Politics, Media, and Sports in Indonesia

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Abstract. Sports related to the state and media in Indonesia have experienced significant development. The process is inseparable from the context of power, especially in modern Indonesia, since the era of Soekarno, Suharto, Reformasi and Digitalization of media where sports are close to the state and government with the support of media technology in its time. By using mediatization theory, we will see how these developments are from an era where sports are still mediated until entering the era of digitalization of sports. These developments have an impact on the value of the sport, the focus studied is how sports events ranging from the Asian Games in the Soekarno era, Pekan Olahraga Nasional in the Suharto era, and Recreational Sports Events in the era of Digitalization of information.

Keywords: mediasports · Politics sports · Mediatization · Digitalization · Sportsevent

1 Introduction

This media and sports in Indonesia cannot be separated from the role of the state in it. The state in this case has a share in sports activities as a form of socialization and disseminating government programs. In every period of government, the role of sport as a form of extension of the state's hand is quite visible. In examining every government in Indonesia, it cannot be separated from the period of power that occurred especially after independence, where each of these periods had its own characteristics and characteristics in influencing national sports.

The relationship between the state and sports in spreading their power programs and propaganda cannot be separated from the role of the mass media. The role of the media is quite significant in this case, namely through its infrastructure it can mediate various information quickly in every era of political power in Indonesia, the content of the main media has a strong influence on the disclosure of this information. Although describing the program here is related to propaganda which is to legitimize the political power that is currently leading. However, in its development, power propaganda is no longer through the role of power figures but systematically intertwines with the political system.

By using Mediatization theory, the relationship process between media, sports, and the state is seen as how they are interrelated. The concept of mediation exists as an illustration of social and cultural change related to media. The media which is increasingly

increasing and intensive in disseminating information to the masses brings a complex socio-cultural dynamic. The debate between academics regarding the use of the terms mediation and mediation took place, several figures such as Martin Barbero (1993), Silverstone (2007), Stewart (2002), Hoover (2006) used the term mediation in explaining the concept of Mediatization. The term mediatization is used by some of these figures to explain how culture is transformed and negotiated in the media related to social issues. Livingstone uses the word mediation which is part of a concept that describes the transformation of society and culture by the media. Meanwhile, conceptually the relationship between mediation and mediation was developed by Friedrich Krotz (2009) who explained that mediation is part of the context of media communication (mediated communication) and is more understood as a communication context rather than a cultural one. Mediation can be described as part of social and cultural change on the one hand and changes in media and communication on the other. For Hjavard, Mediatization is a lengthy process, in which social and cultural institutions and their way of interaction change because of the influence of media growth (Hjavard 2008: 114). Meanwhile, according to Hepp, mediatization is a concept used to critically analyse the long-term relationship between communicative media and socio-cultural change (Hepp 2013: 6).

Departing from the above mediation theory, this paper will look at how the process of relations between media, state and sports is related to the ruling government. Through sporting events and sports programs, the author will see how the form of the message of power spreads in society. This process went through various developments in each era, in the Soekarno and Soeharto era the form of sports mediated by the media was more prominent. Whereas in the reformation era to digitalization, it was more about mediating the sport itself which has a commercialized cultural value. To further trace these processes, the authors further divide into several eras of political power in Indonesia from Soekarno to the digitization of information.

2   Media and Sports in Soekarno Era

Media and sports in Soekarno's guided democracy era became the mainstream in disseminating his thoughts, especially his resistance to neo-colonialism and imperialism. The ideological content and spirit of his opposition to western countries which persuasively tried to seek influence in Asian-African countries seemed to be tried by Soekarno to unite so that he would not want to follow western persuasion in the cold war. For the author, sports through major events such as the Asian Games and GANEFO were used as a performance arena for Indonesian politics under Soekarno's leadership as a channel for spreading his ideology and thoughts to the international community about anti- colonialism. This spirit has previously been seen since the 1955 Asia Africa conference in Bandung, West Java. Thus, Sukarno was interested in sports because through the holding of a large event he was able to influence the countries that participated in it. However, the development and political conflict in Indonesia which became increasingly dynamic due to the cold war battle made this change in 1965 and then continued in the following years which gave birth to the New Order era under Suharto's leadership.

3   Media and Sports in Soeharto Era

During the Suharto era, sports became a program that became a supporting part of the government's development program at that time. This support is also not only for the program but as a legitimation for its power which is very centralized and undemocratic. One of the manifestations of this is the "slogan to promote sports", a jargon to generate public interest in sports. In fact, the slogan is only a propaganda for the state in controlling its institutions and playing sports an economic interest. This can be proven from the Presidential Decree No. 17 of 1984 concerning sports krida clocks as the main reference for the slogan to promote the sport, which in the contents of the regulation is more for civil servants, ABRI, Jam, Krida and Sports also applies to members of BUMN employees, company employees., students and students. This regulation is under the supervision of the heads of departments or related institutions (Keppres No. 17, 1984), so that the contents of this decision do not find a sentence that is addressed to all levels of society. The presidential decree later gave birth to a regulation on national sports days issued in 1985, which later became a national sports day which is celebrated every September 9. Since then, the slogan "Socializing Sports" has become popular with the public in Indonesia.

The slogan of promoting sports thus cannot be separated from the power of the state to further strengthen the legitimacy of its power to the community. It can be said that the New Order carried out propaganda for the sake of accepting the jargon of development which in the 80s became its flagship program and tried to be more focused on the middle class. The program to promote sports has become a routine and compulsory activity in various circles of society, however, looking back from the law above, this only occurs in institutions that have a hierarchical leadership system such as civil servants, military, schools, universities, and others. so. The implementation of this program is the broadcast of Physical Fitness Gymnastics which is increasingly popular in the community through TVR broadcasts every week which broadcasts the program every weekend. The SKJ program at that time was routinely broadcast by TVRI as an effort by the government to become more entrenched in the community for sports, and every broadcast of SKJ activities always featured various groups of people from school students to university students to government employees. In each TVRI program, SKJ's exhibitors always appear neatly lined up and demonstrate the style of gymnastics together and in uniform. The SKJ program seemed to be a popular icon in the 80s, especially regarding sports activities and from this the government claims that sport has become a culture in society.

The slogan requiring sport is also associated with the success of Indonesia's sports achievements in various international events and this is a claim for the New Order that it has succeeded in fostering national sports. However, there are various interesting things behind the slogans and achievements of Indonesian sports in the 80s that are considered successful. The success of the achievements in that era for the author was not from a slogan that became synonymous with the spirit of sports, but a resistance to the status and life of athletes who at that time experienced alienation from the state. Since the New Order era, organizations ranging from parent to sports were led by the military. This was done not only to control but to legitimize the regime's existence at that time. For Budd, in his writings Sport, Capitalism, and Sport, he sees that sport is constructed to arouse nationalism which is related to the state. As in his statement, "Sport was quickly seized

upon as a vehicle for carrying nationalist ideology into the working class. It also served state military interests in a fit and disciplined population" (Budd, 2010: 18), from this statement it can be described that the state at that time wanted to discipline its citizens through sports. Associated with the resistance of these athletes can be seen from two international sports events which in media propaganda are constructed as nationalistic identities and the country's success in fostering athletes, namely in the 1988 Olympics in South Korea and 1992 in Barcelona, Spain.

4   Media and Sports in Reformasi Till Now

After the text edit has been completed, the paper is ready for the template. Duplicate the template file by using the Save As command, and use the naming convention prescribed by your conference for the name of your paper. In this newly created file, highlight all of the contents and import your prepared text file. You are now ready to style your paper; use the scroll down window on the left of the MS Word Formatting toolbar.

Political reform in Indonesia in 1998 has experienced a shift from an authoritarian political system to a more open political system. This is indicated by, among other things, the new broadcasting policy, and the independent broadcast ownership model. As a form of legalization of this is the presence of press law no 40 of 1999 regarding national press freedom. Thanks to this law, various press publications, both printed and electronic, come with the concept of various genres so that the public has space and the right to information. This concept is like what Jurgen Habermas expressed regarding the public sphere, namely a formation of public understanding and not as an abstract principle, but as a cultural naming of social practice and this is a historical media analysis (Syahputra 2013: 143). Starting from that, there is a picture that the Reform era of press and broadcasting life in Indonesia is no longer determined by state determination, the state is no longer a determinant factor in media life, the media is thus considered to be entirely determined by the strengths and dyslectics that exist in society (Sudibyo 2009: 20). Thus, there is great hope from the public to get their right to consume information from the mass media, media content containing government propaganda at the beginning of the Reformation is expected to decrease and prioritize information that prioritizes the public interest. Although this hope is part of the public's desire in this era of openness, in practice the media industry is still dominated and controlled by businesspeople or oligarchic groups who are still close to Suharto's rule, especially in television media. This phenomenon then gave birth to an era of media and its freedom which in Iswandi Syahputra's term is a media regime, namely the wetting of mass media as a cultural institution, social institutions, institutions, economics, and political institutions simultaneously (Syahputra 2012: 5). In his illustration, Syahputra explained that in a situation of openness in the mass media after the New Order, the public seemed to be in a democratic atmosphere and entered openness, but what happened was media banality because it liked to exploit and magnify an event. Although written pessimistically, the writer considers that this statement can be an entry point to see how the mass media was in this post-New Order era.

Sports broadcasts in the mass media, especially television after the New Order era, have a variety of content and are focused on football. At the beginning of the Reformation

era, several private television stations already had several licenses to broadcast football, such as the Italian league. The broadcast of the International football league in Indonesia is a dish for football fans who have a large market potential. In connection with this, Bellamy stated that a football league needs mass media coverage as a prerequisite for gaining popularity and financial resources. Clubs need these resources to recruit players and athletes who use them to condition their professionalism. Eventually, media coverage facilitates sporting success. Taking these considerations into account, the relationship between sport and media has been described as a symbiotic relationship (Bellamy in Birkner 2006, p. 63). Football became very symbiotic with the media market in Indonesia when it got quite a lot of fans from the sports lovers. An international football league that aired on Indonesian television at the beginning of the Reformation period was the Italian league, this football league had become popular among the public and became an icon for football fans. Italian Series A fans in Indonesia are one of the largest fan groups in Asia who always hold regular meetings on social media platforms with more than 24,000 followers (Masduki 2017: 7). The Italian League has become a favourite program mostly broadcast on private broadcasters such as, ANTV 1995–1998, Rajawali Citra Televisi 1990–2001 and 2009–2010, Surya Citra Televisi 2002–2005, TPI or MNCTV 2006–2007 and TransTV 2007–2009. TVRI then tried to take the broadcast rights to the Italian league in 2012, this step was taken after public television caught up with the market competition that the state-owned media was starting to feel. The Italian League broadcast aired by TVRI from 2012 to 2013 was TVRI's shift policy following market orientation to restore its central position in the market (Masduki 2017: 8). Apart from the high number of viewers, soccer league broadcasts are seen as a means of generating revenue through commercial advertisements, quizzes, and various events throughout Indonesia.

The digitalization of information in the realm of the media in Indonesia began to resonate around 2009 with the commencement of trials for the application of a digital system in broadcasting in the Greater Jakarta area. Based on the roadmap of the Ministry of Communication and Information regarding the digitization of broadcasting in Indonesia, television broadcasts in Indonesia are planned to operate entirely with a digital system in 2018. Meanwhile, the Minister of Communications and Information Technology states that at the latest this migration process has started since 2012 (Yusuf 2015: 2). Digitalization is an alternative for the government from analogue broadcasting, both radio and television. Optimization in broadcasting so far includes broadcast channels with a larger number and broadcasting infrastructure, such as transmitting towers, antennas, and transmission channels where one device is still sufficient for many broadcasts. The government argues that digital broadcasting technology has now become a global technological trend, so it needs to be considered if the Indonesian nation does not want to be left behind with other countries. In addition, it is estimated that in the future, analog television broadcasts will no longer operate. Analog equipment will rarely be produced again, including its spare parts (Yusuf 2015: 12).

The mass media industry is now entering the era of digitalization, several types of media, both print and electronic, have entered the realm of technological development to maintain their market. The mass media in Indonesia, which has been developing very rapidly since the reformation, has had challenges in developing creative programs for the

public. The market logic that has become part of the ownership of this industry makes the decision-making process in the media a cultural industrial apparatus which is closely related to capitalism. Through the development of digitalization, the media must take a position to survive the entry of new media, and this is very closely related to mass media management which must adapt. The mass media conglomeration in Indonesia which is quite significant and closely follows the flow of the market has made the regulations regarding broadcasting and the press undergo changes which are sufficiently fulfilled by the interests of the industry. To adopt the importance of the dissemination of digitalization in the world of journalism, it is entered into a law to appreciate this. In Indonesia, the phenomenon of digitalization in the realm of the press has entered with the emergence of several new regulations. First, the adoption of Cyber Media Guidelines which serve as guidelines for online media in carrying out journalism activities. These guidelines are complementary to the Journalistic Code of Ethics and the Press Law. Second, the Law on Information and Electronic Transactions. This law is explicitly not intended for the press in digital media. It is just that, in several cases that have emerged, journalists or even online media have been ensnared by this law (Nurlatifah 2018: 75). Apart from those two, there is also a debate that tends to be of a political economy in nature in the revision of the drafting of the broadcasting law, especially regarding the position of digitization in the regulation. This debate has a political economy character because it is full of the interests of media owners in monopolizing a regulation on digital broadcasting. So that until this writing has not resulted in an agreement in the revision of the Law. However, it is interesting that the digital broadcasting process has occurred in the realm of the internet world in several forms of information, one of which is sports.

Digital platforms in news and information about sports are quite developed in Indonesia today. Since the launch of the Palapa satellite in 1974 onwards, the country has opened to the satellite market which then has an impact on information disclosure. In the early 90s, Indonesia began to unrestricted access through pay TV via satellite where previously the public, if they wanted to access foreign television broadcasts, had to subscribe to a paid channel or by the term (Pay TV). In Indonesia itself, in its development, it comes with a cable TV format that prioritizes fiber optic cables. According to Ade Armando in his book Televisi Indonesia under Global Capitalism (2016) states that in the 2002 broadcasting law the two types of broadcasting above are covered under the category of Subscription Broadcasting Institutions (Armando 2016: 211). Pay television with satellite technology is the entrance to the era of digitalization of information after previously in the early 90s Indonesia had also known the internet through providers that were also paid but specifically for computer networks. Departing from this phenomenon, the link between television and the internet has become a component in digitizing information, which in its current development is expanding and becoming a necessity for the media industry. Programs that are entertaining as well as accommodating audiences as a market arena for the media industry have expanded to the mass media in Indonesia. One of them is a sports program, as a commodity for information in the mass media sports industry to become news values which are expected to gain profits.

Entering the era of digitalization, news about sports has been widely spread through various media platforms. Sports, which were mediated by television media, are now digitizing more quickly in disseminating information. This change in communication

technology has become a major driver in the relationship between media and all aspects of society including the relationship between sports and media. In David Rowe's view, this connection is related to the complexity of the relationship between media and sports, Rowe states that the complexity between sports and media is not just from text, representational techniques, or marketing but develops into cultural relationships, namely sports with entertainment, media, people of the press, and fans. Sports (Rowe 2013: 78). Whereas in the previous process the media acted as a form of mediation for various sports events such as competitions, athletes, national and international events and so on. Now with digitalization it has been intertwined in a sociocultural complexity, where sports which are mediated by the media have now been transformed into a relationship that influences each other.

In Indonesia, the role of digitalization in reporting and informing sports has developed quite rapidly and has begun to be felt in the last few decades. Some conventional media, which were previously printed versions, have switched to digital formats, this change has indirectly changed the structure and format in a media industry. The rapid digitalization is inseparable from the increasing number of internet users in Indonesia, which until 2018 according to data from Statista there were 95.2 million people and 48% of them were social media users based on applications from mobile phones (Statista 2019). Meanwhile, in terms of sports news, especially in online media, there have been several large media originating from conventional media such as the Bola tabloid, which transformed into Bola.com, which is part of the Kompas Gramedia group. Apart from that, also from television stations that utilize online media such as detiksport which is part of the online news site detik, where structurally the company is under the auspices of the Trans media group. Several online media sites that focus on sports are also growing rapidly through a variety of creative content on these sites to inform the public about sports in an updated and fast manner.

Entering the era of digitalization of information in Indonesia, the search for information about sports ranging from sports motivators, exercise tips to sports events is completely available. People who love sports no longer have difficulty finding various kinds of information according to their personal desires or sporting interests. In addition, the information contained in the online media is also highly effective in carrying out sports product promotions and sports events according to people's interests. Online media in its various forms has indirectly formed a complex series in the realm of media studies. This phenomenon is expressed by Sut Jhally in his writing "Sports Media Complex" (1989) who views that the relationship between sports and media is a quite complex relationship because it involves various institutions in it. Jhally said that most people do sport most of what they see through the media (mostly through television), so that cultural experiences are very much mediated from a financial, professional, and sporting point of view increasingly depending on the finances of the media industry to keep the organization going. They are currently (Jhally 1989: 78). This complexity plays sports slowly shift into cultural value, where the boundaries of various sports domains are blurred. From this point of view, the role of the media in sports is not just information but creates a cultural mediation that has economic value and leads to commercialization. Sports and media in Indonesia in this case are not only influenced by the political system

or social situation but have long been linked to this complexity, in which the state, sports, media are one part of the institution that are interrelated with economic value.

5   Conclusion

Overall, politics, media and sports events in Indonesia are related to the political situation that affects them. In the Soekarno era, sports events became a symbol of the identity of a nation that was already independent and very ideological, in the New Order era, to be precise in Suharto's leadership, sports events were expected to have an impact on national and economic development goals, and in the Reformation era until now, sports as events were more common. Follow the logic of the media or industry. Thus, sporting events must indirectly follow the various connected logics, whether in the form of media, industry, politics, or culture. Departing from this, this research will be related to how the Mediatization of sports events is related to various domains and issues. For this study, the authors recommend that the continuation of the study of sports events need to be developed and become material for further discussion.

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