; Rif’an, 2023); and the Democrats in the article “Demokrat Resmi Usung Anies Sebagai Capres, AHY: Perahu Koalisi Perubahan Resmi Berlayar” (“Democrats Officially Propose Anies as Candidate, AHY: The Ship of the Coalition for Change has Officially Set Sail”; published March 2, 2023; Umar, 2023). Fajar.co.id began its coverage of these parties’ support for Anies as early as January 2023. It has also

shown signs of strong ties with PKS, as many of its stories have relied on informants from this party—including Tifatul Sembiring, who chairs the party’s advisory board.

It should be noted that this political leaning was identified based on a limited sample collected in a narrow time frame.

Conversely, *Tribun-timur.com* has used diverse perspectives in its ongoing coverage of Indonesia’s 2024 presidential election. Analysis shows that *Tribun-timur.com* has been relatively objective in its coverage. Every prominent figure involved in the election has received space for balanced coverage. This can be seen, for example, in two articles about the endorsements received by Ganjar Pranowo: “Santri Dukung Ganjar Sulsel Doakan Ganjar Pranowo Presiden 2024” (“South Sulawesi Santris Supporting Ganjar Pray for President Ganjar Pranowo 2024”), published January 17, 2023 (Tamrin, 2023) and “Mardiono Jelaskan Alasan PPP Pilih Langsung Ganjar Pranowo Capres di 2024, Bukan Anies Baswedan” (“Mardiono Explains Why PPP Chose Ganjar Pranowo as Its 2024 Presidential Candidate, not Anies Baswedan”), published April 26, 2023 (Sumardi, 2023).

Coverage of endorsements received by Anies Baswedan, meanwhile, included articles such as “AHY Dukung Anies Baswedan Calon Presiden, Ketua Demokrat Pinrang Muhtadin Harap AHY Cawapresnya” (“AHY Supports Anies Baswedan for Presidential Candidate, Democrats Leader Pinrang Muhtadin Hopes AHY Will Be Vice-President”), published January 26, 2023 (Angraenin, 2023), and “Democrats Support Anies Baswedan for Presidential Candidate, Syukur Bijak Hopes AHY Will Be Vice-President”), published January 26, 2023 (Maulana, 2023).

Tribun-timur.com also provided space for Prabowo Subianto, as seen in the articles “Relawan Jokowi Tolak Dukung Capres Usungan PDIP dan Pilih Prabowo, Hasto Sebut Kedelai dan Tempe” (“Volunteers for Jokowi Refuse to Endorse PDIP Candidate and Choose Prabowo, Hasto Likens them to Soy Beans and Tempeh”), published February 19, 2023 (Ansar, 2023), and “Reaksi Gerindra Saat Abu Janda Sebut Prabowo Presiden, PKB Hingga Pendukung Anies-Ganjar Disinggung” (“Gerindra’s Reaction after Abu Janda Deems Prabowo President, PKB and Supporters of Anies–Ganjar Insulted”), published February 10, 2023 (Ansar, 2023).

Considering and analyzing the balanced coverage of the three leading presidential hopefuls in Indonesia’s 2024 presidential election, it may be said that *Tribun-timur.com* has been relatively objective in its coverage of the endorsements and achievements of the various individuals proposed as presidential and vice-presidential candidates.

3. Coverage of Local Elections and Corruption in the Public Infrastructure Sector in Makassar

Reviewing articles on local elections and corruption in the public infrastructure sector in Makassar published by *Fajar.co.id* and *Tribun-timur.com*, both media companies showed indications of political affiliation. Analyzing the articles published by *Tribun-*

timur.com about Makassar's 2020 local election, the platform seemed to favor the candidate Munafri Arifuddin and his running mate Abdul Rahman Bando (henceforth Appi–Rahman). This is evident from the headlines chosen, language used, and arguments presented. Take, for example, the article “Ni'matullah: Kader Demokrat Wajib Kerja Keras Pertebal Kemenangan Appi-Rahman” (“Ni'matullah: Democrats Must Work Hard to Ensure Victory for Appi–Rahman”), which was published on December 1, 2020 (Alfian, 2020a). Analysis of this article shows an implied agreement with the position that party members must support Munafri Arifuddin and Abdul Rahman Bando in their electoral bid.

Another story implying support for Appi–Rahman, titled “Ingatkan Kasus Penikaman Timsesnya, Appi–Rahman Tutup Debat dengan Ajakan Pilkada Damai” (“Recalling Campaign Staff Stabbing, Appi–Rahman Conclude Debate with Invitation to Peace”), published by *Tribun-timur.com* on December 4, 2020 (Alfian, 2020b). Partisanship is evident in this article's highlighting of the sentimental story of Musjaya, a member of Appi–Rahman's campaign team who had been stabbed by a supporter of their electoral opponents in Palmerah, Jakarta. At the time, he had been attending a debate between the candidates and their opponents, Moh. Ramdhan Pomanto and Fatmawati Rusdi (ADAMA), at a private television station. The framing can be seen in the following quote:

“Let us rise for a far better Makassar. We do not want any more violence during this election, like that experienced by our colleague Mus, who is here with us today. We desire a dignified election, an honest election, one that produces leaders of good quality,” urged Appi. ... As previously reported, Mus had been stabbed by an ADAMA supporter near the venue hosting the Makassar mayoral election's first debate on November 7, 2020. ... The suspect MNM (a fifty-year-old male who ordered the stabbing) is a supporter of Candidate Pair 1, Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto – Fatmawati Rusdi,” explained Police Grand Commissioner Yusri Yunus.”¹⁰ (Alfian, 2020b).

In its subsequent coverage, *Tribun-timur.com* did not present a response from ADAMA or their supporters. In its coverage, which was published toward the end of the

¹⁰ “Mari bangkit, Makassar yang jauh lebih baik. Kami tidak ingin lagi terjadi kekerasan dalam Pilkada seperti yang dialami oleh saudara kami Mus yang hadir bersama-sama kami di tempat ini. Kami ingin Pilkada damai yang bermartabat dan Pilkada yang jujur yang akan menghasilkan pemimpin yang berkualitas,” seru Appi.... Diberitakan sebelumnya, Mus merupakan korban penusukan oleh pendukung ADAMA' di sekitar lokasi debat perdana Pilkada Makassar, 7 November 2020.... “Tersangka MNM (Laki-laki 50 tahun yang menyuruh untuk melakukan eksekusi penusukan) selaku massa pendukung Paslon Nomor Urut 01, Mohammad Ramdhan Pomanto - Fatmawati Rusdi,” kata Kombes Yusri Yunus.” (Alfian, 2020b).

Makassar mayoral debates, there was a tendency to emphasize negative information about ADAMA. Meanwhile, in their coverage of corruption in the public infrastructure sector in Makassar, neither *Tribun-timur.com* nor *Fajar.co.id* showed any strong political affiliation in their framing; for this analysis, the researchers focused on coverage of the misuse of funds from the local water utility. In their coverage, neither media company used informants from opposing groups; consequently, they did not present responses or counterresponses. This suggests that both companies were less than critical in their coverage of corruption in the infrastructure sector.

**OWNERSHIP AND
POLITICAL AFFILIATION:
MEDIA IN EAST JAVA**

A. Introduction

East Java has played an important role in Indonesian politics. With a population of approximately 41.5 million and an area of 47,800 km², it is the country's second largest province after West Java. This province also has significant economic potential, being a center of industry, trade, and agriculture (jatimprov.go.id).

Regarding the composition of media in East Java, the province is home to 41 registered print media (30%), two radio broadcasters (1%), 33 television broadcasters (24%), and 61 online media (45%) (Dewan Pers, n.d.). As such, the majority of the media companies in East Java are online ones. Figure 6.1 presents the 61 online media companies in East Java that are registered with the Press Council.

**Figure 6.1. Media Daring di Jawa Timur yang Terverifikasi Dewan Pers
Per September 2023**

No.	Media Name	Registrant	Editor-in-Chief	Legal Name	Status
1.	Jatimsmart.id	Imam Subawi	Imam Subawi	Hamparan Rejeki Bersama	Administrative dan Factual Verified
2.	Ikilhojatim.com	Mat Khozin	Mat Khozin	Iki Lho Jatim	Administrative Verified
3.	Klikjatim.com	Aries Wahyudianto	Aries Wahyudianto	Klik Media Jatim	Administrative dan Factual Verified
4.	Jatimpos.co	Syaiful Anam	Syaiful Anam	PT Anugerah Media Utama	Administrative dan Factual Verified
5.	Suarajatimpost.com	Prayudi Bahagia Rahmad Widi	Prayudi Bahagia Rahmad Widi	Suara Media Jatim	Administrative dan Factual Verified
6.	Smnnews.co.id	Kanti Wiyoto	Kundari Pri Susanti	Media Digital Nasional	Administrative dan Factual Verified
7.	Jatimnow.com	Rois Jajeli	Rois Jajeli	Media Jatim Bersama	Administrative dan Factual Verified
8.	Wartabromo.com	Mochammad Asad	Mochammad Asad	Warmo Media Waskito	Administrative dan Factual Verified
9.	Suaraindonesia.co.id	Shodiq Syarif	Shodiq Syarif	Multimedia Suara Indonesia	Administrative dan Factual Verified
10.	Blokbojonegoro.com	Parto Sasmito	Parto Sasmito	Blok Bojonegoro Media	Administrative dan Factual Verified

No.	Media Name	Registrant	Editor-in-Chief	Legal Name	Status
11.	Faktualnews.co	Adi Susanto	Adi Susanto	Susanto Bersaudara Intermedia Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
12.	Malangposcomedia.id	Abdul Khalim	Abdul Khalim	Malang Pos Siber	Administrative dan Factual Verified
13.	Kabarpas.com	Santoso	Santoso	Media Masyah Publika	Administrative dan Factual Verified
14.	Sekilasmedia.com	Romdani	Nyoto Wibowo	PT Sekilas Mojokerto Media	Administrative dan Factual Verified
15.	Bloktuban.com	Sri Wiyono	Sri Wiyono	Blok Tuban Promosindo	Administrative dan Factual Verified
16.	Nawacita.co	Riko Abdiono	Riko Abdiono	Nawacita Media Communication	Administrative dan Factual Verified
17.	Beritabangsa.id	Isma Hakim Rahmat	Isma Hakim Rahmat	Media Jaya Lestari	Administrative dan Factual Verified
18.	Surabaya.tribunnews.com	Tri Mulyono	Tri Mulyono	Antar Surya Media	Administrative dan Factual Verified
19.	Jatim.tribunnews.com	Mujib Anwar	Tri Mulyono	Tribun Digital Jatim	Administrative dan Factual Verified
20.	Regamedianews.com	Mohammad Fauzan	Abd Razak	Rega Media Universal	Administrative Verified
21.	KabarJombang.com	Adi Susanto	Adi Susanto	Susanto Bersaudara Intermedia Pers	Administrative Verified
22.	Kabarrakyat.id	Shodiq Syarif	Shodiq Syarif	Kabar Rakyat Sentosa	Administrative dan Factual Verified
23.	Memontum.com	Januar Triwahyudi	Januar Triwahyudi	Memo Arema Sejahtera	Administrative dan Factual Verified
24.	Bidiknasional.com	Drs Edy Sutanto, S.H.	Drs Edy Sutanto, S.H.	PT Bidik Nasional Pers	Administrative Verified
25.	Lenteratoday.com	Arifin Boedi Haryono	Arifin Boedi Haryono	Media Hebat Inspirasi Indonesia	Administrative dan Factual Verified
26.	Nusantarapos.co.id	Joko Wiyono	Joko Wiyono	Nusantara Pos Media	Administrative Verified

No.	Media Name	Registrant	Editor-in-Chief	Legal Name	Status
27.	Bangsaonline.com	Abdurrahman Ubaidah	Abdurrahman Ubaidah	Bangsa Sejahtera Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
28.	Memorandum.co.id	Ir. Arief Sosiawan M.M.	Ir. Arief Sosiawan M.M.	Memorandum Multimedia Sejahtera	Administrative dan Factual Verified
29.	Nusadaily.com	Yusron Aminulloh	Yusron Aminulloh	Nusa Daily Group	Administrative dan Factual Verified
30.	Afederasi.com	M. Aminun Jabir	M. Aminun Jabir	PT. Global Media Express	Administrative dan Factual Verified
31.	Jatimtimes.com	Heryanto	Heryanto	Jatim Times Network	Administrative dan Factual Verified
32.	Satukanal.com	Danu Sukendro	Danu Sukendro	Satukanal Media Dwipa	Administrative dan Factual Verified
33.	Koranmemo.com	Achmad Saichu	Achmad Saichu	PT Express Media Sejahtera	Administrative dan Factual Verified
34.	Radarjombang.jawapos.com	Sofyan Hendra Fathkurohman	Sofyan Hendra Fathkurohman	Jombang Intermedia Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
35.	Radarmalang.jawapos.com	Abdul Muntholib	Abdul Muntholib	Malang Intermedia Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
36.	Radartulungagung.jawapos.com	Ariyanti Kurnia Rokhmana	Didin Cahyo Firmansyah	Tulungagung Intermedia Digital	Administrative dan Factual Verified
37.	Radarmadura.jawapos.com	Luqman Hakim	Luqman Hakim	Madura Intermedia Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
38.	Agtvnews.com	Danang Sumirat	Danang Sumirat	Anggada Multimedia Sejahtera	Administrative dan Factual Verified
39.	Radarkediri.id	Moch. Subechi Nurcahyo	Moch. Subechi Nurcahyo	Kediri Intermedia Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
40.	Radarmojokerto.jawapos.com	Mukas Kuluki	Mukas Kuluki	Mojokerto Intermedia Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
41.	Lensanusantara.co.id	Megi Alfajrin	Megi Alfajrin	Lensa Nusantara Multimedia	Administrative dan Factual Verified

No.	Media Name	Registrant	Editor-in-Chief	Legal Name	Status
42.	Bacaini.id	Afnan Subagio	Afnan Subagio	Baca Ini Media	Administrative dan Factual Verified
43.	Global-news.co.id	Erfandi Putra	Erfandi Putra	Global Media Prima	Administrative dan Factual Verified
44.	Lensaindonesia.com	D. Wahjoe Harjanto	D. Wahjoe Harjanto	Lensa Indonesia Global Media	Administrative dan Factual Verified
45.	Radarbromo.co.id	Muhammad Fahmi	Muhammad Fahmi	Probolinggo Intermedia Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
46.	Seru.co.id	Achmad Ali Abdul Majid	Achmad Ali Abdul Majid	Aguna Don Amertha	Administrative dan Factual Verified
47.	Radarmadiun.co.id	Fathoni Prakasa Nanda	Fathoni Prakasa Nanda	Madiun Intermedia Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
48.	Radarbanyuwangi.jawapos.com	Syaifuddin Mahmud	Syaifuddin Mahmud	Banyuwangi Intermedia Pers	Administrative dan Factual Verified
49.	Seblang.com	Kundari Pri Susanti	Kundari Pri Susanti	Seblang Multi Media	Administrative dan Factual Verified
50.	Tugujatim.id	Nurcholis M. A. Basyari	Nurcholis M. A. Basyari	Tugu Sejahtera Nusantara	Administrative dan Factual Verified
51.	Tugumalang.id	Nurcholis M. A. Basyari	Nurcholis M. A. Basyari	Tugu Media Komunikasindo	Administrative dan Factual Verified
52.	Kliktimes.com	Hendik Budi Yuantoro	Hendik Budi Yuantoro	Kaiya Media Legacy	Administrative dan Factual Verified
53.	Suarasurabaya.net	Eddy Prastyo	Eddy Prastyo	Radio Fiskaria Jaya Suara Surabaya	Terverifikasi Administratif
54.	Narasinews.id	Isma Hakim Rahmat	Isma Hakim Rahmat	Narasi News Group	Administrative dan Factual Verified
55.	Disway.id	Tomy C. Gutomo	Tomy C. Gutomo	Disway Rumah Berita	Administrative dan Factual Verified
56.	Ketik.co.id	Sudirman	Sudirman	Ketik Media Siber	Administrative dan Factual Verified

No.	Media Name	Registrant	Editor-in-Chief	Legal Name	Status
57.	Blok-a.com	Gatot Imawan Herusustyo	Gatot Imawan Herusustyo	Berana Rajni Anta Sejahtera	Administrative dan Factual Verified
58.	Kabarterdepan.com	Sumarno	Sumarno	Kabar Terdepan Indonesia	Administrative Verified
59.	Timesindonesia. co.id			PT	Administrative dan Factual Verified
60.	beritajatim.com			PT	Administrative dan Factual Verified
61.	Ngopibareng.id			PT	Administrative dan Factual Verified

Source: Compiled from Press Council (n.d.).

The recent mushrooming of online media in East Java indicates that ownership is no longer dominated by established actors such as the Jawa Pos Group. Today, East Javan media may be owned by activists, journalists, or even political figures. Of the numerous online media platforms in the province, five will be discussed here. Three, *Jawa Pos*, *Radar Surabaya*, and *Disway*, will be explored in brief based on a review of these companies' legal documents and digital records. The other two media companies, *Berita Jatim* and *Ngopi Bareng*, will be discussed in greater detail based on a review of these companies' legal documents, as well as interviews, focus group discussions (FGDs), content analysis, and a review of the literature.

First is *Jawa Pos*, a newspaper with national distribution that is controlled entirely by the Surabaya-based Jawa Pos Group. This company has employed the vertical, horizontal, and diagonal models of ownership and diversification, having expanded to include print and local television media as well as complementary enterprises such as printing, property rental, marketing services, event organization, and various digital services. In Document AHU-2442299.AH.01.01, registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, in 2015, *Jawa Pos* was officially titled PT Jawa Pos Grup Multimedia. This closed corporation only accepted domestic investors. Several individuals and companies were identified as shareholders. The former included Suhendro Boroma (Executive Director); Untung Sukarti, Andreas Didi Sudijono Harijono, and Auri Jaya (directors); Azrul Ananda (Executive Commissioner); as well as Eddy Nugroho and Leak Kustiyo (commissioners). The latter, meanwhile, included PT Jawa Pos Koran and PT Jawa Pos Grup.

Over time, the corporate structure transformed significantly. In Document AHU-AH.01.03-0060086, issued on February 10, 2017, the executive director position was held

by Eddy Nugroho (replacing Suhendro Boroma). Document AHU-AH.01.03-0160681, issued on August 5, 2017, only listed one director and one commissioner, as well as the executive commissioner; this reduced structure included only Azrul Ananda (Executive Commissioner); Eddy Nugroho (Director); and Leak Kustiyo (Commissioner). The following month, as reported in Document AHU-AH.01.03-0169925 on September 7, 2017, Andreas Didi Sudijono Harijono was reappointed to a directorial position.

The most recent change occurred on September 16, 2021 (AHU-AH.01.03-0451166), at which time Hidayat Jati was identified as the Executive Commissioner and Leak Kustiyo was listed as the Executive Director. During these structural reshuffles, several new directors and commissioners were appointed, including Kristianto Indrawan, Raden Soegiharto, and Maesa Samola.

Second, the researchers investigated the ownership of *Radar Surabaya*, a subsidiary of PT Jawa Pos Grup Multimedia. Officially known as PT Radar Media Surabaya, as recorded in Document AHU-AH.01.10-18219, *Radar Surabaya* is a closed corporation that was established in 2008 under the trade name Suro Manggala Jaya. Through Document AHU-71287.AH.01.02, also issued in 2008, the company was rebranded Radar Media Surabaya. Its activities include the printing of magazines, tabloids, and books, as well as other related activities.

Regarding the company's initial shareholdership, *Suro Manggala Jaya* was first established by Ratna Dewi Wonoatmodjo (240 shares), Nani Wijaya (82 shares), and Dahlan Iskan (158 shares). Of these three, only two held positions in the corporate structure; Ratna Dewi Wonoatmodjo served as commissioner and Nani Wijaya served as director. Dahlan Iskan, who had served as Minister of State-Owned Enterprises under President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, was not recorded as occupying a structural position in the company between its establishment and a notary act dated March 13, 2012.

Structural reorganization began on October 8, 2008 (AHU-AH.01.10-31380), at which time Kustiyo served as director, Nani Wijaya served as commissioner, and Ratna Dewi Wonoatmodjo served as executive commissioner. On March 13, 2012 (AHU-AH.01.10-13455), the company was again reorganized, with Azrul Ananda (Dahlan Iskan's son) as commissioner and Leak Kustiyo as director. This structure was retained through April 4, 2014, at which time—as per Document AHU-00721.40.22.2014—the position of commissioner was held by Leak Kustiyo and the position of director was held by Lilik Widyantoro.

The goals and entrepreneurial activities of PT Radar Media Surabaya were amended through the revised acts of incorporation registered on March 20, 2019, through Document AHU-AH.01.03-0158946. Through this revision, the company officially became involved in the printing of books, magazines, and other publications. Since 2019, PT Radar Media Surabaya has expanded to include activities in the digital realm. Shareholdership

has likewise changed over time; for instance, in March 2013, a number of shares were acquired by two companies, PT Jawa Pos Radar and PT Temprina Media Grafika.

The third company, Disway, is also owned by Dahlan Iskan—the owner of *Radar Surabaya* and the former leader of the Jawa Pos Group. It is registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights as PT Disway Rumah Berita through Document AHU-0030247.AH.01.01, dated 2020. This closed corporation was established on June 30, 2020, and owned by both individual and corporate shareholders. Individual shareholders include Dahlan Iskan, Muhammad Taufik (Director), Haji Zainal Muttaqin (Executive Commissioner), and Nani Wijaya; the sole corporate shareholder is the Yayasan Kejayaan Profesi Wartawan (i.e., the Foundation for the Glory of Journalism), a non-profit foundation.

Looking to its business activities, Disway is involved in multiple sectors. First and foremost is the publication of newspapers, journals, bulletins, and magazines; other sectors include private-sector newsroom activities, commercial internet portal/digital platform operations, and sale of printed materials.

This chapter seeks to answer two questions: (1) to what extent have the media of East Java exhibited political affiliations in ownership and coverage?; and (2) What types of ownership are found used by media companies in East Java? These questions will be answered using *Berita Jatim* and *Ngopi Bareng* as case studies. For this chapter, the researchers analyzed the companies' legal documents to identify their owners and administrators; this analysis was used in conjunction with in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) with diverse stakeholders in East Java, as well as analysis of content published by Beritajatim.com and Ngopibareng.id.

These media were selected based on several considerations. First, both media companies have a significant influence on the people of East Java. Second, the histories of both media companies are intertwined with their socio-political contexts. Third, both media companies had readily accessible data that suited the purposes of this research. Fourth, these companies offered clear examples of media companies with strong political affiliations vis-à-vis media companies with no such affiliation.

B. Media Ownership and Political Affiliation

In its exploration of media ownership, this study adapts the diversification and ownership model developed by Doyle (2002) and Smith, Klimkiewicz, and Ostling (2021); see Chapter II for further detail.

1. Berita Jatim

Berita Jatim (Beritajatim.com), officially PT Beritajatim Cyber Media, is a media company that began operations in 2006. Focusing its coverage on Surabaya and the surrounding

area, at the time of writing Beritajatim.com employed seven reporters in Surabaya as well as twenty reporters in cities such as Pamekasan, Malang, Kediri, Blitar, Mojokerto, and Sidoarjo. This is intended to ensure that the information needs of the East Javanese are fulfilled; most of the province's forty million residents live in rural areas, and thus require information that is close and relevant to them.

Beritajatim.com has three administrators and shareholders/media owners. These three individuals are Saptini Darmaningrum, the director, who holds 16.7% of shares; Ainur Rohim, the executive director, who holds 32.1% of shares; and Dwi Eko Lokononto, the commissioner, who holds 51.2% of shares. This data is registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, through Document AHU-35951.40.10.2014. Saptini Darmaningrum, Ainur Rohim, and Dwi Eko Lokononto all have a lengthy history of involvement in the media in East Java. These members of the Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI) are recognized by their colleagues as senior journalists.

Outside of Beritajatim.com, all three shareholders are involved in diverse organizational activities. Saptini Darmaningrum is currently the Director and Secretary of the Indonesian Cybermedia Association (AMSI), East Java branch, as well as the Deputy Secretary of the Digital Communication Committee (KKD); the latter organization was established by the Government of East Java. Meanwhile, Dwi Eko Lokononto—the commissioner and editor-in-chief of Beritajatim.com—served as a member of AMSI's Advisory and Monitoring Council. He was also among the founders of the Yayasan Bersama Indonesia Sehat (i.e., United Foundation for a Healthy Indonesia), a humanitarian organization that rose to prominence in the early days of the COVID-19 pandemic. Dwi Eko Lokononto is also involved in the Ikatan Persaudaraan Haji Indonesia (Brotherhood of Indonesian Hajjis, IPHI), where he serves as First Deputy Chair; he may thus be surmised to be heavily involved in social organizations. Ainur Rohim, together with Dwi Eko Lokononto, is a major shareholder in Pilar.id, an online media platform with a national—rather than provincial—focus. He also spent two years (2019–2021) chairing PWI's East Java branch. Based on available digital documents, the researchers did not identify any political affiliations amongst the directors and commissioners of Beritajatim.com.

Aside from its publication of electronic media, PT Beritajatim Cyber Media also holds the license to operate a non-commercial online portal, one that is periodically refreshed using automatic mechanisms. PT Beritajatim Cyber Media is also licensed to operate a commercial digital media platform.

In an interview with the researchers conducted in May 2023, Dwi Eko Lokononto recognized the diversification efforts undertaken by the company. He explained that Beritajatim.com operated other business units, including communication consulting services, media monitoring, and event organization. Structurally, Beritajatim.com has

separated its media operations from its consulting services, though both share the same owners.

To maintain its professionalism, Beritajatim.com has remained willing to work with any party requiring its services. Such collaboration has included advertising, consulting services, and research. It is careful to clearly label advertorial content, thereby distinguishing it from its regular content.

As per Document AHU-0013009.AH.01.02, registered in 2022, Beritajatim.com operates businesses in four sectors. This is shown in Figure 6.2 below.

Figure 6.2. Business Diversification, PT Beritajatim Cyber Media

No.	Sector	Description
1.	Newspaper, journal, and bulletin/magazine publication	This category includes the publication of newspapers, advertisements, journals, bulletins, general and technical magazines, and comics; it also includes the publication of radio and television schedules. Such information may be published using print or electronic media, including on the internet.
2.	Non-commercial internet portal/digital platform	This category includes the operation of non-commercial websites that use search engines to produce and maintain large and easily accessible databases of internet addresses and content internet; the content is renewed periodically and used, either directly or indirectly, for non-commercial purposes. This category also includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for electronic transactions, including the facilitation and/or mediation of goods and/or services through the internet and/or electronic devices and/or other electronic systems, for non-commercial purposes.
3.	Commercial internet portal/digital platform	This category includes the operation of commercial websites that use search engines to produce and maintain large and easily accessible databases of internet addresses and content internet; the content is renewed periodically and used, either directly or indirectly, for commercial purposes. This category also includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for electronic transactions, including the facilitation and/or mediation of goods and/or services through the internet and/or electronic devices and/or other electronic systems, for commercial purposes (i.e., profit), with activities including one, some, or all elements of electronic transactions (ordering, payment, shipment). It includes the operation of digital platforms and/or internet portals for commercial purposes and the facilitation and/or mediation of electronic transactions, including marketplace activities, digital advertising, and on-demand online services. It does not include the operation of financial technology, peer-to-peer lending technology (6495), or payment technology (6641).
4.	Private-sector newsroom activities	This category includes the collation and dissemination of news content through print or electronic media, with the intent of conveying information to the general public.

Source: Profile of PT Beritajatim Cyber Media, registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights

Dwi Eko Lokononto added that, as a media company, Beritajatim.com has sought to maintain its independence and avoid improper ties with outside actors, particularly political parties. It has likewise sought to avoid becoming a partisan media platform; indeed, it is unwilling to accept advertorial content that includes negative materials about others. Such editorial control is also practiced in the newsroom; reporters are urged to not write stories that focus on negative campaigning.

“We have good relations with everyone, anyone, in a business context. This means that, if they want to advertise, so long as it remains business-to-business, I don’t think that’s a problem. But we cannot allow for the media to be used for political interests. If it’s collaborative, business-to-business, then it is fine; every month they have the right to so many views. In the context of elections, we enforce this policy by not publishing content used to attack others. If you want to post an ad, sell your party and claim to be number one, feel free. But as soon as they attack others, their advertisements aren’t allowed.” (Dwi Eko Lokononto, interview, May 11, 2023).

Although it has attempted to remain neutral, Beritajatim.com has frequently been accused of advancing certain political interests in its coverage of local news. It has commonly been claimed that the company enjoys close relations with political actors, including government officials.

“They’ll often accuse us, say we belong to Mr. Karwo, for example; say I’m Mrs. Khofifah’s man, say I’m Mr. Emil’s man. We explain that, as per our name, Beritajatim.com seeks to serve all stakeholders. We say that, if they want to accuse us of belonging to Khofifah, to whomever, fine. But in this situation, our journalistic products are everywhere. Take, for example, the corruption that occurred in the East Javan Parliament. The media used to be close to Sahat Tua Simanjuntak, but once the case (of corruption) broke, we couldn’t do anything. We had to write it up.” (Dwi Eko Lokononto, interview, May 11, 2023).

Based on available documentation, it may be said that PT Beritajatim Cyber Media has employed a vertical model of diversification and ownership. This can be seen from its involvement in various upstream and downstream activities, including publication, printing, internet portal (both commercial and non-commercial) operations, and marketing.

2. Ngopi Bareng

Unlike Beritajatim.com, which was intended as a commercial platform free of political interests, Ngopibareng.id was established to promote Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) during East Java’s 2018 gubernatorial election. As stated by Amir Tejo Sukmono, the general manager and deputy editor-in-chief at Ngopibareng.id.

“In 2018, that was the East Javan gubernatorial election. At the time, Ngopibareng.id was under the leadership of Gus Ipul, who was in the running for the governorship. At the time, people recognized Ngopibareng.id as part of Gus Ipul’s campaign. At the time, we were not well organized institutionally; things were all over the place.” (Amir Tejo Sukmono, interview, May 11, 2023)

However, after Gus Ipul lost the election to Khofifah Indar Parawansa, Ngopibareng.id became a general-purpose media company. It was hoped that Ngopibareng.id would be able to support itself, without relying on others.

“We sought to position ourselves more proportionally. Mr. Anis, he said that as editor-in-chief. It meant (we could) be a serious media company, something that we’ve continued until now. (Our coverage) is truly independent, without the involvement of capital-holders. We’ve had to remain critical, because there were times, especially in the months after (Gus Ipul’s) electoral loss, if we wrote about Khofifah—even if the writer was friendly—people could think that we’ve got vested interests.” (Amir Tejo Sukmono, interview, May 11, 2023).

Ngopibareng.id, officially PT Generasi Baru Digital, was registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, through Document AHU-0032321.AH.01.01 in 2017. This limited liability corporation, which is headquartered at Taman Gayungsari Barat II No. 12, Pagesangan, Jambangan, Surabaya, is not only involved in the media sector. It is also involved in direct sales, publication, service provision, consulting, training, event organization, and other activities.

Figure 6.3. Business Diversification, PT Generasi Baru Digital (ngopibareng.id)

No.	Sector	Description
1.	Publication	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Books• Media (journals, newspapers, bulletins)• Publication of photographs, graphic arts, postcards, forms, posters, art reproductions, and other advertising and print material.
2.	Sales	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Various printed and published materials• Direct sale of printed and published materials

No.	Sector	Description
3.	Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reproduction of film and video content • Reproduction, post-production, and distribution of film, video, and television programming by private actors • Sound recording • Sound production • Commercial internet portal/digital platform • Visual communication design • Design of film, video, and television programming, animation and comics • Photography • Advertising
4.	Consultation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marketing • Business management • Business • Business brokerage
5.	Training	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creative sector training by private actors • Other training by private actors
6.	Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Market survey • Public opinion surveys
7.	Event organizer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting organization • Incentive travel • Conferences • Exhibitions • Special events
8.	Promotion	Sports activities
9.	Other activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human resources • Social activities, fundraising • Performance arts • Musical arts • Visual arts • Literature • Traditional sports and games • Entertainment

Source: Profile of PT Generasi Baru Digital, registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights

Available documents indicate that PT Generasi Baru Digital has three directors and two commissioners. The former are Muhammad Hasan Bisri (Director), Fatkhurohman Taufik (Director), and Arif Afandi (Executive Director). The latter are Mochamad Anis (Commissioner), who holds ten percent of the company's shares (worth Rp 200,000,000), and Mohammad Falihuddin Daffa (Executive Commissioner), who holds 50% of shares (worth Rp 1,000,000,000).

As mentioned above, the executive commissioner of PT Generasi Baru Digital is Muhammad Falihuddin Daffa. He is the second son of Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul), who has served as Mayor of Pasuruan since 2021; previously, between 2009 and 2019, he spent two terms as Deputy Governor of East Java. A member of GP Ansor, a youth

movement associated with the Nahdlatul Ulama, he has spent time as a member of the House of Representatives and as State Minister for the Acceleration of Development of Disadvantaged Regions. Between 1999 and 2000, he was involved with the PDIP; he joined the PKB in 2000. Gus Ipu's family are also behind the Gate of Heaven Tourism Park, officially PT Ngopi Bareng Pintu Langit (NBPL); these two companies share similar names. Meanwhile, Commissioner Mochamad Anis is also the editor-in-chief and chief operating officer (COO) at Ngopibareng.id.

The Executive Director of Ngopibareng.id is H. Arif Afandi, who represented the Democrats as Mayor of Surabaya between 2005 and 2010. Arif Afandi is also recorded as having served as the editor-in-chief of *Jawa Pos*; Executive Director of PT Panca Wirusaha Jawa Timur (a state-owned enterprise); Chair of the Undaan Association for the Care of Eye Disease Sufferers at Undaan Ophthalmic Hospital (a private hospital), Executive Commissioner at PT Lamongan Integrated Shorebase, Independent Commissioner at PTPN X, and Senior Consultant at PT Smelting. He is thus not only a former political leader and journalist, but also a prominent local entrepreneur.

Director Muhammad Hasan Bisri is also the Secretary of GP Ansor East Java; in 2008, this youth organization was reported to have political affiliations with PKB. Meanwhile, Director Fatkhurohman Taufik—the Chief Content Officer (CCO) and Managing Editor of Ngopibareng.id—currently handles business affairs for the Persatuan Radio dan TV Publik Daerah Seluruh Indonesia (Union of Local Public Radio and Television of Indonesia, IndonesiaPersada.id).

Based on available data, it may be concluded that PT Generasi Baru Digital has employed a vertical model of diversification and ownership. This can be seen in its upstream and downstream activities, including publication, printing, internet portal/digital platform operations, and marketing.

C. Political Affiliation of the Media in East Java

This research uses four categories in its identification of media companies' political affiliation: extreme, strong, moderate, and weak. Extreme political affiliation occurs when media owners or their families serve as directors/commissioners while simultaneously chairing a political party, contesting a parliamentary seat, or leading a local/central government. Strong affiliation occurs when media owners or their families serve as commissioners while simultaneously administering a political party, holding a parliamentary seat, or leading a local/central government. Medium affiliation occurs when members of the board of directors serve commissioners while simultaneously administering a political party, holding a parliamentary seat, or leading a local/central government. Finally, weak political affiliation occurs when journalists simultaneously serve on campaign teams or contest parliamentary seats/government positions.

To map the political affiliation of media companies in East Java, the researchers relied primarily on information collected through a focus group discussion (FGD) in East Java. Supplemental data were collected through in-depth interviews with the sampled media companies.

The discussion below presents several of the most important statements made during the FGD. First, as stated by Wahyu Kuncoro—a representative of Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI), East Java—media ownership and political affiliation are highly diverse. This is a logical consequence of Paragraph 9 of the Press Law, which specifies that every citizen has the right to establish a press company; this regulation, which allows for the free ownership of the media, is intended to ensure that no one group can monopolize the media. However, given the prevalence of political affiliation in the Indonesian media, the general public has become skeptical of the media’s ability to remain neutral.

Wahyu’s statement was echoed by another informant, Aufikri Hamdhani, a representative of MCW (Malang Corruption Watch):

“Mapping press ownership is important to obtain a closer look at how the media produces news. As we know, the reality of our politics tends to be quite transactional. This is common knowledge. There is a tendency in contemporary politics, if we don’t rely on identity politics, we turn to transactionalism; sometimes it even results in violence. This transactionalism overlaps with the commercial leanings of the media. With our transactional politics and our commercial media industry, we can’t help it; in the end, there will be an intersection between political interests and the commercialization of the media industry.” (Aufikri Hamdhani, FGD, May 13, 2023).

This was also supported by Eben Haezer, a representative of the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) Surabaya, who explained that, although the East Javan media are quite diverse, they share the same ideology: money and power. In other words, to borrow a phrase from Eka Rahmawati of the General Election Supervisory Agency, East Java, the media has become a “political creature”, an instrument in the consolidation of partisan power. For example, during the 2019 gubernatorial election, numerous media companies framed stories in such a manner as to influence public opinion and strengthen their owners’ political positions.

Meanwhile, according to Kuku S Wibowo of *Tempo* magazine, media companies in East Java rely heavily on the networks and capital of the Jawa Pos Group. Although this conglomerate has presented itself as neutral, as unaffiliated with any political party, its owners have their own political leanings. Conversely, many new media companies openly favor or are affiliated with certain political actors.

In East Java, the researchers took two media organizations as their sample to represent different models of media ownership and political affiliation. First is Ngopibareng.id, a media company that was created explicitly to advance its owner's political interests. Second is Beritajatim.com, a media company that has sought to maintain its neutrality as it has navigated the digital era.

It cannot be denied that, looking to its history, Ngopibareng.id is an online media platform that was established to advance the political interest of its founders: to support Saifullah Yusuf (Gus Ipul) in East Java's 2018 gubernatorial election. Because it was established to ensure the electoral victory of its owner, it used an approach to and model of journalism that advanced this goal. As stated by Amir Tejo Sukmono, the editor-in-chief of Ngopibareng.id:

"For Ngopibareng.id, the shareholders were Gus Ipul, Mr. Affandi, and Mr. Anis. When I joined as editor-in-chief, we had already been told by one of our shareholders (Mr. Anis) that we would be handling Ngopibareng.id seriously. If Gus Ipul were to become governor, we would benefit, but if Gus Ipul lost, it would be the end." (Amir Tejo Sukmono, interview, May 11, 2023)

Indeed, Ngopibareng.id was initially intended to advance political interests. At the time, it was an open secret that Ngopibareng.id was one of Gus Ipul's campaign activities. In its registration with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, PT Generasi Baru Digital reported Muhammad Falihuddin Daffa—the second child of Gus Ipul—was reported as executive commissioner. This supports the direct affiliation between Ngopibareng.id and a contemporarily active political actor.

Amir Tejo Sukmono explained the logic behind the name ngopibareng.id. The phrase *ngopi bareng* (literally "to take coffee together") was part of a political strategy to influence East Javan voters by using local language and culture. It refers to a relaxed and informal social interaction, a warm meeting of friends. Such a warm and relaxed atmosphere was deliberately invoked, as the founders expected that this would maximize the nascent media company's influence.

Based on a review of legal documents, it may be concluded that Ngopibareng.id practiced an extreme form of political affiliation. This is because its executive commissioner, Mohammad Falihuddin Daffa, is the second son of Gus Ipul, the Mayor of Pasuruan. Several of its directors and commissioners have administered political parties or held important positions in the local government. This has inexorably influenced the platform's management and editorial policy.

The second media company is Beritajatim.com, which has been relatively able to distance itself from political interests and affiliations. At most, coverage of political

issues exhibited a professional transactionalism. Beritajatim.com has consistently upheld the journalistic code of ethics in its editorial policies and coverage.

According to interviews with Dwi Eko Lokononto, the editor-in-chief of Beritajatim.com, the company was established in 2006 by two journalists; three more were brought into the fold later. These journalists were concerned for their lives after retirement, fearing that their savings would be insufficient. The founders of the company, drawing on their backgrounds, have claimed a “journalistic conscience” as the guiding principle of Beritajatim.com and its coverage.

Concentrated media ownership influences the direction and focus of news coverage as well as its shaping of public discourse. When a media company is controlled by individuals with particular political interests, these owners may choose to shape news coverage or decide to publish only items that advance their political interests. Through such activities, they present a partisan narrative that unjustly influences public opinion.

To analyze the influence of East Java’s media owners on the balance of information and freedom of the press, it is necessary to first review the concentration of media ownership in the province. Several large media conglomerates have a controlling share in most of the region’s media company. Discussion during the FGD indicated that such concentrated media ownership has influenced media companies’ ability to present balanced political information and safeguard the freedom of the press. As mentioned by Immanuel Yosua, from the East Javan branch of the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI):

“That which we call journalism, certainly it attempts to be objective, but where the owners are involved there are sometimes problems.” (Immanuel Yosua, FGD, May 13, 2023)

Kukuh S. Wibowo of *Tempo* added:

“Truly, journalists desire independence, to be free of outside influence, but sometimes the owners... Nevertheless, there are owners who stay hands-off, who are free of any form of political affiliation, and I think that’s good; they don’t try to influence anything.” (Kukuh S. Wibowo, FGD, May 13, 2023)

Regarding the importance of independent journalism vis-à-vis practical politics, Eben Haezer of AJI Surabaya stated:

“At AJI, we urge our members who have political affiliations to withdraw from our organization. Recently, there were AJI members who became active [government agencies], and we recommended that they resign. There are some people, they

don't mind and they resign; resignation doesn't mean losing our kinship bonds. We can still communicate, talk things through. Those two people, the ones we asked to resign, they didn't mind doing so because they had chosen to become active in politics." (Eben Haezer, FGD, May 13, 2023)

The FGD participants agreed that concentrated media ownership increases the uniformity and monotony of news coverage, especially when media owners have strong bonds. Such uniformity reduces the likelihood of diverse viewpoints being reported, and this in turn undermines the public's ability to access objective and balanced information. In the end, only one side of the story is presented.

The aforementioned concentration of media ownership in East Java has also affected the freedom of the press. When media companies are under the control of politicized owners, they are more likely to present biased coverage and erase/neglect opposing views.

This research found that media companies whose owners are affiliated with political parties, or that were established to advance their owners' political interests (for example, Ngopibareng.id) tend to be biased in presenting political information. Conversely, media companies that retain their independence tend to be better equipped to maintain their neutrality—if only for the pragmatic purpose of safeguarding their business interests.

The concentration of media ownership in East Java, thus, may significantly influence the balance of information and freedom of the press. In several instances, media companies with extant political affiliations have allocated more space for stories that advance their political interests or suppressed stories that are detrimental to said interests.

D. Implications of Political Affiliation for East Javan Media

The influence of local media companies' political affiliation on their coverage may result in complex journalistic issues. The political involvement of local media often influences the point of view taken and level of objectivity in its news coverage, as well as the process through which news stories are selected. This can affect the quality and integrity of the news stories presented to the public. When local media companies are too close to political actors, conflicts of interest may emerge or certain actors may attempt to unduly influence the newsroom—thereby having a detrimental effect on democracy.

The following section explores the effect of news companies' political affiliation on their news coverage in East Java.

"Our greatest challenge as journalists, sometimes we are stuck going back and forth, changing our tune as we go. Take, for example, when Ganjar Pranowo came

to visit East Java the other day. The head office, they ordered us to push stories about Ganjar on D-Day. We don't know what is happening in the editorial room, we don't make policy, all we can do is follow instructions." (Eben Haezer, FGD, May 13, 2023).

Discussion with Eben, a journalist who currently chairs AJI's Surabaya office, turned to the coverage of East Java's gubernatorial election.

"While covering the gubernatorial election, Mrs. Khofifah at the time... there were some journalists who explicitly announced their support for her, and that was regrettable. We know that media actors have their affiliations; that much cannot be denied. But sometimes, what we need to do, we need to urge them not to be so forward about it. Don't bare everything like that, because when we show our leanings to the public, they won't trust the media anymore. We are worried that the public will lose faith in the press, because I know, I'm sure, that although many media companies and journalists have their biases, there are still journalists who emphasize idealism. Media companies that still adhere to a code of ethics, I'm sure there are still many. So we mustn't allow the public to stop trusting the press. Once they have lost their faith, everything will be blamed on social media. In principle, I believe that the news media will never be entirely free of political and economic influences. But *nek ngono yo ngono* but *ojo ngono* (if it has to be like that, don't be like that)." (Eben Haezer, FGD, May 13, 2023).

The influence of media companies' political affiliation can be seen in their news coverage. The research team thus analyzed news content published by Beritajatim.com and Ngopibareng.id. Five topics were selected to identify tendencies in news coverage: the 2019 general election, the 2020 local elections, the corruption perpetrated by the journalist Tatang Istiawan, the support received by Khofifah Indar Parawansa, and the 2024 general election. After these topics were selected, the coverage published by Ngopibareng.id and Beritajatim.com was explored. Between three and seven stories were chosen for each issue/topic. For the 2019 general election, coverage spanned the period between September 18, 2018, and April 13, 2019. For the 2020 local election, coverage spanned September 26 through December 5, 2020. Meanwhile, for local political issues and the 2024 general election, the researchers focused on news stories published between January 1 and May 1, 2023. After the news stories were selected, coverage was analyzed using three variables: objectivity, factuality, and criticality.

First, regarding the topic of the 2019 general election, the researchers reviewed news articles that were published between September 23, 2018, and April 13, 2019. This analysis explored the atmosphere during the 2019 election, as well as how media

outlets framed the political maneuvers of the two pairs of candidates: Joko Widodo and Ma'ruf Amin (Jokowi–Ma'ruf) and Prabowo Subianto and Sandiaga Uno.

Analysis found that Beritajatim.com frequently used hyperbole and sensational diction in its headlines and its coverage. This can be seen, for example, in the article “Langkahi Makam KH Bisri, Gus Choi: Mungkin Sandi Tak Pernah Ngaji” (“Stepping Over the Grave of KH Bisri, Gus Choi: Maybe Sandi Never Learned Worship”), published November 14, 2018 (Beritajatim.com, 2018a). This article presents a statement by Gus Choi, who argued that Sandiaga Uno had disrespected the grave of KH Bisri and claimed this act as evidencing that the candidate had never learned proper Islamic worship.

“Visiting a grave, there is an etiquette. There are morals, there are expectations. And *pesantren*, they teach all of that. Maybe this means that he never learned worship or heeded instruction.”¹¹ (Beritajatim.com, 2018a).

In this article, Beritajatim.com did not present any responses or counterarguments from Sandiaga Uno. Consequently, it showed questionable objectivity in its coverage.

Similar use of hyperbole to the detriment of public interest can be seen in the headlines “Geger, Ajak Pilih Prabowo Sambil Panjat Patung Warok Ponorogo” (“Chaos, Inviting People to Vote for Prabowo while Climbing the Warok Ponorogo Statue”), published September 28, 2018 (Beritajatim.com, 2018b), and “Mulut dan Ucapan Perempuan Punya Daya Magis” (“The Mouths and Words of Women have Magical Power”), published November 17, 2018 (Beritajatim.com, 2018c). In these stories, Beritajatim.com did not consider the urgency of its coverage and exhibited partisanship that favored one candidate, as seen in the following excerpt:

“While descending the statue, going down the stairs, Ramadani continued to invite people to vote for Prabowo as president. He claimed to be one of Prabowo’s men. He also identified himself as coming from Palembang, a student at a local Islamic school”¹² (Beritajatim.com, 2018b).

In the second article, Beritajatim.com showed favor for Jokowi–Ma'ruf by emphasizing the broader context:

“Bambang Soesatyo, the Speaker of the House of Representatives of Indonesia, viewed the Deklarasi Perempuan Tangguh Pilih Jokowi (Women’s Declaration of

¹¹ “Ziarah kubur itu ada tata kramanya, ada akhlakunya, ada budi pekertinya. Dan di pesantren itu diajarkan semuanya. Mungkin berarti tidak pernah mengaji atau mendengar itu.”

¹² “Selama turun dari patung menyusur tangga, Ramadani terus mengajak orang di sekitarnya memilih Prabowo sebagai presiden. Ia juga mengaku sebagai anak buah Prabowo. Juga menyatakan diri sebagai orang Palembang, siswa sebuah sekolah berbasis keislaman.”

Staunch Support for Jokowi, PERTIWI) as part of the women's enormous political power in Indonesia. Not only active at the well or the kitchen, today Indonesian women are taking to the field as political agents."¹³ (Beritajatim.com, 2018c).

Reviewing the news articles published by Beritajatim.com, the researchers found that the platform was unbalanced in its coverage. Analysis showed that news stories tended to emphasize the accusations against and scandals faced by Prabowo–Sandiaga. Positive coverage of the candidates, meanwhile, was lacking.

Meanwhile, reviewing stories about the 2019 presidential election published by Ngopibareng.id, no indications of objectivity were found. This can be seen in various headlines, such as “Survei Amerika Sebut Prabowo Menang Pilpres 2019” (“American Survey Finds Prabowo Will Win the 2019 Presidential Election”, Ngopibareng.id, 2019a), “Jokowi–Ma’ruf Punya Kesempatan Menang Lebih Besar” (“Jokowi–Ma’ruf Have a Greater Chance to Win”, Ngopibareng.id, 2019b), and “Jokowi akan Rebut Daerah Basis Prabowo pada Pilpres 2014” (“Jokowi Will Win Places Carried by Prabowo in the 2014 Presidential Election”, Ngopibareng.id, 2018). All three of these articles relied on only one informant; none of them provided any space for counterarguments or responses from the opposition. Likewise, due to their failure to present other viewpoints, none of the articles were critical in their coverage. They merely presented information, without any critical analysis. Such a tendency is common amongst Indonesia's online media, wherein “one story, one informant” has become standard and readers are expected to open different articles to find differing viewpoints.

Next, the researchers reviewed articles about the 2024 presidential election that were published by Beritajatim.com and Ngopibareng.id between January and May 2023. These stories were selected to ascertain how the two media companies responded to the various events and issues that involved the candidates, groups, and coalitions that could potentially contest the election. The criticism and support presented by these companies was analyzed based on their objectivity, factuality, and criticality, thereby evidencing whether these companies were neutral in their coverage.

Analysis of the articles published by Beritajatim.com suggested that objectivity was minimal. This is supported by several points, including its use of hyperbole and sensationalism, its expression of excessive partisan support for candidates, and its failure to present balanced arguments through its articles.

Analysis found that the news content published by Beritajatim.com tended to be positive in its coverage of Ganjar Pranowo, who is expected to be the PDIP's candidate

¹³ “Ketua DPR RI, Bambang Soesatyo, memandang Deklarasi Perempuan Tangguh Pilih Jokowi (PERTIWI) merupakan sebuah bagian dari bangunan besar kekuatan politik perempuan Indonesia. Tak hanya berkuat di sekitaran sumur dan dapur, perempuan Indonesia kini sudah masuk gelanggang politik untuk bertempur.”

in the election. This can be seen, for example, in the story “Ganjarian Jawa Timur: Pak Ganjar Jaga Marwah Prinsip Negara” (“Ganjarians of East Java: Mr. Ganjar Upholds the Honor and Principles of the State”), published March 30, 2023 (Wirawan, 2023). This article positively presents the views of Ganjar’s supporters (i.e., Ganjarians) within the context of the decision to remove Indonesia as the host of the 2023 FIFA U-20 World Cup. At the time, Ganjar was widely criticized for refusing to allow the Israeli team to compete. An excerpt of the coverage is presented below:

“The Ganjarians of East Java regretted the decision of the International Association Football Federation (FIFA) to remove Indonesia as the host of the U-20 World Cup. However, they fully supported the decision of Governor of Central Java Ganjar Pranowo to oppose the Israeli U20 team’s arrival in Indonesia”¹⁴ (Wirawan, 2023).

Ideally, such news stories should include statements from informants with differing viewpoints, thereby presenting dialog within the same article. Although Ganjar had not yet received the PDIP’s formal backing, there were already strong indications that Beritajatim.com favored this candidate.

Such positive coverage is also evident in the coverage of the announcement, made on April 21, 2023, that the PDIP would be fielding Ganjar Pranowo as its presidential candidate in the 2024 election. Beritajatim.com published various stories between April 21 and 24, 2023, that presented the responses of diverse groups. Take, for example, the articles “Kiai Muda Pendukung Ganjar Gelar Pelatihan Membatik” (“Young Kiai Supporting Ganjar to Hold Batik Training”), published April 4, 2023 (Soekarno, 2023); “Srikandi PDIP Surabaya Siap Menangkan Ganjar Pranowo di Pilpres 2024” (“Srikandis of PDIP Surabaya Ready to Bring Ganjar Pranowo Victory in 2024 Presidential Election”), published April 21, 2023 (Gunawan, 2023); “Kolega Surabaya Tanpa Sekat Suku, Ras, dan Agama Siap Menangkan Ganjar” (“Colleagues of Surabaya Without Racial, Ethnic, and Religious Divides Ready to Back Ganjar”), published April 22, 2023 (Gunawan, 2023); “Ksatria Airlangga Nyatakan Dukungan ke Ganjar Pranowo” (“Ksatria Airlangga Announce Support for Ganjar Pranowo”), published April 24, 2023 (Soekarno, 2023); “BMI Jawa Timur: Pencalonan Ganjar Capres PDIP Selaras Keinginan Anak Muda” (“BMI East Java: Ganjar Presidential Candidacy with PDIP Reflects Youths’ Desires”), published April 24, 2023 (Soekarno, 2023); and “Ganjar Capres, PDIP Surabaya: Pas Mudik, Berita Baik Ini Kami Kabarkan ke Kerabat” (“Ganjar’s Candidacy, PDIP Surabaya: Returning Home, We’ll Bring the Good News to Our Families”), published April 21, 2023 (Soekarno, 2023).

¹⁴ “Ganjarian Jawa Timur prihatin dengan keputusan Federasi Sepak Bola Internasional (FIFA) yang membatalkan posisi Indonesia sebagai tuan rumah Piala Dunia U20. Namun mereka mendukung penuh langkah Gubernur Jawa Tengah Ganjar Pranowo untuk menolak tim Israel U20 datang ke Indonesia”

Beritajatim.com did not show factuality or criticality in any of the above seven stories, as evidenced by the fact that none of these articles presented contrasting data collected through research, surveys, or interviews with experts. The articles published by Beritajatim.com relied on one informant, and thus failed to cover both/all sides. The coverage published by Beritajatim.com was minimal in its information and data, yet used highly emotional and sensational language. This tendency is evident in its headlines and quotations, as well as the hyperbolic language used. Although none of these articles relied on anonymous informants, they relied on statements from informants who shared the same political views and stances. Consequently, the media presented no space for debate or contrasting views.

Ngopibareng.id was found to have similar tendencies. The researchers analyzed five stories, namely “Ganjar Capres, PDIP Surabaya Dirikan Posko Gotong Royong” (“Ganjar’s Candidacy, PDIP Surabaya Establishes Post for Mutual Aid”, Ngopibareng.id, 2023a), “Dirikan Empat Posko di Kenjeran, Optimis Ganjar Pranowo Berjaya” (“Establishing Four Posts in Kenjeran, Optimistic for Ganjar Pranowo Victory”, Ngopibareng.id, 2023b), “Didukung Penuh Konfederasi Buruh, Ganjar: Terima Kasih” (“Fully Backed by Labor Confederation, Ganjar: Thank You”, Ngopibareng.id, 2023c), “Posko Ganjar Presiden Menjamur di Surabaya, PDIP: Kita All Out” (“Posts for Ganjar Presidency Mushrooming in Surabaya, PDIP: We’re Going All Out”, Ngopibareng.id, 2023d), and “Kader PDIP Surabaya Dirikan Posko Gotong Royong Ganjar Presiden” (“PDIP Cadres in Surabaya Establish Post for Mutual Aid to Support Ganjar Presidency”, Ngopibareng.id, 2023e). None of these stories were objective, as they all relied solely on one informant and failed to present the views or counterarguments of others. These five articles also used hyperbole to present Ganjar Pranowo’s candidacy in the 2024 election.

Third, the researchers investigated articles about East Java’s 2020 local elections published between September 26 and December 5, 2020. This topic was selected due to its potential influence on the media’s framing of items involving local political actors. Analysis found that, in its coverage of the local election, Beritajatim.com exhibited neutrality but failed to provide space for debate and discourse. The articles presented the election results in Malang, Sidoarjo, and Surabaya, using information from only one or two informants. These informants were often associated with political parties, and included representatives of these parties’ election and steering committees. Beritajatim.com appeared to be neutral in its coverage of the topic.

Beritajatim.com covered political parties with diverse backgrounds, including nationalist parties such as PDIP as well as religious parties such as PKB and Gelora. This suggests that the platform was not affiliated with any particular party. Furthermore, within the context of the 2020 election, Beritajatim.com used verifiable information from explicitly identified informants. It presented the full names and offices of its

informants; consequently, it avoided using any anonymous sources, though it was not critical in its coverage.

Meanwhile, Ngopibareng.id was more hyperbolic in its coverage of East Java's 2020 local elections. It explicitly showed support for Gus Ipul, who was contesting the Pasuruan's mayoral election. Such a position is not surprising given the background of Ngopibareng.id, which was explicitly established to promote Gus Ipul's campaign during the 2019 gubernatorial election. Reviewing three articles published by Ngopibareng.id, "Gus Ipul Jadi Warga Kehormatan Silat Mancilan" ("Gus Ipul Made Honorary Member of Mancilan Silat Community", HohNgopibareng.id, 2020a), "Gus Ipul–Mas Adi Melebur Bareng Ratusan Jemaah Selasa Pahing" ("Gus Ipul–Mas Adi Join Hundreds of Faithful on Pahing Tuesday", Ngopibareng.id, 2020b), and "Kampanye Virtual ala Gus Ipul, Tetap Semangat dan Ceria" ("A Virtual Campaign a la Gus Ipul: Still Passionate and Joyful", Ngopibareng.id, 2020c), the researchers found that the articles only presented campaign materials without any critical consideration or arguments from other sources.

The researchers have found that media ownership in East Java has the potential to assert political control and influence public opinion. There is a concentration of media ownership in East Java, where many major media companies have strong political ties. This gives rise to concern that the media will be used as a tool for practicing political control, a means of consolidating support for the political parties or politicians backed by their owners.

The concentration of media ownership in East Java has threatened the balance of information and freedom of the press in the region, undermining the media's ability to present varied viewpoints and ideals. Concentrated media ownership can result in media companies becoming associated with particular political actors, or produce partisan coverage that fails to consider all sides. Such coverage cannot provide independent and objective information. At the same time, as media outlets become associated with political actors, the freedom of the press is threatened; media owners and their political allies can easily abuse their power to hinder journalists' efforts to provide critical coverage.

CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTION

A. Conclusion

1. Typology of Media Ownership

Analysis of the registration documents of five national media (the Emtek Group, MNC Group, Viva Group, Trans Group, and Media Group) found that all employed a conglomerate ownership model. These five groups are involved not only in the media sector, including upstream and downstream media activities, but also in various other sectors. Such an ownership model may be used to increase the efficiency of business activities while simultaneously ensuring greater control of the media production process. These mechanisms have created a closed market, wherein new competitors cannot easily gain a foothold.

Interestingly, this research finds some differences between Indonesia’s national and local media. While national media companies tend to employ a conglomerate ownership model, local media companies prefer a chain ownership model. It should be noted, however, that several local media companies exist and operate within the networks of national media conglomerates.

This difference can be explained by recognizing that several of the local media companies examined here are nascent establishments with relatively little capital and limited human resources. This, in turn, has reduced their ability to maneuver within local media markets. Due to their lack of capital, some of the media companies investigated here have had difficulty accessing funding; consequently, they have become dependent on government grants and the proceeds generated by political advertisements.

Figure 7.1. Media Ownership Structures in Four Areas

Media Name	Type	Ownership Model			
		Horizontal	Vertical	Diagonal	Conglomeration
National					
MNC Group	Holding company	✓	✓	✓	✓
Media Group	Holding company	✓	✓	✓	✓
Emtek Group	Holding company	✓	✓	✓	✓
Trans Corp	Holding company	✓	✓	✓	✓
East Java					
Ngopibareng.id	Local company		✓		
Beritajatim.com	Local company		✓		
South Sulawesi					
Fajar.co.id	Subsidiary company	✓	✓		
Tribun-timur.com	Subsidiary company	✓	✓	✓	

Media Name	Type	Ownership Model			
		Horizontal	Vertical	Diagonal	Conglomeration
East Kalimantan					
<i>Koran Kaltim</i> (print/online)	Local company	✓	✓		
<i>Tribun Kaltim</i> (print/online)	Subsidiary company	✓	✓	✓	

Notes:

1. **Horizontal:** The company owns several outlets or brands on the same platform (i.e., several newspapers, several television stations)
2. **Vertical:** The company owns a media business and related businesses (from upstream to downstream), for example printing, publication, distribution, marketing, talent management, advertising, etc.
3. **Diagonal:** The company owns multiple media platforms (television, radio, newspaper, online, etc.)
4. **Conglomeration:** The company owns several businesses in the media (diagonal/horizontal/vertical) and non-media (hospitality, mining, finance, property, etc.) sectors

2. Political Affiliation of the Media

This study has investigated the direct and indirect political affiliation of journalists and media owners. Direct affiliation occurs when journalists or media owners have direct ties with government institutions, political parties, and/or related organizations. Such direct affiliation may take several forms. First, a journalist/media owner may have chaired/currently chair a political party. Second, a journalist/media owner may have held/currently hold a position within a government institution; indeed, the researchers identified several current heads of local government with a background in journalism. Third, a journalist/media owner may become involved in practical politics by contesting a seat in the House of Representatives or local parliament. In this regard, the current study was somewhat limited as it was conducted prior to the General Elections Commission’s publication of the official electoral list; as a result, the researchers were unable to confirm which journalists and media owners were contesting Indonesia’s 2024 parliamentary election.

Meanwhile, indirect political affiliation occurs when journalists and media owners have close bonds with political actors. Such affiliation is more difficult to detect and prove. Several informants mentioned the prevalence of such indirect political affiliation at the local level, wherein journalists remain associated with local political actors. Due to the limited availability of informants and data, such indirect affiliation was not explored here. Consequently, further research is necessary to better understand the influence of indirect political affiliation on news coverage.

The political affiliation of the media, be it direct or indirect, has several implications. This research has identified three major implications. *First*, in their operations, journalists and media owners are expected to maintain a careful balance between political interests, editorial interests, and market interests. One informant used the phrase “test

the waters ... play nice” to describe this quest for balance. There is the need to “heed” market interests by presenting the information desired by readers. At the same time, there is tension between these market considerations and the company’s political and editorial interests. This tension is particularly evident when media companies are owned by persons who are involved in practical politics; conversely, when media owners are not directly affiliated with political parties or government institutions, the tension is less palpable. Several informants indicated that, in matters of politics, journalists often espouse views that differ from those of media owners. Consequently, they are left in a vulnerable position and “forced” to advance the interests of the media owner; this vulnerability is only exacerbated during elections.

Second, there is a conflict of interest when journalists contest parliamentary seats. When a journalist seeks election, their personal political interests may run contrary to the journalistic code of ethics. For instance, the code of ethics requires all journalists to uphold the values of independence and balance in their media coverage; this, naturally, runs contrary to the partisanship required to achieve practical political goals. Several informants described this conflict as irreconcilable. Professional organizations such as AJI and PWI have firmly emphasized that journalists seeking a position in parliament (i.e., who are identified on the official electoral list) should resign—or at least take a hiatus—from their profession. At the same time, it cannot be denied that journalists who seek political office have shown partisanship and political bias, something that endures even after their bids are unsuccessful or their terms end. Such biases will influence how information is conveyed.

Third, news coverage can be used to shape public opinion. This is certainly not new; the role of the media in shaping public opinion during the 2014 and 2019 general elections is well documented. During both elections, media owners who became involved in practical politics influenced the newsroom and guided editorial policies, thereby asserting their political agendas and promoting their favored candidates. Such a situation may occur again in the upcoming 2024 election; this, naturally, would be detrimental to the public, as it would become impossible to achieve objective discourse. When media owners (and the journalists who report to them) are busy promoting the agendas of their political affiliates, it will be impossible for the public to obtain independent and balanced information. In any democracy, positive discourse can only be created when the media is objective—rather than partisan—in its coverage.

One important finding of this research is that the national and local media differ in their political affiliation. Interviews and focus group discussions found that the national media tend to be more open in their political affiliation. The researchers interviewed several journalists who were presently contesting or who had previously contested seats in parliament, finding that such affiliation was normalized rather than taboo. Meanwhile, local media outlets tended to be less open about their political affiliations.

Informants highlighted the prevalence of indirect political affiliation, which was most commonly practiced at the individual level.

Informants involved in national and local media were similar in their emphasis on the journalistic code of ethics. Several informants indicated that, although political affiliation was inevitable, it could not be allowed to influence coverage. In other words, journalists and media companies were expected to uphold their code of ethics. This paradox is particularly interesting, as the researchers found that political affiliations can still bias the media's coverage of political issues. The extent to which journalists can push aside such partisan tendencies would prove a fascinating topic for further research.

3. Research Innovations and Contributions

As mentioned in Chapter II, in the past decade many studies have investigated media ownership in Indonesia—mostly using a political economic approach. Through a review of legal documents, series of interviews, and analysis of news content, this study has added to the discourse on media ownership and political affiliation in Indonesia. As such, this study has provided innovative insight into the contemporary Indonesian media landscape. Such insight is sorely needed to produce a map of media ownership in Indonesia vis-à-vis the diverse political ambitions being contested in the 2024 general election.

This research has found that the freedom of the press in Indonesia remains limited not by autocratic forces but by the increased dominance of political actors who become media owners while simultaneously taking political office. Certainly, this study is not without its limitations. Its reliance on secondary data sources, particularly the corporate documents registered with the Directorate General of General Legal Administration, Ministry of Law and Human Rights, and the Indonesian Stock Exchange, may have presented an ideal—rather than an actual—portrait of the current situation. Nonetheless, this study can provide an introductory portrait of media ownership in Indonesia as well as the practice of media ownership within the context of political ambition. It is hoped that this research can enable policymakers, media professionals, and civil society actors to better understand political intervention in the newsroom; without an abundance of caution, this could result in unhealthy competition in the upcoming election.

B. Reflection: Conglomerates, Practical Politics, and the Future of the Media

Robert McChesney's classic book *Rich Media Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times* (1999) may help explain the phenomena that have occurred in Indonesia

in the past ten years. Offering insight into media ownership and its implications for democracy, Chesney uses conventional media from the United States to show that the abundance of commercial media made minimal contributions to democracy. In the digital disruption era, a similar situation has occurred: the plethora of digital media has not created a sense of optimism in electoral democracy, but rather threatened democracy and stagnation. Studies conducted in Indonesia between 2012 and 2023 have concluded that concentrated (conventional and digital) media ownership has resulted in hyper-commercialization and accelerated the spread of disinformation. This research has confirmed not only the increased concentration of media ownership but also the rise of political action within the news media.

The digital revolution has not only made it possible to expand the ownership ecosystem and improve access to (digital) media; it has also enabled the oligarchs who control conventional media to expand the scope of their activities and undertake excessive political action without regulation or the supervision of Indonesia's media monitors. Anonymity is a key difference in the structure and management of online media organizations. At the beginning of this study, the PR2Media team found that accurate data on Indonesian cybermedia is extremely difficult to obtain due to its complexity, its instability, and its "home-brewed" ownership model. Indeed, although we identified no fewer than 4,000 online media outlets, the actual number may be a hundred times that. Unfortunately, the content of such platforms appears no different than proper journalism to the average reader.

This research—conducted by PR2Media with the support of Internews Indonesia—has explored the spectrum of media ownership and political affiliation in Indonesia, seeking to understand the landscape of media ownership in Indonesia's increasingly liberalized and digitalized media system. Furthermore, this study has sought to return to the claim that, since 2010, owners-cum-politicians have asserted increased control over the Indonesian media. The most influential conventional media, particularly television media, are politically affiliated with or even owned by government officials and political party elites (Lim, 2012; Tapsell, 2015; McCoy, 2019).

Between November 2022 and September 2023, The PR2Media research team conducted field research and data analysis in four locations: Jakarta (for national media), East Java, East Kalimantan, and South Sulawesi. Throughout this process, we experienced numerous obstacles, including (1) difficulty obtaining accurate statistical data on online media, resulting in a reliance on companies that are registered with the Press Council; (2) the high cost of obtaining legal documents (acts of incorporation, registration documents) related to media companies; (3) the time investment required to trace the digital tracks of commissioners, directors, and journalists, which necessitated field research in all four of the selected provinces; and (4) not all data was publicly available, be it related to corporations or political actors, and thus in-depth

interviews were conducted with representatives of media companies and the national/local General Elections Commission.

In reading data and conducting analysis, the PR2Media team has used a variety of concepts related to media ownership and political affiliation, including those offered by Doyle (2002), Benson (2016), and Sjovaag and Ohlsson (2019). Drawing on the perspectives of these scholars, we have concluded that companies use various approaches to ownership and diversification: horizontal (one platform, many channels), vertical (from upstream to downstream), diagonal (cross ownership of various platforms and products: a mix of vertical and horizontal) and conglomeration (expansion beyond the media sector). There are two avenues toward media ownership: money (shareholdership) and power (obtaining a position of power in the media structure). Likewise, two forms of political affiliation were identified: (1) direct affiliation, wherein media owners/executives act simultaneously as public officials, parliamentary candidates/members, and/or political party executives; (2) indirect affiliation, wherein media actors are linked with political parties, government officials, members of parliament, etc. through their positions as campaign team members, consultants, and expert advisors.

Policy Recommendations

This research has identified strong indicators of the *integration of media, government, and political ownership*. Such integration began at the national level, spread to local media outlets, and became normalized. This has resulted in unjust and unhealthy competition between media outlets and between political actors. To overcome this issue, the researchers offer the following recommendations:

1. **New regulations regarding media ownership and political participation.** The General Elections Commission (KPU), Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI), Press Council, and Business Competition Monitoring Commission (KPPU) must work together to produce new regulations, or at least revise existing ones. The regulatory provisions regarding media ownership contained within Law No. 40/1999 regarding the Press, Law No. 5/1999 regarding the Prohibition of Monopolistic Practices and Unhealthy Business Practices, Law No. 32/2002 regarding Broadcasting, and Law No. 11/2020 regarding Job Creation must all be revisited. Likewise, KPU Regulation No. 19/PL.01.4-PU/05/2023 regarding the Filing of Candidacies for Members of the House of Representatives must be revised to explicitly exclude media owners. Finally, the regulations regarding election coverage, broadcasting, and campaigning contained with Article 287 of Law No. 7/2017 regarding Elections must be revised.
2. **The positions and roles of the Press Council and KPI must be strengthened.** The Press Council's ability to mitigate the politicization of media outlets remains

limited. For instance, when journalists register to contest parliamentary and executive elections, they are not required to withdraw from their professional positions until such time as they are included on the official electoral list; at this point, journalists are only asked to remain in non-active status until after their election, at which time they are asked to recuse themselves. This limited approach is still better than that of the KPU, which has generally ignored the politicization of the media. The KPU and Press Council must require a clear distinction between citizens' involvement in practical politics and their ownership of/involvement in the media. Positive examples may be drawn from the criteria for membership on the RRI/TVRI Monitoring Council or national/local broadcasting commissions.

3. **It is necessary to increase the consolidation with which civil society, particularly associations such as the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) and Indonesian Journalists Association (PWI), enforce the code of ethics.** Press associations such as the Press Company Union, Indonesian Private Televisions Association (ATVSI), Indonesian Local Televisions Association (ATVLI), and Indonesian Private Radio Broadcasters Association (PRSSNI) must also revise their guidelines for members who use the media for practical politics. Media owners and journalists who become involved in practical politics must be urged to recuse themselves from the moment they register. One potential avenue may be to seek a judicial review of the regulations related to media ownership and political affiliation; previously, the Independent Coalition for the Democratization of Broadcasting (KIDP) successfully requested a similar review of Law No. 32/2002 before the Constitutional Court.
4. **To what extent do media ownership and political affiliation influences news content and journalism?** Answering this question must be the next project. To do so, it is important to employ a more specific research method that combines analysis of news content with an ethnographic study of journalists in newsrooms. PR2Media recommends mapping the preferences and attitudes of journalists in the digital disruption era, as well as the influence of said attitudes on electoral politics. This research has found indications that journalists have accepted the politicization of the media as well as their dual role as journalists and political actors. The erosion of journalists' commitment to the code of ethics (be it because of the power disparities between them and media owners, or because of their own career ambitions) must be viewed with concern by all stakeholders.

Future Challenges

Departing from these findings, it is important to recognize that in the past few decades (and in the decades to come), media systems around the world and throughout Indonesia have not only been affected by digital disruption but also the resurgence of oligarchies in various post-authoritarian societies. The media is not a public institution

that seeks to convey information, the “fourth pillar of democracy”. Such a view is too ideal, utopian. Conglomeration, politicization, and digital disruption have resulted in media companies embracing four models.

First is public media, which is relatively independent and closely adheres to journalistic standards, seeking to provide in-depth coverage, present detailed data, and prioritize investigation. Today, we can see that *Kompas*, *Tempo*, and several local newspapers have entered the digital realm while still remaining committed to quality journalism. However, such media companies are increasingly rare, unable to compete with online news media that use algorithm-led journalism to present “instant” news designed to generate clicks rather than provide quality coverage. Since the COVID-19 pandemic, news media have faced a financial crisis that has compelled them to find new models. Although they are positively remembered as sources of enlightenment, these companies have been marginalized due to their difficulty adapting to the digital ecosystem. It is hoped that such sources of quality journalism will persevere—and even thrive—in the digital ecosystem.

Second is partisan media. In Indonesia, such partisan media have no space in the journalistic code of ethics or regulatory framework, but they have mushroomed nonetheless. In the 2019 election, national television networks such as RCTI and Metro TV were highly partisan in their promotion of certain political parties and candidates, yet failed to provide any sort of disclaimer as to their biases. In the 2024 election, a similar situation is expected as dozens of journalists contest parliamentary seats. While European nations such as Germany have recognized such partisan media, no such recognition has occurred in Indonesia.

Third are those media outlets that emphasize sensational coverage, a post-modern “yellow journalism” built upon digital algorithms and driven by clickbait. Such businesses are driven solely by short-term profit, rather than any interest in using journalism for public enlightenment. Such media have thrived in Indonesia, home to more than 180 million social media users—primarily digital natives whose behaviors differ from those of digital immigrants. Media outlets following this model are continuing to seek out new forms, even as they remain divorced from the idealistic view of the press as a public political space.

Fourth are alternative (understood from a business and ideological perspective) media, which are administered by veteran journalists and use digital technology creatively. Such media take two mutually exclusive positions: guarantors of public morality who promote in-depth and investigative journalism, such as the Multatuli Project and *Konde*, or sensational partisan media that use talk shows to achieve practical political goals. The open digital media ecosystem has created a situation wherein anyone—professional or amateur—can produce news without a permanent office or long-term business plan.

In brief, to borrow from Manuel Guerrero (2014), a captured liberal model has occurred wherein the media ecosystem has come under pressure from oligarchs and new digital conglomerates without any ideological basis or history of media management. On average, these businesses were established in non-media sectors before entering the media sector with a purely commercial perspective. In other words, the media is framed as a business institution rather than a social institution. This condition has only been exacerbated by the involvement of journalists in practical politics, which has promoted media partisanship over public interest media. At the same time, as argued by Picard and Zotto (2015), digital infrastructure has been monopolized at the national and global levels by companies such as Meta (which owns Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp) and Alphabet (which owns Google and YouTube). This has resulted in the trans-nationalization of commercial ideologies.

Reflecting upon the above four categories, a great danger is evident, one that Victor Picard described as democracy without journalism. Why? In Indonesia, media in the second and third categories are dominant, even as the country enters the 2024 general election. The present-day situation can be understood as having historical roots in the autocratic media of the New Order era, wherein media ownership is concentrated, media outlets are extensively commodified, and media regulators are ineffective. These media outlets have a great influence on the production and reproduction of public opinion. This can be seen in the ongoing debate about Indonesia's political dynasties: between those who reject it as a violation of political ethics and those who "normalize" it along processual line.

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