Comparative Study of Broadcasting Media Organisation and Contents Regulation in Southeast Asia

Final Report to the NBTC

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AIM OF THE STUDY: ANALYSIS OF ORGANISATIONAL AND PRACTICAL POSSIBILITIES FOR ENHANCED COOPERATION AMONG MEDIA IN ASEAN

Regional integration, which is going on already on a large scale and facing similar problems requires that the people gain a better understanding of other cultures within ASEAN. This forms the base for empathy, which is crucial for economic and political cooperation.

Such a study has to follow a tripple approach:

1. it has to look at organisational pattern from an organisational theory perspective
2. it has to analyse policies regulating media organisation and contents. With regards to policy the interesting issue is, in how far organisations evolve and emerge from within organisations like broadcasters (f.e. journalist organisations) and from linkages between organisations. Thereby we have a dynamic of interactions between organisations leading to isomorphy as well as the emergence of new organisations.
3. practical process of media production. Organisational form and activities within organisations are de-coupled. This means that both follow distinct rationalities. Thus, the organisational framework of media production can act as a determinant and pre-selection, but, it might as well remain rather independent and connected to different demands and rationalities. Thus, content analysis is necessary.

Contents analysis shall provide quantitative as well as qualitative data on agenda setting and framing within the countries.

Contents regulation can be regarded as the frame linking organisational structures and practical work as well as these two aspects between different stations within ASEAN.

The objective of the study is to provide policy guidelines for enhanced media-integration and coordination within ASEAN based on the analysis of organisational isomorphy resulting from institutional interactions between media stations within ASEAN and contents analysis based on case studies in Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar and Indonesia.

The Role of Media for Regional Integration

The degree of integration and legal convergence with regards to media in Southeast Asia is far lower than in the EU as most ambitious and institutionalised. However, cross-border media consumption either through satellite TV, internet and regular programmes in border areas has strongly increased. Thus we find a discrepancy between access to media from the audiences and coordination between media organisations and policy of the respective countries. The question is whether and in how far

this leads to forms of isomorphy between broadcasters, those working within broadcasting organisations, media policy and legal regulations of media.

The analysis of isomorphy focuses on media organisations, and thereby covers parts of the organisational frame/context in which information is broadcasted. Another but related question dealing with contents is whether programmes from public and private broadcasters leads to better information about ASEAN and those countries and cultures forming ASEAN. In short, can media play a role for enhanced cultural integration and empathy among the states of Southeast Asia. The organisational, context issue is closely connected to the issue of content, not the least because content regulation is enforced by organisations. A related question is in how far organisational isomorphy could be a base for convergence or harmonization of programmes, policies and regulations.

ASEAN

Certainly, ASEAN was established with the objective to enhance nation-building. It`s objective was to provide independence for the member states to realize their own programmes of nation building, to support each other against external threats and to enable economic growth. Consequently, problems and issues were usually regarded and treated as particular issue of a single country, and the other member states should not interfere into national politics. In addition little in terms of reporting or entertainment provided information about other states and cultures in the region. News as well as entertainment had its focus on national issues, and far less on regional issues. Even more, the national implications of regional issues were usually not considered. As Hobsbawn shows, the nation state was a European invention. During colonialism it had shown its strength which is, following Bamyeh: "The lesson from Europe, which the rest of the world began to digest fully with the colonial period, was that one of the essential prerequisites for prevailing over the other was neither richness nor formal governance by themselves, but superior cultural organization capacity, whereby everything within the domain of a country is made serviceable to the designs of the state through its appropriation as national endowment" (Bamyeh 1993:14). Media were taken as a tool to enhance nation-building. However, the close connection between national discourses and elite formation limited nation building in the sense of realization of an imagined community. Thus, it remains a question in how far media facilitate an ASEAN agenda of both nation building and regional integration. ASEAN-COCI (founded in 1978) addresses cooperation with regards to culture and information in ASEAN, but does it really play a role or can play such a role for national media?

Since the last years changes occurred, not the least due to challenges faced by all member states. In fact, the economic opening of the countries and increased mobility either as labour migration or in form of tourism, as well as investments in industries, services, and not the least financial markets required closer cooperation among the states. The political challenges namely from China (Spratleys), reform in Myanmar and Cambodia, and potential economic problems of the region due to the European financial crisis or the US-crisis lead to a higher degree of political coordination and

mutual economic governance. The 12th ASEAN Telecommunication and IT ministers meeting (Telmin) held in 2012 might be taken as indicator for closer cooperation. The topic "we are stronger when we are connected" provides such a perspective. However, the thrust seems to be more on IT and related media (facebook, internet etc.) then on conventional tele-media.

In EU the processes of economic integration were since the 1980th accompanied by closer "cultural" cooperation to enhance empathy and understanding as well as appreciation of the EU by the people of Europe. Besides joint scientific research, establishment of European research centres (CERN, ESA, etc.) and the Erasmus Programme for student exchange, joint TV and radio programmes were established on bi-lateral levels. Most well known of these is ARTE, a programme jointly organized by Germany and France in German and French that is widely received in other countries (Swiss, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxemburg, Italy, Austria and Canada!) as well. In Asia similar joint programmes like asia-vision do exist. However, their scope is not limited to ASEAN but covers most of the continent. This is similar to AIBD, AMIC and ABU. These international NGO focus on broadcasting media in Asia.

AIBD: The Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development (AIBD), established in 1977 under the auspices of UNESCO, is a unique regional inter-governmental organisation servicing countries of the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN-ESCAP) in the field of electronic media development. It is hosted by the Government of Malaysia and the secretariat is located in Kuala Lumpur.

The AIBD is mandated to achieve a vibrant and cohesive electronic media environment in the Asia-Pacific region through policy and resource development. Angkasapuri, Jalan Pantai Dalam, 50614 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia 60322824618

AMIC: The Asian Media Information and Communication Centre (AMIC) is a non-profit NGO and a registered charity in Singapore with the mission of spearheading the development of media and communication expertise in Asia within the broad framework of economic, social and cultural development. AMIC was established with seed funding support from the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), a private non-profit, public-interest foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany. FES provided AMIC with seed funding from 1970 to 2000. FES is a key partner and continues to extend its support through limited project funding. AMIC is located within the Wee Kim Wee School of Communication and Information at the prestigious Nanyang Technological University in Singapore. As part of its support for AMIC, the government provides the office premises to AMIC free of cost.

ABU: Speaking to more than half the world's population spread across half the earth's surface, Asia-Pacific broadcasters need a strong voice. And they have it in the Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union.

The ABU, which celebrates its 50 th anniversary in 2014, has more than 220 member broadcasters large and small spread across the region's 58 countries, from Turkey in the west to Samoa in the east, and from Russia in the north to New Zealand in the south. Established in 1964 as a non-profit,

non-government, professional association to assist the development of broadcasting in the region, the ABU promotes the collective interests of television and radio broadcasters and encourages regional and international co-operation between broadcasters. Full members are national free-to-air broadcasters in the Asia-Pacific region and there is associate membership for provincial broadcasters, subscription broadcasters or national broadcasters in other parts of the world. Other organisations connected to broadcasting can hold affiliate membership.

The ABU runs a wide range of activities, including the daily Asiavision satellite TV news exchange, co-production and program exchanges and technical, programming, legal and management consultancy services, as well as international frequency planning and coordination. It negotiates rights for major sports events and organises coverage for the region. IPPTAR Building, Angkasapuri, 50614 Kuala Lumpur, 603 2282 3592

The possibility to receive programmes from another country, or to share programmes among countries does not only reduce expenses (the fees for using news from international providers is reduced as well as production costs etc.) for the individual stations, but provides a better understanding of neighbouring countries and cultures as well. Important is in this context not only reporting or documentaries etc. but as well entertainment programmes. Currently satellite TV is widely used to access entertainment (soap operas, drama etc.) from other countries, and for migrants to maintain ties to their "homes". However, these satellites programmes tend to be privately organised with the intent to generate profits, which is one reason why most of the shows use American models. Thus, selling the shows is far more important than providing information on other cultures.

THEORETICAL FRAME WORK AND METHODOLOGY

MEDIA ORGANISATIONS IN A NEO-INSTITUTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The core of the study is organisational analysis. The hypothesis is that the organisational context of media production and dissemination is a basic frame for the context of information disseminated by media. From this follows the question whether or not media organisations in ASEAN express similarities or differences and why we have such similarities as well as differences.

Southeast Asian political and cultural systems, which are crucial for media organisations, exhibit far-reaching and obvious differences. Not only do we find all world-religions in the region, but as well diverse historical experiences from pre- and colonial times. Furthermore, the integration into the world economy and politics differs to a large extend. On one hand we have centres of the world economy like Singapore, newly industrializing states like Malaysia and Thailand, former authoritarian states like Indonesia and societies that were for a long time dissociated form global relations like Myanmar.

However, turning to the organisational structures of the administration and other public organisations, these differences are far less pronounced. All states follow procedures such as elections, use emblems like constitutions, parliaments, commissions etc. All organisations express professionalism, functional differentiation etc. In short, all organisations express modernity. However, for the legitimization of their administrations particular local or regional traditions are applied. Thus, one can either classify the organisations as quite homogenized, modernized, and globalized, or as highly diverse due to prevailing particular cultural traditions and pre-colonial as well as colonial histories.

To make sense of such contradictions without ignoring the different aspects (modernity – tradition) we apply neo-institutionalist perspectives developed by Meyer/Rowan (1991), and DiMaggio/Powell (1991). Our argument is that Southeast Asian organisations exhibit features of decoupling (DiMaggio/Powell 1991) between an organisational structure that is closely related to universal (global) forms and an action-structure based on — frequently — invented traditions and cultures. This decoupling results from the attempts to solve the dilemma that exists between internal legitimation from those working within the organisations and external legitimation from other national and even more so international organisations. Accordingly, an action structure that refers to unique traditions plays a role in internal legitimation, while an organisational structure showing universal features is relevant as the basis of international recognition (Meyer et al. 1997).

When looking at overall changes and development in Southeast Asia one might speak of either 'successful modernization', like the famous 1994 World Bank report, describing new tiger states, or arguing that 'occidental rationalization' (Schluchter 1979) cannot be applied to Southeast Asian states due to persisting 'Asian values' (Mahathir 1999). Applying the concept of 'multiple modernities' permits a perspective to analyze modernization processes in Southeast Asia while maintaining specifics that result from cultural, social, and historical experiences. For Eisenstadt (2002), multiple modernities refer to a contested process, in which a core meaning of modernity, namely that 'the future [is] characterized by a number of possibilities realizable through autonomous human agency' (Eisenstadt 2002: 3) becomes universal, while allowing for highly diverse pattern of institutionalization.

Applying this concept of multiple modernities, Witttrock (2003: 58) notes that modernity is a global condition that affects action, interpretations, and institutions across nations and their respective civilizational roots. Even though we have historical continuities, this global condition leads towards similarities and even uniformity. Uniformization of different organisations is the starting point for the analysis by Meyer et al. (1997). They refer to worldwide models that define and legitimize agendas for local actions and structures of policies. With the concept of "multiple modernities" one can recognize different trajectories in different countries, while with neo-institutionalism one can focus on how global institutions are integrated into national organisations. This institutionalization of world models can be explained as isomorphism of organisations (Meyer et al 1997: 145).

The interesting aspect of this isomorphism is following Meyer/Rowan (1991) that the universal or global formal structures are rationality-myths, ceremonies and emblems rather than regulatives of acting within an organisation. Meyer/Rowan (1991) and DiMaggio/Powell (1991) explain this discrepancy as the 'decoupling' of organisational and action structure. Decoupling allows isomorphism of the organisational structures that result from interdependencies and interactions between organisations. For the internal workings of the organisations these represent rationality myths and ceremonial procedures rather than rationalities that facilitate efficiency. The action structure of an organisation is quite independent from the isomorphic organisational structure, as it is based on rationalities of acting and decision making within the organisation. Both refer to different functions and aspects of legitimation. Additionally, as any organisation is always interdependent on other organisations, external legitimation is necessary. The organisational structure serves as a form of external legitimation towards other organisations. Thereby institutional aspects of the organisational structure do not have to enhance efficiency of an organisation. As a result organisations can maintain vocabularies of efficiency, rationality, and legitimacy that facilitate reproduction and thus stability through external recognition and acceptance, independent from what is actually undertaken (Meyer/Rowan 1991: 49ff). However, conflicts emerge when these development concepts are to be implemented, for instance when they affect the action structure of the organisation.

In their analysis DiMaggio/Powell (1991) argue that isomorphism results from an 'organisational field'. Organisational fields are defined as 'those organisations that, in the aggregate constitute a recognized area of institutional life' (DiMaggio/Powell 1991: 64). The integration of an organisation into an organisational field works through the integration of those institutions regulating interactions between organisations into their own structure. In an organisational field we therefore have both connectedness and structural equivalence. As such, institutional isomorphism emerges because 'organisations… respond to an environment that consists of other organisations responding to their environment, which consists of organisations responding to an environment of organisations' responses' (DiMaggio/Powell 1991: 65).
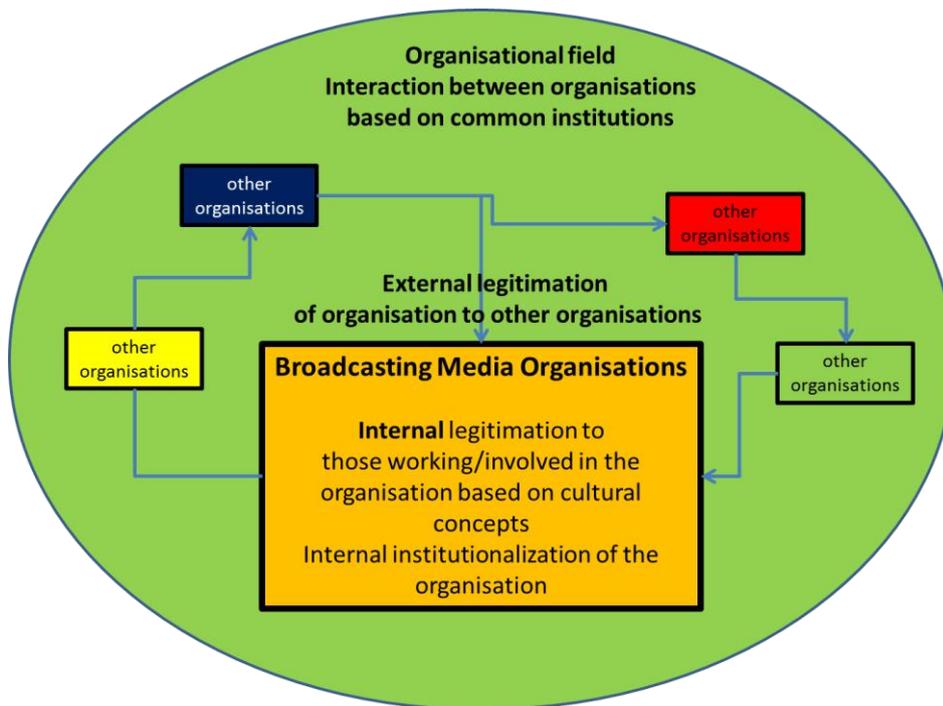
Organisational fields are similar to networks in which relations between organisations are institutionalized and thereby receive cultural meaning based on the mutual consensus of involved organisations. Isomorphism may result from mimetic processes in the sense that something is just a copy, or that it arises from coercion, when institutionalization is based on force, or from normative means like international contracts. It is important to note that an organisation can only receive recognition and legitimacy within an organisational field when the institutions themselves are internalized.

Reformulating multiple modernities in a neo-institutionalist view it becomes apparent that 'multiple modernization' proceeds along two main lines: on one hand as the universalization of modern organisational structures, and on the other as particularistic rationalization of action structures in a process of contested institutionalization. As such, seemingly contradictory ideologies can be explained: To differing degrees, all organisations point at uniqueness and strength of cultures they belong to. At the same time, the common ideology of progress, modernity and international importance indicates how advanced they are.

MEDIA BETWEEN STATE AND ECONOMY

Besides external legitimation to an organisational field and internal legitimation to those fulfilling functions within the organisation, media organisations are in a special relationship to the states and politics. Like any organisation, they have to be based and follow in what they are doing a legal framework set up by the legislation, i.e. politics. However, due to their specific function of spreading information and the possibilities to use media for agenda setting and framing of public opinion, political actors tend to try to use media for their own purposes. This is connected to policies of

media regulation that have as well the character of specific laws. Media organisations furthermore depend on economic resources and they are as well a means to generate income. Thus, we have a specific relation between such organisations and the state that sets the regulatory and legal framework as well as the economy, which forms the material base for media. In addition we can refer to technologies, which are more or less the same for all media organisations.

The rise of modernity and especially national integration is connected to the emergence of a public sphere and mass-media. A basic aspect of modernization is the trend of functional differentiation between state, economy and community. In older theories of modernization is was assumed that functional differentiation implies the separation between these three as independent systems. However, real development indicated that instead of separation we have interpenetration and overlaps. In fact, the economy requires the state as the least as a frame to define legality, which is crucial for the definition of for example private property. Another example is state intervention. The state, on the other hand is itself involved in economic activities which might be state enterprises, firms in which the state holds shares or public agencies engaged in economic activities like for example a university holding patents. Community in turn plays a role for socialization and motivation of persons, without whom neither the economy nor the state could function. Thus, a in a realistic perspective, economic, state and community are poles connected to specific pattern of integration either through exchange (economy), power (state) or personal communication (community).

As Luhmann points out, the three are connected to different rationalities and logics, which on one hand concern the internal organisation of the system and on the other its relations to others. State and power imply control, while exchange and the economy aim at independent individual decisions or de-regulation. Community based on communication aims at consensus. However, personal communication always remains limited to a selected number of persons. Thus we have several communities, which however, can be and often are connected based on cultures, religion etc. From these different rationalities result tensions like the state trying to exert control over the economy, or the economy trying to reduced state supervision and regulation. These tensions can lead to the domination from one pole and respective minimalization of the other poles, like in socialism with a state run economy and society, or in bureaucratic capitalism when the economy is subordinated to the state, but as well in as Soros puts it "economic fundamentalism", as we find it in the global financial markets. As the examples indicate, domination is such a form leads to negative consequence in terms of underdevelopment, suppression, or impoverishment, and loss of legitimacy. The alternative is that the tensions between these three poles are mediated through a public sphere, so that differences are maintained and the role of the respective systems is legitimized by consent from the people.

Here civil society plays an important role. Following Eisenstadt, a public sphere is the pre-condition for civil society in the sense that through a public sphere civil society groups make themselves known outside of a small circle of person to person relations (community), and as a forum to articulate views and ideas for societal development.

The public sphere developed form the Agora in ancient Greece, where the citizen met and discussed matters of the collective to define the common good and make decisions accordingly. The logic of the public sphere is "voice" in the sense of articulating own views, interests etc. and discourse about these. Here different opinions are brought together with the aim to achieve something like a consensus. Of course, today an Agora would be too small. However, many different "agora" evolve where people come together and discuss their views. Often these have the form of civil society, parties, communities etc. The public sphere is to bring the different opinions together so that all can inform themselves and develop their own opinions, which then can be articulated again etc.

If the channel "voice" is blocked, then the alternative is "exit". If more take this option, it leads to dangerous situations in terms of loss of legitimacy, societal fragmentation and loss of collective consensus. Thereby the pattern of internal integration of a society are weakened or even dissolved. The nation can only be kept together based on repression and state violence.

Although not limited to mass-media like radio, TV, since recently internet etc. these are crucial feature of the public sphere. Media are supposed to disseminate information to a generalized public. Here we have to distinguish between media aiming at a real generalized public, so called mass media and media that focus on particular groups or communities. Both are relevant, because the audience demands specific information on local and communal issues, as well as general information. Often this is combined with special programmes aiming at particular interests, and wider programmes serving a general interest in information.

Due to providing and thereby selecting information media can, to a certain degree, create something like a public opinion, or at least make it appear that their opinions are public opinions. In other words, they can act as means for manipulation and thereby "colonize" the public sphere. This is particularly the case, if media are closely linked to either the economy or state and turn into monopolies. State owned media tend to select information based on in how far these serve the interests of the state, or they propagate particular opinions. Media monopolized by one or a few private enterprises are as selective. They can de-stabilize politics and propagate their own views as general. Media dominated by communities weaken societal integration and fragmentation of society.

State dominated media	Media turn into means of control and to enhance state support	Political selection and censorship of information
Economic dominated media	Media turn into means of profit maximization	Economic selection of information (economic censorship
Community dominated media	Media serve specific communities, fragmenting of society	Communal selection of information (moral censorship)

To avoid such monopolization of the media and thus the public sphere, a plurality of information has to be maintained either by diverse programmes or competing providers of public information.

MEDIA BETWEEN COMMUNITIES AND SOCIETY

Based on face to face interaction people can have only limited access to limited information. The flow of information within communities tends to focus entirely on issues of the community with the objective to reach a common understanding and "worldview", which in turn enhances integration of the community. Face to face information flows are usually connected to rumours and word of mouth. In other words, the validity of information is unclear and the interpretation biased.

The study of networks shows that people within close knit networks have more or less the same information and share the interpretation of these information's. Although this enhances mutual understanding, it enhances as well prejudices, misleading understandings of affairs and most of all it leads to exclusion. Studies of emotions indicate that attunement based on mutual understanding can lead to increased hate against those excluded. Especially if communal attunement is connected to resentment, which includes the view that others can or do not want to understand. This results in increased violence between groups not the least based on a lag of information (and lag of interest in information) about others.

The problem is that modern society reaches beyond mere communities and faces the task of societal instead of communal integration. This means that within modern society multiple communities have to be integrated and that individual persons are simultaneously part of different communities like a neighbourhood, village, group of colleagues, clubs, etc. As Touraine and Giddens indicate, modern societies face the tensions between systemic integration and governance on one hand and communal differentiation on the other. Elias points out that these tensions imply processes of integration and disintegration in the sense that the more societies get integrated, the more communities have the tendency to disintegrate, and vice versa. These tensions can be temporarily solved through forms of extreme nationalism when, as Anderson points out, the nation itself

becomes an "imagined community". For information this means that communication and information flows within society are structured as within communities. Information and interpretation is selected purely based on enhancing a common understanding. This is usually discussed as propaganda. Another extreme would be a reduction of societal communication through for example highly specialized media serving only specific audiences. In this case more or less only local rumours are left. Both of these "solutions" can only work temporarily and usually under extreme social and political conditions.

The only way out are pluralistic media providing both information for specific groups and communities as well as general information. Most of all, these media have to be easily accessible and regarded as reliable by the people. Usually the validity of information is evaluated by the evaluation of the reliability of the person from whom this information is received. In media this is difficult as the person is not known personally. Thus, trust in a person based on personal relations has to be modified into trust into an organisation.1

Media are regarded as highly influential and powerful means to disseminate information and provide people with an understanding of what is beyond their own direct experience. Even more, media provide possible interpretations of own experiences. Consequently, media play a crucial role for democratisation and the integration of democratic societies. Furthermore, media do and have to reflect society and those issues regarded within society as important, which are usually ambivalent and disputed issues. Here the task of media is to inform about these disputes, different views and respective arguments. Media in a democratic society are not to provide only one interpretation, but different views that allow the audience to formulate and develop their own conclusions.

MEDIA ORGANISATIONS AND ASEAN

The task of media to facilitate societal integration beyond communities, becomes ever more relevant, when turning to ASEAN. In this case, media face the task to facilitate communicative integration even beyond national societies. Certainly, this is still a function for the future, but the more ASEAN is integrating, the more media have to fulfil this function of informing audiences about what is going on in other countries of the region etc.

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[1] In media-organisations persons still play a major role, especially moderators and announcers, especially in news programmes. As these have to appear as neutral and objective and are usually understood as reliable, they are not allowed to do any advertising.

MEDTHODOLOGY

ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS:

For the organisational analysis we follow current approaches of neo-institutionalism. These include analysis of the organisational field within which the respective organisations have to act and derive their external legitimacy. It includes assessing institutions regulating interactions of the organisational field. The problems faced by the broadcasters are similar. They all face the competition from other media like the internet etc. While a lot of entertainment is organized by transnational organisations developing formats for game shows etc. and producing series, still quite a lot is locally produced.

Due to the transnationalization of the entertainment industry, broadcasters have to interact ever more with other organisations. To understand this, a form of network analysis of organisations involved in broadcasting is required and what institutions evolve within this network as means for communication among organisations. Besides a formal analysis of all organisations that are involved in broadcasting, joint membership in wider organisations is used as well as participation in international conferences.

Indications for institutions regulating interaction between organisations can be identified through contents analysis of their respective homepages. What are the terms used and applied by the organisations, what are their policy and future visions etc. These institutions have to be integrated into the organisational structure of broadcasters which leads to "isomorphy" in the sense of similarities between organisations although they are anchored in different cultural settings. Here as well international conferences especially the leading topics and issues regarded as current and crucial can be used as one indicator.

So far such analysis of "organisational fields" have been conducted on several areas, but for Southeast Asia it is still rare. A study dealing with broadcasters has not been made yet, even though it can provide a lot of highly relevant information on organisational dynamics.

Part of the analysis of isomorphy are the media related policies of ASEAN. What role does ASEAN actually play in the organizational field of media in Southeast Asia, and how is ASEAN connected to media policies of the respective states.

Methodologically instruments from network analysis will be applied. Data collected are on one hand secondary data on organisational structures and interactions between organisations (not only media but as well other organisations). Furthermore the organisational diagrams provide information. Through participation in international conferences (there are three relevant conferences in summer 2013) the personal and organisational linkages as well as topics etc. are evaluated. In addition, the conferences provide a base for interviews with key informants.

The following conference was observed:

26 – 31 May	Asia Media Summit (AMS) 2013, organised by AIBD and hosted by Ministry of Communication and Information Technology (MCIT) together with Provincial and Local Governments will be held in Manado, Indonesia. Information: http://www.aibd.org.my/sites/default/files/AMS%202013_131212.pdf

CONTENTS REGULATION AND POLICIES:

In all countries we have explicit regulations of contents. Partly this is close to organisation analysis with the question whether or not pattern of isomorphy evolve. The main question is, however, what are the legal frames based on which contents is regulated. Here we follow mainly an approach to look at policies and on legal regulations.

CONTENT ANALYSIS:

The crucial issue is the content. Unfortunately, any real content analysis is very time-consuming and requires a lot of efforts. Thus, after long discussions the decision was made to focus more on in-depth studies then on wider but shallow data. As such the content analysis will focus on the news programmes of the most relevant stations and providers. In all countries the data will be collected at the same time (one sample week) and the same code book will be used. This allows to identify similarities and differences across the state-borders. (the code book is in the appendix)

SELECTION OF COUNTRIES

The study will focus on four countries namely Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia and Myanmar. In this selection Malaysia and Indonesia can be regarded as quite close in cultural terms. Most of all, they use the same language, which allows that programmes in Malaysia are understood in Indonesia and vice versa. As Theravadha Buddhist countries, Thailand and Myanmar bear certain cultural similarities as well, even though the political systems and level of development differs widely. Nevertheless, either through labour migration and cultural similarities of minorities at the border regions, especially the Shan, a situation similar to Malaysia – Indonesia exists, however, different enough to allow for meaningful comparison.

As Myanmar is now embarking on a course of reform that includes the media, a question is, where examples will be taken from. As neighbouring country without interests in establishing domination, Thailand can be an example for at least a few issues.

Besides these cultural similarities resulting not the least from history, we find other similarities. Malaysia and Thailand are the economically most development countries of the region. Indonesia and Myanmar are large multi-cultural countries with large indigenous ethnic minorities.

MEDIA ORGANISATION AND REGULATION IN ASEAN

The task of media to facilitate societal integration beyond communities, becomes ever more relevant, when turning to ASEAN. In this case, media face the task to facilitate communicative integration even beyond national societies. Certainly, this is still a function for the future, but the more ASEAN is integrating, the more media have to fulfil this function of informing audiences about what is going on in other countries of the region etc.

BROADCAST MEDIA: IN INDONESIA

ORGANISATIONAL AND POLICY ASPECTS:

Radio is arguably the most important medium in Indonesia. Its tones are heard in the market, the village, the rice paddy, and the minibus. The national radio station, Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI) was founded in August 1945 almost as soon as independence was granted. During World War II, the Japanese occupational forces used radio as a major propaganda tool, and figures such as Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta who were to become prominent in nation-building received wide coverage, becoming household names among villagers.

One of RRI's first tasks was to encourage the Indonesian people in their struggle, as Dutch troops invaded the newly proclaimed republic. This struggle for freedom lasted for four years. In the early 2000s, RRI was headquartered in Jakarta, with major relay stations in Medan (Sumatra), Yogykarta (Java), Banjarmasin (Kalimantan), Makassar (Sulawesi), and Jayapura (West Papua). In 2002, RRI had 53 stations staffed by approximately 8,500. RRI's overseas program, Voice of Indonesia, broadcast in ten languages: Indonesian, Arabic, Malaysian, Mandarin, Thai, Japanese, Spanish, German, English, and French. Private radio companies have been in operation since 1966. They were advised to include informative, educational, and cultural programs in their broadcasts. However, they were no longer required to carry news programs produced by RRI.

Under Suharto, radio stations were required to carry the news broadcasts from the state. They were banned from doing independent reporting. The association of radio station owners was headed by Suharto's daughter, and licenses were given out to party faithfuls. Within two years after the collapse of the Suharto government in 1998, the number of independent radio stations grew by more than 30 percent, from about 750 to more than 1000 stations. Many broadcast journalists and station managers had to learn on the job. In-depth radio journalism programs or investigative reports on the radio were still scarcely to be found in Indonesia. To bolster the overall quality of news and information programming, Internews (the international organization sponsored by the

United States to assist fledgling broadcasters) produced three weekly radio programs and distributed them through a network of partner stations. As of June, 2000, RRI has been changed in status by presidential decree from a government-owned radio to a public broadcasting corporation (BUNM).

Indonesian television history illustrated a medium finding its own way, going from one state-produced official channel to a multiplicity of commercial channels. It included periods of time when advertising was banned as contrary to traditional values. Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) began operations in 1964 and remained a major player despite the growing importance of commercial television. Since it enjoyed a longstanding monopoly with a mission of promoting the official viewpoint, it long remained in a state of stagnation. The Indonesian government early on recognized the importance of television as a policy instrument and a tool to promote national unity in these far-flung islands. This insight drove the program to provide free television sets to villages. To be able to reach the entire country, in 1974 Indonesia launched its communications satellite, Palapa (Sanskrit for unity).

TVRI was always hampered by a small budget, and the budget situation became even tighter in 1981, when the administration banned advertising from television. This was in reaction to the effect that advertising— western, urban, and consumer-oriented—was having on village life.

Indonesia's first commercial television station, Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI), began operation in March, 1988, broadcasting first in Jakarta but later throughout the country. Of course, advertising was the very backbone of its existence. Corporate investments in the country and a huge consumer market with increasing amounts of money to spend putting the greater part of their advertising budget into television. Since the only legal source of news was still TVRI, RCTI and other private broadcasters created what they called "information programs" by the Broadcast law of 1996 legitimated their news programs. RCTI carried several daily programs, Morning Nuances, News at NoonThroughout Indonesia, and Evening Bulletin. These news programs, which had to compete for advertisers, carried higher entertainment values than TVRI.

Surya Citra Television (SCTV) opened a few years later, also based in Jakarta. Its news programs focused on national news, with international news accounting for about 10 percent. In August 1990, a third private station was licensed with the proviso that it focuses on education. This station was Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia (TPI). It cooperated with TVRI extensively, with some of its advertising revenues going to TVRI. A fourth commercial station was licensed in 1993, Andalas Televisi (Anteve, ANTV). It attempted to profile itself in the areas of news, sports and music, and it reached a smaller audience than the others. Indosiar was the newcomer in 1995 and had to struggle for a viewer share. Owing to the fierce competition among these stations, there was quite a bit of similarity among them.

All five of Indonesia's private, Jakarta-based television stations—SCTV, RCTI, Indosiar, Anteve and TPI— had ties to the Suharto family. Despite the family ties, the new openness created bolder programming, even before Suharto stepped down. After that, stations offered investigative reporting and political talk shows that would have been unheard of in the New Order. An all-news TV channel, Metro TV, began in Jakarta in November, 2000. Besides programming in Indonesian, it carried programs in Mandarin, reflecting the easing of restrictions on Chinese language and cultural media.

Before 1994, Internet access was limited to a very few universities, research institutions, and government offices. In late 1994, the first commercial Internet Service Provider (ISP), Indonet, was established, and by 1997 some 41 ISPs had been licensed, although all were not in service. The fast growth of ISPs was in fact largely due to government policies encouraging such growth.

The electronic news media were still in first flower when the opportunity came to test the genre in a specific way. In 1994, Tempo, a well-known news magazine, had its license to publish abruptly revoked by the government. Tempo had reported on a controversy concerning the purchase of used East German warships. No opportunity was given the magazine to defend itself. The news came as a shock, and althoughTempo did win an appeal, the final ruling gave the magazine no hope of publishing again.

A little more than a year later, Tempo opened its electronic publication, TEMPO Interaktif. There was no official reaction from the government, except that the Minister of Information, when asked about it in an interview, replied that individuals and organizations in Indonesia were free to set up a Web site to promote their own activities. Since the law did not require licensing of Internet news sites, what he said was quite true.

TEMPO Interaktif quickly became a popular site, becoming Indonesia's most-accessed Web publication. Enterprising students downloaded the magazine, copied it, and sold it in book form. And since a license was not needed for book publishing, Tempo responded by issuing the publication in book form every three months, a move welcomed by readers without Internet access.

No comprehensive survey exists to give a profile of the users of electronic news media. However, a survey carried out by TEMPO Interaktif identified the readership as overwhelmingly male and middle class, with the average age of readers at 27 years. The greatest number of them reported that they accessed the site from the office computer of a business. Tempo as a weekly newsmagazine reopened in October 1998, after the licensing requirement was eliminated.

Popular Web sites for news, some of them offering many services such as e-mail and shopping, were Astaga.com and Detik.com . Established July 1, 1998, Detik.com pioneered Indonesia's first "real time" electronic journalism, reporting news almost hourly. A year and a half later, thanks to foreign capital and the savvy accumulation of advertising revenue, it began offering many services such as directories, chat rooms, and email. At the same time, other foreign investors set up similar

portals. When Astaga.com was launched, a large number of its considerable staff came from prestigious media companies, where they had made far less money. The impact of large amounts of foreign capital remained a force to be watched.

RADIO AND TELEVISION STATIONS IN INDONESIA

The close of the twentieth century witnessed a profound transformation in the broadcasting industry in Indonesia. The Indonesian mass media industry went through a major transition under the New Order regime (1966 – 1998) and beyond. The main agent of change is the whole network of industrial capitalism at global, national and local levels. According to the Bureau of Statistics' 1995 survey, Indonesia has nearly 20 million television sets and over 30 million radio receivers. Assuming that each television set is watched by 8 people, then the audience penetration totals around 160 million or nearly 80% of the 200 million population. Radio too has a significant penetration with 5 listeners to a radio where it will total up to have 150 million listeners. Audience penetration seems to be higher on the electronic media compared to the print. Public service broadcasting consisting of Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), Televison Republik Indonesia and local public service broadcasting act as the healthy media of information, education and entertainment that can reach all layers of Indonesian society to reflect its national identity and culture and most of all to strengthen national integrity.

Public-service broadcasting in Indonesia is significant today because currently the people of Indonesia need freedom in all aspects of living. Some non-governmental organizations (NGO) who work for broadcasting even insist to reform of status of Radio Republik Indonesia and Televisi Republik Indonesia. They are supported by private broadcasting and the press, which had been repressed through tight control under the new-order regime who governed and banned news through monopolization. This wind of change brings the consequences of change to the institution structurally, but not substantially. The fact is that along this three year journey as public-service broadcasting, neither Radio Republik Indonesia nor Televisi Republik Indonesia has formulated their status, consequently they have not described their visions and missions operationally.

Television in Indonesia was first introduced formally in 1962. In conjunction with the 17th anniversary celebration of independence and the live broadcast of the 4th Asian Games from Stadium Gelora Bung Karno in Senayan, Jakarta. TVRI was the first television station in Indonesia. It broadcasts programs in the country putting in trying to portray the image of the country with programs of international scale, encouraging the development of its peoples' lives.

For years, Radio Republik Indonesia, founded September 11th, 1945 and Televisi Republik Indonesia, founded August 24th, 1962, had been serving the public and government in information leading through broadcasts nationally in Indonesia.

The emergence of the diverse number of major and local stations is because of the nature of the country, Indonesia. The Republic of Indonesia is a nation that has more than 17,000 scattered

and sporadic islands. But the bigger main lands are Sumatra and Java, the heart of the Republic of Indonesia. The country holds about 200 million people and has about 588 languages and dialects. The color and race of its people are accentuated further with 3 different colonizers: Dutch, Japan and British. The Dutch stayed the longest in Indonesia; 300 years. After the Dutch left, there were sprinkles of war to gain power, and Soekarno became the first president and Soeharto next. During the Soeharto and post-Soeharto period, the army simultaneously provided security for the country and run the state and people affairs which include regulating the media.

Two major earliest broadcasting stations in Indonesia that had served the public and government are Radio Republik Indonesia (RRI), 1945 and Televisi Republik Indonesia (1962). The vision of Radio Republik Indonesia is "to be an independent, neutral, self-governing, and professional public-service broadcaster." Its mission; (1) to carry out social control, (2) to develop national identity and culture, (3) to service educational information and entertainment to all levels of public all over Indonesia, (4) to support the implementation of collaboration and mutual understanding with other nations, regionally and internationally, (5) to strengthen national intelligence, and to push the development of an informed society based on law and human rights, and (7) to develop national unity and union. Meanwhile, the vision of Televisi Republik Indonesia is "to be a television station embedded in the national culture for maintaining national unity and union." Its mission; (1) to become a medium of communication for national concerns based on national unity and union, (2) to deliver trustworthy information and eligible entertainment.

Today, both TVRI and RRI until today is the institution station that upholds the image of Indonesia and all its broadcasts prioritize the nation first bringing national and international events to the country and promoting the well-being of its citizen. RRI and TVRI nationwide coverage consist of central and local station. RRI and TVRI are independent, neutral, and non-commercial. They are responsible for providing services in information, education, good quality entertainment, social bonding to preserve the national culture for the sake of public interests. Local Public Broadcasting Institution A legal entity established by local government, carries out radio or television broadcasting, independent, neutral, non-commercial and serves to provide services for the public interests that its broadcasting system is networked with RRI or TVRI. The TVRI initial broadcast was in black and white with its motto 'Makin Dekat DI Hati (Closer to Heart).

Indonesia broadcast runs on the System of Networked Stations that govern the regular inter-relay of broadcast programs between broadcasting institutions. The local broadcasting station is established in a particular area with particular coverage in the area where the station is established to provide its own studio and transmitter equipment. Providing relay stations serve to transmit broadcast programs to another covered area. The Local Broadcast Program is a program with local content in local area. Coverage area of RRI and TVRI: RRI - 59 local stations - 148 relay stations TVRI - 24 local stations - 376 relay stations. As of July 2007, free-to-air television broadcasting televisions are shown in Table 1 below:

TABLE 1

Stations	Owner
Television Republik Indonesia (TVRI)	Public owned
Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI)	Media Nusantara Citra of Bimantara Co.
Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia (TPI)	Media Nusantara Citra of Bimantara Co.
Surya Citra Television (SCTV)	Surya Citra Television
Indosiar Visual Mandiri (Indosiar)	Indosiar Karya Media
Star Andalas Televisi (Star AnTV)	STAR TV
Media Televisi Indonesia (Metro TV)	Media Group
Televisi Transformasi Indonesia (Trans TV)	Para Group/ Trans Corp
Duta Visual Nusantara Tivi Tujuh (Trans 7)	Kompas-Gramedia/Trans Corp
Lativi Media Karya (Lativi)	Star Andalas TV
Global Informasi Bermutu (Global TV)	Bimantara Co

Subsequently in 1964. district broadcasting stations were set up, the first is in Yogyakarta station followed by Medan, Sur 1. SPK Jayapuraabaya, Makassar, Denpasar and Balikpapan. Smaller production stations (Stasiun Produksi Keliling, SPK) which function as representative of the bigger stations were set up beginning 1977 in various capital states and provinces: SPK Jayapura, SPK Ambon, SPK Kupang, SPK Malang, SPK Semarang, SPK Bandung, SPK Banjarmasin, SPK Pontianak, SPK Banda Aceh, SPK Jambi, SPK Padang, SPK Lampung

The government through the Presidential Act 215 (1963) granted the Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) the broadcasting monopoly throughout Indonesia. The Act among others stipulated that TVRI should be the media and agent of change and it is very pro-government. It is supervised under the Department of Communication and has formed a strong bond with the government /holding this dual mission: to inform and to entertain. Television owners were subjected to paying licenses before they could be registered to be the legal owner of the television set. This Act also mentioned that the President has a direct influence on TVRI operation. TVRI is seen to be very close to the ruling government. This condition is related to the media condition in Indonesia manifested by the close relationship of TVRI with the ruling government. The officers in the organization are close to the ruling government since its inception and have been so until now where it has become a part of the Department of Information. Subsequently, TVRI is a channel that is inclined to give its support to the government.

With the launching of PALAPA, the Indonesian domestic satellite, TVRI could reach out to more remote areas of the nation. The name PALAPA is originated from the curse of Maha Patih Gajah Mada from the ancient Kingdom of Majapahit, pronounced in 1334. President Soeharto asserted that the name was an evidence that before the colonization period, Indonesia was at its peak. The satellite is also a symbol of unity amongst the people of Indonesia that lived within thousands of islands holding one aim: to have a fair and peaceful society. Suharto appealed to private companies to improve the welfare of the people and corporate bodies showed their commitment to the government. In the light of this development, TVRI had to abide and oblige to the agenda set up by the regime. The TVRI sole monopoly of the free-to-air channel came to an end in 1987 when the Ministry of Information granted the permission to set up the first private television station, Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia (RCTI) owned by Soeharto's son.

Today, the situation has changed. There is no obligation for all to relay news and special reports of development by the government radio and TV anymore. Reference the newest Act (Article No. 14), Radio Republik Indonesia and Televisi Republik Indonesia must turn around instead of serving the government's interest, it is to serve the public interest. The programs and contents delivered must be independent and neutral, non-commercial, as well as stay away from intervention and control of the government, military, or the ruling party.

From this on satellite dishes sprouted on rooftops. Initially, RCTI broadcast was limited to 18 hours per day and sought to set itself apart from TVRI by targeting at upper and middle class audiences through its upper and middle class. Broadcasting local and foreign programs, RCTI goes national in 1991. In 1996, to regulate control over the various private stations, the government introduced a detailed broadcasting bill. It aims to protect the private industry and to allow TVRI to carry selected advertising. Thus, as evidence here, self-censorship take its role to control various broadcasts. In 2006, Indonesia has 10 active private stations and the biggest players are RCTI, Indosiar and SCTV. These three stations secured over 705 over the total advertising revenue.

Radio Republik Indonesia is surrounded by more than 200 radio stations, of which some are private radio stations networking their broadcasting with local broadcasters, which is the same practice as Radio Republik Indonesia (RR)) and Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) in the past. Radio Republik Indonesia has 59 branch offices and one broadcast for foreign listeners abroad, which broadcasts in 10 foreign languages. Televisi Republik Indonesia (TVRI) is surrounded by 13 national TV stations and more than 50 local stations. It has 27 local branch offices, 27 local stations, and one headquarter station supported by 376 transmissions spreading around the Indonesia area named;

1. TVRI Stasiun DKI Jakarta ,2. TVRI Stasiun Nangroe Aceh Darussalam, 3. TVRI Stasiun Sumatera Utara, 4. TVRI Stasiun Sumatera Selatan, 5. TVRI Stasiun Jawa Barat dan Banten, 6. TVRI Stasiun Jawa Tengah, 7. TVRI Stasiun Jogyakarta, 8. TVRI Stasiun Jawa Timur, 9. TVRI Stasiun Bali, 10. TVRI Stasiun Sulawesi Selatan, 11. TVRI Stasiun Kalimantan Timur, 12. TVRI Stasiun Sumatera Barat, 13. TVRI Stasiun Jambi, 14. TVRI Stasiun Riau, 15. TVRI Stasiun Kalimantan Barat, 16. TVRI Stasiun Kalimantan Selatan, 17. TVRI Stasiun Kalimantan Tengah, 18. TVRI Stasiun Papua, 19. TVRI Stasiun Bengkulu, 20. TVRI Stasiun Lampung, 21. TVRI Stasiun Maluku dan Maluku Utara, 22. TVRI Stasiun Nusa Tenggara Timur, 23. TVRI Stasiun Nusa Tenggara Barat, 24. TVRI Stasiun Gorontalo, 25. TVRI Stasiun Sulawesi Utara, 26. TVRI Stasiun Sulawesi Tengah, 27. TVRI Stasiun Sulawesi Tenggara.

Several local stations have their own local languages implemented in a number of programs. Both Radio Republik Indonesia and Televisi Republik Indonesia, until today, still power their broadcasts by terrestrial means. They also have their own network for their listeners and viewers nationally, while simultaneously having their own local contents.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

Indonesia had long been described as a vibrant media country. Its longest standing television station is TVRI which is a government station. There are 10 commercial stations, with RCTI being the first one given the license. All commercial stations, even when they are private, are linked with the political figures such as Suharto.

A. Station and frequency of news

Overall, the number of news item collected was 240. TVRI had 15% more news item in comparison to RCTI. The breakdown of frequency and percentage is showed in Table 1.

Table 1: Station and frequency of news

Station	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
RCTI	102	42.5	42.5	42.5
TVRI	138	57.5	57.5	100.0
Total	240	100.0	100.0	

B. Date and frequency of news

Items were collected from 1st September 2013 to 7th September 2013. On average there were 34 news items per day. The day with the highest number of news was on the 4th September 2013 (45 news item) while the day with the lowest number of news item was on 6th September 2013 (23 news item) with the difference of 9.2%. Refer to Table 2 for details.

Table 2: Date and frequency of news

Date	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
01.09.2013	40	16.7	16.7	16.7
02.09.2013	40	16.7	16.7	33.3
03.09.2013	30	12.5	12.5	45.8
04.09.2013	45	18.8	18.8	64.6
05.09.2013	35	14.6	14.6	79.2
06.09.2013	23	9.6	9.6	88.8
07.09.2013	27	11.3	11.3	100.0
Total	240	100.0	100.0	

From the data derived, it can be concluded that the news on the regional and governor election results caused the sudden spike of news on 6th September 2013. Among the titles of news mentioned were:

It was Kasman and vera win Region Election in Donggala Region

Annas Ma'hun won governor Election in Riau Province 2013 year

Alexwoerdin and Asakmeki won Governor Election in south sumatera

Governor Election, Society Enthisiason, Safe Election

Re-elect of South Sumatra governor

C. Theme of the news story

As can be seen from Table 3, the most prominent issue that was brought out was society issue (38.8%) followed by politics (27.5%), economics and finance (13.8%) and environment (10.0%). The least covered theme was sports at only 1.7%.

Table 3: Theme of the news story

Theme	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Society	93	38.8	38.8	38.8
Politics	66	27.5	27.5	66.3
Economics and Finance	33	13.8	13.8	80.0
Environment	24	10.0	10.0	90.0
Culture	15	6.3	6.3	96.3
Science and Technology	5	2.1	2.1	98.3
Sports	4	1.7	1.7	100.0
Total	240	100.0	100.0	

The society themed news was very diverse ranging from news on accidents, to corruption to crime curbing. Some of titles were:

- Indonesian army shot by unknown people
- Motorcycle thief gang caught
- Saving friends, worker's hand almost break
- Summon illegal racer gang
- The people burned the forest
- Parking boy died in train crash
- Mini bus out of control hit bus
- Crashed while assisting another accident. Two deaths.
- Lorry's rim came off, one dead

Generally, it is observed that Indonesia's broadcast media provided more single news rather than sequential news, especially in relation to social news.

In terms of type of news, style of report was most used (51.7%) followed by anchor with background (36.7%) and interview (6.3%). Anchor without background (1.7%) was used sparingly (1.7%) followed by feature (1.3%), portrait (1.3%) comment (.8%) and voice over (.4%).

Table 4: Type of news

Type of news	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Report	124	51.7	51.7	51.7
Anchor with background	88	36.7	36.7	88.3
Interview	15	6.3	6.3	94.6
Anchor without background	4	1.7	1.7	96.3
Feature	3	1.3	1.3	97.5
Portrait	3	1.3	1.3	98.8
Comment	2	.8	.8	99.6
Voice over	1	.4	.4	100.0
Total	240	100.0	100.0	

E. Protagonists field of action and function

Although the most brought out theme was societal issue, however the most featured protagonists were from the politics field of action at 45.4% followed by citizen (28.3%) and society authority (10.0%).

This owing to the fact that both TVRI and RCTI are very much politically driven and influenced. TVRI is a long standing government partner. RCTI on the other hand, though commercialized is linked with Suharto's family. Politic figures remained very strong in the limelight.

It is heartening to see that citizens and society followed behind political figures, demonstrating that the public are very much featured in the news as compared to authorities from economics, culture and sports.

Table 5: Protagonists field of action

Protagonists	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Politics	109	45.4	45.4	45.4
Citizen	68	28.3	28.3	73.8
Society	24	10.0	10.0	83.8
Economics	15	6.3	6.3	90.0
No protagonists	14	5.8	5.8	95.8
Culture	7	2.9	2.9	98.8
Sports	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	240	100.0	100.0	

The citizens were mostly featured (refer Table 7) as victims of crime activities, affected people by the government policies and the rise of soybean prices. Citizens who are victims of the Syria-US controversy were mentioned too.

One interesting thing to note was that in Indonesia, the representative of military figures is given much space (10.0%) in comparison to politicians (5.8%) and Parliament (5.8%). This goes on to indicate the power of the Indonesian National Armed Forces which are often seen to be overshadowing the power of the government and politicians.

Table 7: Protagonists function

Function	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Victim/affected people	54	22.5	22.5	22.5
Other(Politics)	25	10.4	10.4	32.9
Representative of Military	24	10.0	10.0	42.9
No Protagonists/quotes	14	5.8	5.8	48.8
Regional/local Politician	14	5.8	5.8	54.6
Parliament	11	4.6	4.6	59.2
Journalists	10	4.2	4.2	63.3
Head of state	9	3.8	3.8	67.1
Government Member	9	3.8	3.8	70.8
Other (Society)	8	3.3	3.3	74.2
Representative of Private Company	7	2.9	2.9	77.1
Political NGO's	6	2.5	2.5	79.6
Head of Government	5	2.1	2.1	81.7
Politician from other country	5	2.1	2.1	83.8
NGO's etc	5	2.1	2.1	85.8
Other (Citizen)	4	1.7	1.7	87.5
Artist	4	1.7	1.7	89.2
Representative of Bank/Finance	3	1.3	1.3	90.4
Labor Union	3	1.3	1.3	91.7

Academics and Experts	3	1.3	1.3	92.9
Witness	3	1.3	1.3	94.2
Demonstrator	3	1.3	1.3	95.4
Representative of State Company	2	.8	.8	96.3
Audience	2	.8	.8	97.1
Other (Culture)	2	.8	.8	97.9
Opposite Member	1	.4	.4	98.3
Trade Organizations	1	.4	.4	98.8
Other (Economics)	1	.4	.4	99.2
Athletes	1	.4	.4	99.6
Musician	1	.4	.4	100.0
Total	240	100.0	100.0	

F. Quotes

Table 8 showed the quotes field of action. As expected, political figures remained as the highest number of quotes (40.0%) followed by citizen (24.6%) and society (14.2%). Quotes from economics, culture and sports however were sadly lacking with 8.3%, 3.3% and 1.3% respectively. The opinions of the experts in the specialized fields are not heard much. Sports especially received not only little coverage as a theme, but even the sports protagonists and quotes are least mentioned thus far.

Table 8: Quote field of action

Quote	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Politics	96	40.0	40.0	40.0
Citizen	59	24.6	24.6	64.6
Society	34	14.2	14.2	78.8
No Quotes	20	8.3	8.3	87.1
Economics	20	8.3	8.3	95.4
Culture	8	3.3	3.3	98.8
Sports	3	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	240	100.0		100.0

The quote function can be seen on Table 9. As with the protagonists, the highest percentage of quote were victim/affected people (15.8%) followed by representative of military (11.3%). Others from the field of politics followed closely at 9.2%. It is interesting to note that journalists were quoted at 6.3% showing how the broadcast media in Indonesia too play an active role in framing Indonesia news other than the citizen and military.

Table 9: Quote function

Quote	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Victim/affected people	38	15.8	15.8	15.8
Representative of military	27	11.3	11.3	27.1
Other (Politics)	22	9.2	9.2	36.3
No quotes	20	8.3	8.3	44.6
Journalists	15	6.3	6.3	50.8
Other (Citizen)	15	6.3	6.3	57.1
Government member	12	5.0	5.0	62.1
Regional/ local politician	10	4.2	4.2	66.3
Academics and experts	9	3.8	3.8	70.0
NGOs etc	9	3.8	3.8	73.8
Parliament	8	3.3	3.3	77.1
Politics NGO	7	2.9	2.9	80.0
Representative of bank/finance	5	2.1	2.1	82.1
Representative of private company	5	2.1	2.1	84.2
Artist	5	2.1	2.1	86.3
Other (Economics)	4	1.7	1.7	87.9
Witness	4	1.7	1.7	89.6
Politicians from other country	3	1.3	1.3	90.8
Trade organizations	3	1.3	1.3	92.1

Other (Culture)	3	1.3	1.3	93.3
Head of state	2	.8	.8	94.2
Head of government	2	.8	.8	95.0
Opposition member	2	.8	.8	95.8
Representative of state company	2	.8	.8	96.7
Labor union	2	.8	.8	97.5
Demonstrator	2	.8	.8	98.3
Audience	2	.8	.8	99.2
Other (Society)	1	.4	.4	99.6
Athletes	1	.4	.4	100.0
Total	240	100.0	100.0	

Table 10 indicated the tenor of the quotes. Generally, news with negative tenors made up 45.5% (very negative, somewhat negative and positive to negative). News with positive tenors made up 43.6% (negative to positive, somewhat positive and very positive) while neutral tenor takes up 10.9%.

It can be concluded that the tenors of quotes are quite balanced although negative tenors are slightly more than the positive tenors. Somewhat positive gained the highest percentage (24.5%) followed by somewhat negative (23.2%). The vibrant media environment and its press freedom under its Constitution and law guaranteed their press freedom. Therefore there is a good balance between the positive tenor and negative tenor.

Table 10: Tenor of quotes

Tenor	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very Negative	39	17.7	17.7	17.7
Somewhat Negative	51	23.2	23.2	40.9
Positive to Negative	10	4.6	4.6	45.5
Neutral	24	10.9	10.9	56.4
Negative to Positive	22	10.0	10.0	66.4
Somewhat to Positive	54	24.5	24.5	90.9
Very Positive	20	9.1	9.1	100.0
Total	220	100.0	100.0	

The balance of the positive and negative tenors was also close when it comes to the tenor of the news item. The negative tenors in general took up 49.6%, while the positive tenors were 44.6%. The neutral tone was only 5.8%. Somewhat positive (24.4%) and somewhat negative (24.2%) was only 0.2% apart, once again indicating a good balance for the tenors.

Table 10: Tenor of news item

Tenor	Frequency	Percent		Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Very Negative		50	20.8		20.8	20.8
Somewhat Negative	58	24.2		24.2	45.0	
Positive to Negative	11	4.6		4.6	49.6	
Neutral	14	5.8		5.8	55.4	
Negative to Positive	25	10.4		10.4	65.8	
Somewhat to Positive	59	24.6		24.6	90.4	
Very Positive	23	9.6		9.6	100.0	
Total	240	100.0		100.0		

G. Comparison between two stations

Both RCTI and TVRI are compared in their reporting. Generally TVRI produced 138 news items, which is 36 news item more than RCTI. RCTI gathered the highest amount of news item on 4th September 2013 at 20.6%. TVRI on the other hand gathered highest amount of news on 1st September 2013 at 19.6%. For TVRI, news on the 4th September was the second highest at 17.4%.

Table 11: Date and station crosstabulation

	Date	Station		Total
		RCTI	TVRI	
01.09.2013		13	27	40
		12.7%	19.6%	16.7%
02.09.2013		18	22	40
		17.6%	15.9%	16.7%
	03.09.2013	10	20	30
		9.8%	14.5%	12.5%
	04.09.2013	21	24	45
		20.6%	17.4%	18.8%
	05.09.2013	18	17	35
		17.6%	12.3%	14.6%
	06.09.2013	15	8	23
		14.7%	5.8%	9.6%
	07.09.2013	7	20	27
		6.9%	14.5%	11.2%
Total		102	138	240

The themes displayed by both station can be seen on Table 12. For both station, the main theme displayed was the theme of society, with 43.1% for RCTI and 35.5% for TVRI. It was followed by politics with 25.5% for RCTI and 29.0% for TVRI.

In comparison RCTI put more emphasis to societal theme, probably as it is more audience driven as a commercial station. TVRI on the other hand, although it also has more emphasis on societal theme, it has more emphasis on political theme than RCTI due to its nature as a government station.

Table 12: Theme and station crosstabulation

Theme	Station		Total
	RCTI	TVRI	
Politics	26	40	66
	25.5%	29.0%	27.5%
Economics and Finance	11	22	33
	10.8%	15.9%	13.8%
Culture	7	8	15
	6.9%	5.8%	6.2%
Sports	3	1	4
	2.9%	0.7%	1.7%
Society	44	49	93
	43.1%	35.5%	38.8%
Environment and Health	9	15	24
	8.8%	10.9%	10.0%
Science and Technology	2	3	5
	2.0%	2.2%	2.1%
Total	102	138	240
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

TVRI's nature as the government station become even more prominent when 63.8% of protagonists featured in the news are political protagonists whereas RCTI only have 20.6% of political protagonists. On the contrary, 51.0% protagonists of RCTI are citizens in comparison to TVRI who only featured citizens as protagonists at 11.6%.

Table 13: Protagonists field of action and station crosstabulation

Protagonist	Station		Total
	RCTI	TVRI	
No Protagonists	1	13	14
	1.0%	9.4%	5.8%
Politics	21	88	109
	20.6%	63.8%	45.4%
Economics	4	11	15
	3.9%	8.0%	6.2%
Society	16	8	24
	15.7%	5.8%	10.0%
Citizen	52	16	68
	51.0%	11.6%	28.3%
Sports	3	0	3
	2.9%	0.0%	1.2%
Culture	5	2	7
	4.9%	1.4%	2.9%
Total	102	138	240
	100.0%	100. 0%	100.0%

For the quote field of action, naturally RCTI gave 42.2% coverage for citizens, whereas TVRI gave 52.9% coverage for political figures. It also can be seen that TVRI also gave more coverage for economics quote (12.3%) in comparison to RCTI at 2.9%. Refer to Table 14.

Table 14: Quote field of action

Quote field of action	Station		Total
	RCTI	TVRI	
No Quotes	7	13	20
	6.9%	9.4%	8.3%
Politics	23	73	96
	22.5%	52.9%	40.0%
Economics	3	17	20
	2.9%	12.3%	8.3%
Society	18	16	34
	17.6%	11.6%	14.2%
Citizen	43	16	59
	42.2%	11.6%	24.6%
Sports	3	0	3
	2.9%	0.0%	1.2%
Culture	5	3	8

	4.9%	2.2%	3.3%
Total	102	138	240
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

H. Comparison of time allocation.

Overall, each news items by TVRI (123.38 seconds) take the longer time in comparison to RCTI (86.48 seconds) as per Table 15. In TVRI, the longest news for 543 seconds was an interview with Indonesia's National Human Rights Commission. Indonesia's broadcast media can be viewed as giving a large prominence to societal issue with human rights being at the forefront of their mind.

Table 15: Mean and standard deviation of news length in each station

	Station	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Length	RCTI	102	86.48	43.509
	TVRI	138	123.58	62.885

Table 16 showed the average of time length given to each theme. Culture and sports, although the most underrepresented in terms of the amount of news, protagonists and quote, garnered the highest average time length for its news. The data showed that when there are rare news of culture or sports, it is often highlighted and given longer air time.

It was then followed by politics (113.44 seconds), economics and finance (109.58 seconds). Society, although is the highest in terms of news item, the air time given to each news item is the lowest at 99.16 seconds.

Table 16: Theme and time length

Theme	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Politics	66	113.44	64.278
Economics and Finance	33	109.58	42.292
Culture	15	137.07	50.780
Sports	4	124.75	40.664
Society	93	99.16	62.155
Environment and Health	24	102.21	53.033
Science and Technology	5	108.40	26.642
Total	240	107.81	58.349

For the protagonists, the results indicated that culture protagonist was given the highest time length average, indicating that the mention of them when unusual, often are given the longest air time. Citizen however yielded the lowest airtime as protagonists. Refer to Table 17.

Table 17: Protagonist field of action vs length

Protagonist	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
No protagonist	14	114.14	49.727
Politics	109	117.32	56.263
Economics	15	99.73	25.053
Society	24	110.17	101.557
Citizen	68	88.91	44.616
Sports	3	100.67	55.717
Culture	7	143.00	39.703
Total	240	107.81	58.349

The same pattern was reflected in the quote whereby the culture quote are given the most airtime when they are featured followed by the political quote. Citizens were given the shortest time of quote. Refer to Table 18.

Table 18: Quote field of action vs length

Quote	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
No quote	20	96.65	49.592
Politics	96	114.34	56.889
Economics	20	103.50	21.432
Society	34	110.06	88.596
Citizen	59	98.49	52.251
Sports	3	100.67	55.717
Culture	8	130.00	39.385
Total	240	107.81	58.349

Conclusion

The overall results showed that the news nature in Indonesia is very much episodic and singular, where they report a single issue on a day and did not repeat the story the following day. Social news seems to be given a large prominence followed by political news. Social news given most prominence are public safety, corruption and crime.

Culture and sports are the most neglected issues mentioned by the broadcast media of Indonesia. However on the other hand, when cultural and sports issues are mentioned, it is given a very long air time. This shows that when the sports and cultural issues received coverage, it must be an issue that is interesting and deserving of public attention.

Political figures are the prominent figures as protagonists and quoted the most. Citizens on the other hand are often represented as the victim or affected people and their viewpoints are rarely highlighted as the protagonists or being quoted for issues. One interesting to note was how

representative of military are often featured in Indonesia broadcast media, indicating the power of the Indonesia National Armed Forces.

The people are often featured as the protagonists and also they are quoted. However they are given little time and only briefly given chance to air their opinions.

The tenors of the news and quotes are strongly balanced between the positive and the negative proving a healthy balance of reporting in terms of slants. Researcher assume that this is due to the press freedom security in Indonesia allowing different point of views being aired be it for the government and commercial station. This is a good indication that the Indonesia media are quite balanced in framing the slants.

However, having said that, when the stations are compared, TVRI are more politically inclined in comparison to RCTI. TVRI have to play its role as the mouthpiece of the government, whereas RCTI are more audience-oriented given its commercial status.

MALAYSIA

ORGANISATIONAL PATTERN

The Malaysian media environment began to change from the beginning of mid-1980s through the 1990s with the establishment of TV3 the private television station. Due to history of tight censorship laws, Malaysia did not open up the television broadcasting market to private operators until 1995. Despite this, the proportion of Malaysian households having television sets has risen to almost 90% of all households. Further progress developed in the television industry with the issuance of additional licenses to the private sector.

The Ministry of Information oversees radio and television broadcasting vis-a-vis the Broadcasting Act (1988) which gives the Minister wide ranging powers to either reject or approve a license to potential broadcasters. Part III, Section 10, Subsection (1)of the Act states that licensees must comply with the direction given, from time to time, by the Minister of Information appointed by the Prime Minister.

There are currently around 168 televisions in Malaysia per thousand population and 800,000 satellite subscribers. According to Network Insight, the satellite market is likely to be saturated when it reaches 1.5 million subscribers. Radio audiences have been dropping in the last few years, although radio still reaches 86% of the population. RTM and the Astro group, AMP, control 31 % and 45% of the market each while the 9 private channels reach around 24% of the audience. The most popular station remains the Malay-language ERA FM, owned by AMP. It has almost as many listeners as all the 18 RTM stations combined. The state also owns a mix of 17 local and 5 nationwide radio stations.

Ownership and diversity

1970s & 1980s ownership of the NST and its sister companies (including television stations, Chinese and Malays dailies), passed from the government-owned Pernas to the UMNO-owned Fleet Holdings. All of the media is owned, directly or indirectly, by the ruling coalition or those closely allied to them. MCA's takeover of Chinese daily Nanyang Siang Pau and the touch and go sale of English daily The Sun to a media group which also publishes weekly, The Edge. The latter is seen as more liberal and the takeover was fraught, until a deal was reached which allowed owner Vincent Tan Chee Yioun, a close associate of Mahathir's, to retain a controlling stake in the paper. Anwar Ibrahim's rise to power was mirrored by the rise of Realmild media group, run by his business allies, who took control of Malay and English language media. His downfall was reflected in management reshuffle within these media, including the newspapers Utusan Malaysia and the NST.

People who were seen as his allies-such as Johan Jaafar, the editor of the Utusan Malaysia and Ahmad Nazri Abdullah, one of the leading stakeholder and executive of the Realmild group-were replaced. Since the mid-80s, the so-called "privatisation" of Malaysia's airwaves has taken place, first with the introduction of TV3 and slowly with the introduction of other channels, both terrestrial and satellite. However, TV3, the first "private" television station, was and remains owned either by government partied (UMNO) or those closely allied to them. NTV7, another terrestrial channel, is partly owned by the former Agriculture Minister.

All broadcasting outlets remain in the hands of five companies, three owned by ruling parties i.e ministers and one by media tycoon Ananda Krishna, closely allied with Mahathir. Channel 9, has strong links with the Ministry of Entrepreneurial Development. The only satellite station Astro is owned by Ananda Krishna.

History of broadcasting organisation in Malaysia

The history of radio in Malaya began in the year 1921 when an electrical engineer from the Johor Government, A.L Birch, brought the first radio set into the country. He then establish the Johore Wireless Association and commenced broadcasting through 300 meter waves. Then followed by the establishment of the same association in Penang and The Malayan Wireless Association in Kuala Lumpur.

1930 – Sir Earl from the Singapore Port Authority commenced its short wave broadcast every fortnight either on Sundays or Wednesdays. The same effort was emulated by Malayan Wireless Association, broadcasting from Bukit Petaling, Kuala Lumpur via 325 meter waves. This was followed by the efforts of Sir Shenton Thomas was opened the Studio of Broadcasting Corporation of Malaya and its transmitter at Caldecott Hill, Singapore on the 11th March 1937. Later was taken over by the Straits Settlement and became a part of the British Information Ministry better known as the Malayan Broadcasting Corporation.

1942 – Japanese invasion and the end of British rule in Singapore, Japanese took over and used the existing radio channels in Penang, Malacca, Kuala Lumpur, Seremban and Singapore to transmit Japanese propaganda.

1945 - the British came back into power and reclaimed the stations. 1st April 1946, the Department of Broadcasting was established in Singapore. When emergency, caused by the outbreak of social riots was declared in 1948, it became necessary to further enhance and develop radio services.

Early 50s – broadcasting activities in Malaya were operated its temporary studio in Jalan Young (now known as Jalan Cenderasari) in Kuala Lumpur and 1956 - were moved to the Federal House, Kuala Lumpur. It was here that broadcasting in Malaysia grew with the establishment of several station throughout the country including Sabah and Sarawak.

1960 – commercial advertisement were first aired on radio and become the new source of revenue for the Government. Deejays began to use the introduction "Inilah Radio Malaysia" (this is Radio Malaysia) to greet listeners at the very first time Malaysia was formed in 16th September 1963. Broadcasting time was extended to cater to the needs of listeners from all walks of life.

National Radio Channel (Rangkaian Nasional) begain its round the clock services to cater for night shifts workers such as factory operators, wardens, hospital staffs, lorry or bus drivers, pick-up service operator, food courts or caterers and security guards.Today, Malaysians enjoy listening to 6 radio channels 24 hours a day in Malay, English, Mandarin and Tamil while East Malaysians (Sabah and Sarawak) are tuning to radio channels in their respective native languages such as Kadasan, Murut, Dusun, Bajau, English and Mandarin via Blue Channel RTM Kota Kinabalu.

Bidayuh, a dialect widely used by Sarawakians, is the main language for Blue Channel RTM Kuching. Iban and Kayan/Kenyah are dialects used in the Green Channel of the station while English and Mandarin are local dialects used for the Red Channel. RTM Limbang, dialects used to communicate with the listeners are as mentioned but Bisaya and Murut (Lun Bawang) are also spectacular dialects used in that channel.

20th June 1975 - Radio Muzik was launched – allows for total entertainment in the form of songs for listeners of all ages. RTM has marked yet another milestone with the introduction of RTM's website at the end of 1995.

27th December 1995 - the Honourable Prime Minister, Dato' Seri Dr. Mahathir Mohamed launched and enables listeners to tune to the TV and Radio Station via the Internet.

Until 1963, radio was the only broadcasting medium in Malaysia. Television was officially introduced on 28 December 1963. It was a single network known as *Rangkaian Pertama* (*The First Channel*). It was broadcast in black and white. Rangkaian satu was broadcast from studio, Dewan Tunku Abdul Rahman, Jalan Ampang before it moved office to Angkasapuri Complex. Six years later, the

introduction of *Rangkaian Dua* (*The Second Channel*) took place six years later, in late 1969. The growth of the first channel encouraged the second channel to be establish on 17th November 1969. TV1 consist of mostly local educational and information programs in the national language, Malay. TV2 is primarily entertainment oriented, offering movies and other programming in English, Tamil and Chinese. Malaysia's television services mere merged with radio under the Ministry of Information in 1969 with the new name Radio Television Malaysia (RTM).

1984, the government had granted a broadcasting license to a private company, Sistem Televisyen Malaysia Berhad (STMB) to run a private television channel called TV3 ended the 20-year monopoly of RTM over the transmission of television airwaves. TV3 remains the top television channel in Malaysia and holding, most of the time, the top ten television programs in Malaysia.

NTV 7 was launched on April 7th April 1998. Initially owned by a businessman from Sarawak, Dato' Affendi Nawawi, who was a former Minister of Agriculture and a member of Parliament for the ruling coalition in the state of Sarawak.

Channel 9, under the company's name Ch-9 Media Sdn Bhd (formerly known as Medanmas Sdn Bhd in September 2003. Initially awarded a license to operate a television station in 1998. Due to the company downturn, the operation was postponed until the company was fully prepared (Mohd Safar et al, 2000). In 2005, Channel 9 ceased its operation and later was taken over by Media Prima Berhad.

Media Prima Berhad was established in 2003 when two giant media companies – STMB (TV3) and the News Straits Times Publishing (NSTP) were separated from the parent company Malaysia Resources Corporation Berhad (MRCB) to bring more focus on media related business. MP was set up to own a 100% stake of TV3 and a 43% stake of the NSTP.

With new regulations that all broadcasting licensing and operation be park under the Communication and Multimedia Commission (Ministry of Communication and Multimedia), MP had to resubmit its application to operate the television stations. A year after establishment, MP had bought over Metropolitan TV Sdn Bhd, that ran former Metrovision channel, with a new name – 8TV.

In 2005 MP bought over two other private televisions channels – TV9 (formerly known as Channel 9) and NTV7. MP Berhad owns all local terrestrial private television channels in Malaysia- TV3, NTV7, 8TV & TV9 – with 100% stake. Few private television broadcasting companies that tried to enter this oligopoly yet failed after a few years of operation. The first victim was Metrovision, which was introduced in 1996. Its limited coverage failed to bring it enough revenue to compete. Television channels such as TV9 (formerly Channel 9) almost succumbed to a similar difficulty; however, it survived through a change of ownership to Media Prima. Under new ownership, Media Prima has become a powerful media house that not only controls four major stations, including TV3 and 8TV, but also owns various print and online media as well.

Mega TV was the first subscription-based television channel introduced in Malaysia. It was operated by TV3 and went on air in 1995. It was popular in the urban market; however, it failed to compete when Astro commenced operations in 2001 and offered a greater variety of channels at a more reasonable price. TV3 is considered as the biggest threat to TV1. TV3 is a subsidiary of Media Prima, which is now the largest media conglomerate in Malaysia. Media Prima has a very high equity interest in 8TV, NTV7 and TV9 and New Straits Times Press (Malaysia) Bhd (one of the biggest publishing groups in Malaysia that publishes New Straits Times, Malay Mail, Berita Harian and Harian Metro.

In 1998, the Malaysian audience was introduced to NTV7, the new "feel good channel". The mission of NTV7 was to create a happier and more enlightened group of Malaysians. It came up with a new style of media management by looking at the station as a media brand instead of just another television station. The programs are listed as products under each specific brand and the company was controlled by brand managers. It has organized various belts of programming such as dramas, comedies, entertainment programs and more.

8TV, which was launched in January 2004, aims at serving those who were unable to be served under TV3 due to airtime limitations (http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?Title=NTV7). 8TV aims at the young urban audience and also at the Chinese market. It seems to be the choice of young professionals with its popular imported programs such as CSI, Desperate Housewives, and American Idol.

Stiff competition from subscription-based competitors such as Astro. Astro subscription-based company under the trademark of MEASAT Broadcast Network Systems Sdn Bhd, a channel of entertainment, information and educational programs transmitted via satellite. It also has thirteen radio stations, providing Malaysians with a selection of local, regional and international programming. Astro broadcasts its programs using the DTH satellite system and offers over 100 television channels. The programs shown on the international channels are very current and among the higher rated shows shown abroad. Astro and Unifi have channels that narrowcast.

TV Al-Hijrah, which was launched in 2011, focuses on the ability to obtain Muslim programs which promote the teachings of Islam. TV AlHijrah is a government owned company under the Department of Islamic Affair Malaysia (JAKIM) Establish in 2009, TV Alhijrah commenced its broadcasting on 7 December 2010. This was considered to be a competitive move to Astro Oasis which has had a significantly stronger following with the internationally renowned Imam Muda. It has been able to fill a demand in the market for more Islamic programming from the Muslim Malay community

Media Prima

Media Prima Berhad (Media Prima), a company listed on the Main Board of Bursa Malaysia, is Malaysia's leading integrated media investment group. It was established and launched in 2003 and since then has grown to be a leading media corporation in Malaysia. The group was created out the

de-merger of Malaysian Resources Corporation Berhad's media assets namely Sistem Televisyen Malaysia Berhad (STMB that runs TV3) and the NSTP (Malaysia) Berhad. It currently owns 100% equity interest in TV3, 8TV, NTV7 and TV9. It Also owns more than 98% equity interest in the NSTP (Malaysia), Malaysia's largest publisher which publishes three national newspapers, NST, BH and HM. Owns 3 radio networks, Fly FM, Hot FM and One FM. Other media interest include content creation under the Primeworks label: event and talent management. The Group's leadership position in the Outdoor business is represented by Big Tree Outdoor Sdn Bhd, UPD Sdn Bhd, Kurnia Outdoor Sdn Bhd and Jupiter Outdoor Network Sdn Bhd. Online presence through its digital communication and broadcasting subsidiary, ALT Media via the lifestyle portal gua.com.my and tonton.com.my. A cutting-edge video portal with HD-ready quality viewing experience that offers the individualism of customised content and interactivity of social networking. Emas, is the first retro channel in Malaysia showcasing Media Prima's production of popular TV programmes of the yesteryear via IPTV (internet protocol TV) on HyppTV, Unifi TM.

Bernama

The Malaysian National News Agency or Bernama, a statutory body was set up by an Act of Parliament in 1967 and began operations in May 1968. A five-member Supervisory Council appointed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong is created to ensure that BERNAMA is always guided by the provisions of the Act in implanting its objectives. Bernama is managed by a Board of Governors appointed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. The Board comprises a Chairman and 6 representatives each from the Federal Government and Newspapers that are subscribers of Bernama. Alternate members who also appointed by the Yang di-Pertuan Agong. Headed by a General Manager who is assisted by a Management Committee that implements all programmes and activities as well as decisions of the Board of Governors. Has its offices in all the state in Malaysia and correspondents in Singapore and Jakarta and stringers or retainers in Washington, London, Manila, New Delhi, Dhaka, Melbourne and Vancouver. Previously Bernama's news and information were only in the form of text and still photographs but with the launching of its audio-visual unit known as Bernama TV in September 1998, news is now available in form of visuals.

The government-run wire service, Bernama, also launched its own TV news channel in 1998 in an apparent attempt to provide news content for the growing broadcasting industry. Over the years, as implied above, the media industry in Malaysia has witnessed a growing and troubling trend of media ownership concentration and consolidation, which was triggered by economic and, to some extent, political considerations. Such a phenomenon prevails primarily because of the laws that govern the mainstream media, namely the Printing Presses and Publications Act for the press and the Communications and Multimedia Act for the broadcasting industry and the Internet, which invariably empower the ministers concerned to determine who can or cannot own and run the mainstream press and broadcasting stations.

This situation certainly has serious implications on press freedom and the media's qualitative diversity because media ownership concentration tends to constrain the diversity of content and viewpoints in the mainstream newspapers and broadcasting stations, especially when most owners of these media organisations are associated with the ruling coalition or constitute their economic allies. In other words, the parameters of freedom and space found in the mainstream media are directly or indirectly prescribed by the powers-that-be. Such a media environment has also brought about a worrying culture of self-censorship within the journalistic fraternity. In this context, laws such as the Official Secrets Act, Sedition Act and the Internal Security Act also have a chilling effect on journalists

Changes of Technology in Broadcasting

The revolution in technology gave birth to two most essential terms that are widely used to describe the development and trends in communication technology. The two terms are *convergence* and *divergence:*

The term *convergence* refers to the blurring of boundaries between different telecommunication media. Telephone, radio, television, computer are combined to produce text, pictures, video and sound in a single form. In this sense, at least two types of different media are used to deliver television content (feature) to the audience.

Divergence on the other hand, involves the multiplying of form or communication medium in delivery television signals using various devices such as terrestrial, cable, satellite and computer system (Stewart et al. 2001).In Malaysia, the development of technology received considerable attention during the Mahathir Era (1982-2003).Fully industrialized country status was at the forefront of his agenda. Vision 2020 that was formulated (1991) aimed to transform Malaysia into a fully developed country by early 2020.

As a result a mega project known as the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC) was launched in 1996. It has since grown into a dynamic Information and Communication Technology (ICT) hub that host more than 900 multinational, foreign-owned and homegrown companies. The focus is largely on multimedia and communication products (http/:www.msc.com.my/msc/msc.asp). The introduction of Malaysia's satellite television in late 1996 was in conjunction with this mega project. Subsequent developments in the television industry in Malaysia were mainly in support of the MSC project.

Prior to 1995, the terrestrial television system was the only system available for delivering television signals. More than three decades after television was introduced in this country, Malaysia's first pay television using cable optic technology was established in 1995. However, due to the unattractive package offered by MegaTV, and poor technical maintenance and the having to compete with ASTRO, and serious financial problems, Mega TV was shut down in 2001. The significant technological shift that took place in the television industry in Malaysia was with the introduction of the first Malaysian satellite television, ASTRO in the 1996. ASTRO used a Direct to User Service

(D.T.U) and is broadcast as high powered KU Band transmission utilizing the transponder of the MEASAT. The subscription based service is currently operating from Bukit Jalil, Kuala Lumpur.

The service can be received using a fixed 60 cm diameter dish antenna and a decoder. The signals are encoded and encrypted prior to transmission forming a conditional access subscriber service, allowing access only to subscribers with a decoder and authorized smartcard (http://wikipedia.org/wiki/Astro_satellite_TV).

The new technology revolution in communication technology has allowed ASTRO to introduce a more 'sophisticated' viewing experience for its audience. Known as interactive and multimedia services which was made possible through the *convergence* and *divergence* of existing 'old' and 'new' media technologies, ASTRO currently offers various interactive TV and multimedia services ranging from video on demand (pay per view), games, stock link, chatting, SMS, icon download, internet banking which were not available in the 'television market' previously.

The change to digital television is also determined by economic factor, whereby the cost to maintain the service is cheaper as compared to the analogue system. Digital television also offers other benefits such as more television channels, on screen television guide, interactive services data feeds, a greater selection of wide screen programming and Dolby Digital surround sound. The ability for digital television to transmit a steady stream of data resulted in less interference and produces better quality (*The Star, 28 September 2006*). This unique characteristics of digital television thus far are only being provided by the 3 subscription based television stations, namely ASTRO, Mitv and FineTV.

2005 the then Deputy Information Minister, Datuk Donald Lim announced that analogue television broadcast in Malaysia will be totally shut down by 2015. An estimated of RM 1.34 billion will be spent to upgrade the service nationwide (*The Star 28 September 2006*). The transformation of the system will be conducted in phases, starting with the major cities and town effectively in 2006. RTM (the government TV station) was chosen to lead the project.

RTM has started its digital terrestrial broadcast trail in Klang Valley in September 2006 with initial government funding of RM 70 million (*The Star,* 28 September 2006*).* By 2008, Malaysia is expected to start shutting down the old system and is expected to completely shut down all the analogue television systems by 2015. This also means that there will be no more analogue TV sets available in the market after 2015. Malaysian viewers are given a 'choice' to either buy a brand new digital television set or to buy a converter to enable the old television sets to receive the digital services (www. Bernama .com.my/bernama/v3/news.php?id=175313).

The competition among television stations to survive in the industry is becoming more and more intense. From a terrestrial transmission using the analogue terrestrial system, cable and satellite television, in September 2005, the government approved the operation of Mitv that uses the Internet Protocol over UHF (fully digitized) for its transmission. The war of employing technology in

the television industry has not come to an end. In the same year, just a couple months after the introduction of Mitv, yet another subscription based television station, known as FineTV was launched in December 2005.

Broadcasting Companies Revenue (2009)

The television broadcasting sector comprising mainly for FTA TV channels owned by Media Prima Berhad. Two Government run channels. A subscription based multi-channel satellite TV service provider, Astro. The broadcasting companies are also owners of several radio channels. The combined revenue of the companies was RM3.9 Billion in 2009, indicating a growth of 2.6% for the sector from the total revenue of RM 3.8 Billion in 2008. In 2009, MP posted revenue of RM0.74 Billion. This is a contracted 5.1% from RM0.78 Billion recorded in 2008. The group posted operating profit margin of 9.5% for 2009 (2008:20.5%)

Astro All Asia Network Plc (Astro) posted revenue of RM3.26 Billion for Financial Year Ended (FYE) in January 2010. This is an increase of 9.8% from RM2.97 Billion posted in FYE 2009. Operating Margin stood at 18% for FYE 2010 (FYE 2009: 4.7%)
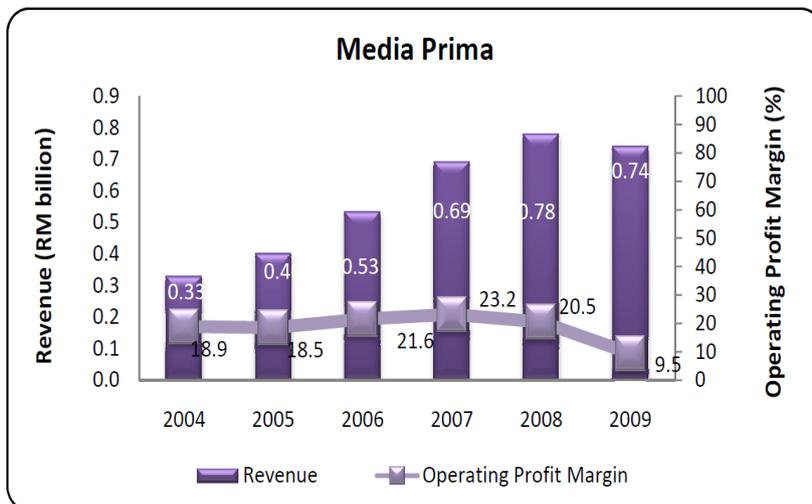
Source: Industry, SKMM
Fig. 2.24 Media Prima Revenue and Operating Profit Margin
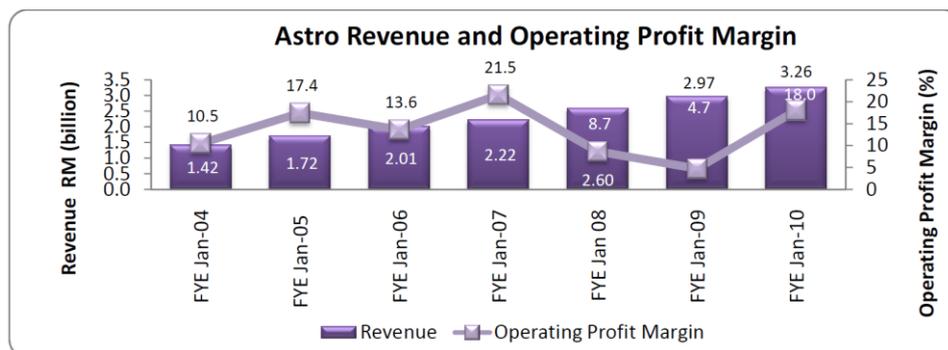
Source: Industry, SKMM
Fig. 2.25 ASTRO Revenue and Operating Profit Margin
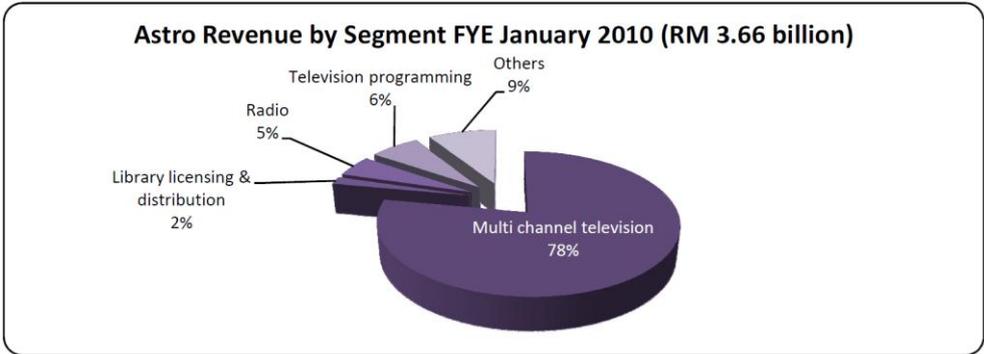
Source: Industry, SKMM
Fig. 2.26 Astro Revenue by Segment FYE January 2010

The government broadcasting arm, RTM operate the national TV stations, namely TV1 and TV2 and also 34 radio stations. These stations garnered total revenue of RM66.5 Million for 2009. TV division posted RM45.7 Million revenue representing 67% of the RTM total broadcast revenue, while the balance 31% (RM 20.8 Million) is from its radio division. In 2008, RTM registered RM74.3 Million of revenue, with 75% from TV and 26% from radio divisions respectively.
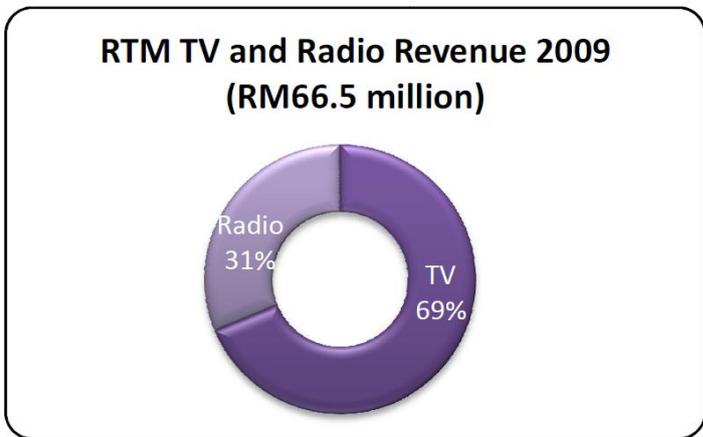
Source: Industry, SKMM
Fig. 2.27 RTM TV and Radio Revenue 2009

Malaysia was one of the earliest British colonies to operate a radio broadcasting service. However, the British government did not show much interest in radio in its early stages of development. Amateurs, electric companies, telecommunication personnel, and radio enthusiasts were among those who started the broadcasting the sector (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). The first step towards sector-professionalization was in 1921 when A.L. Birch, the chief engineer of the Johore state government formed the Johore Wireless Society, which triggered the formation of nearly one dozen radio societies throughout Malaya. News, music and songs from the phonogram were among the first programmes broadcasts. Institutionally and technically, the potential to set up radio broadcasting using the airwaves existed throughout the 1920s. However, the government failed to encourage the establishment of a broadcasting station until 1932. On April 1, 1933, it awarded a temporary license to Radio Service Company of Malaya (RSCM). In 1935, the British Malaya Broadcasting Company (BMBC), owned by a group of shareholders with participation by managers

from the BBC, emerged as a full-fledged broadcaster (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). Following the award of the license to BMBC, the government withdrew RSCM's temporary broadcasting operating license at the end of 1936. Owning to uncertainties in the political and economic environment at both the national and international level, the parties agreed in 1940 to sell BMBC to the British government. A at the end of 1941, just as the war in the Pacific began, the company changed its name to Malayan Broadcasting Corporation and began upgrading its organisation and broadcasting equipment. The Japanese invaded and took control of Malaya and Singapore in February 1942. Sarji contends that the broadcasting facilities came in handy for the Japanese during their occupation of three years and eight months (Sarji, 1998). Although the Japanese used broadcasting for propaganda, they used the Malay language extensively, followed by English, Chinese, Tamil and Japanese. After the Japanese surrender, the British military administration took charge of broadcasting. On April 1, 1946, the day the Malayan Union came into being, the government set up the Department of Broadcasting or Radio Malaya. The only function of broadcasting until the country's independence in 1957 was to help the government to control the social and political confusion that followed the war and the communist revolt of 1948 (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). The political, educational, and national language policies planned during this period grew simultaneously with broadcasting, a process which helped to bring about social change (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

Radio Television Malaysia (RTM) first introduced black-and-white television on December 28, 1963. A second black-and-white TV network followed in November 1969. In 1970, RTM introduced an international standard satellite earth station in Kuantan, Pahang (on the east coast of peninsular Malaysia) to accommodate a TV link to Sabah and Sarawak, and also for overseas transmission. Colour television was introduced in December 1978. Malaysia continued with the government-controlled broadcasting system until 1983 when the government found it necessary to end its monopoly. Hashim reckons the reasons included in budgetary pressures, emergence of new communication technologies, and competition from neighbouring countries (Hashim, 1995). The lucrative revenue potential of private television for the politically influential, especially with the ascendancy of the television at the expense of the print media, expedited the privatisation of broadcasting. Thus, in 1984, the government licensed the privately owned, profit-oriented Sistem Televisyen Malaysia Bhd., better known as TV3, to compete with the two government channels (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). Ten years later, in 1995, the government licensed two more private TV stations: Metrovision and Mega TV. The first was a terrestrial UHF channel in the Klang Valley. The second was a 10-channel (initially five-channel) cable TV station. Astro, Malaysia's first satellite broadcasting station, with 23 TV channels and eight radio channels, joined the competition after Malaysia launched its first satellite, Measat 1, in January 1996. The government also approved another TV station with nationwide coverage, NTV7, which began operation in 1998. Had it not been for the economic downturn in 1998, another TV station, TV IMT-GT, would have started in northern Malaysia to cater for northern Indonesia and southern Thailand as well (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

Similar development took place in radio broadcasting. In 1998, the Malaysian government operated 23 radio channels at national, regional, and local levels in various languages and dialects. Malaysia also had 14 private radio stations, including Astro's eight channels. Although two more TV channels – Nusantara TV and Medanmas – have received approval, they are unlikely to commerce soon because of the economic downturn. Nusantara TV, a joint venture of the Malaysian and Indonesian governments, will use Indonesia's Palapa satellite, Medanmas, a joint venture of Malaysian, Indonesian and Thai business interests will operate from Pulau Langkawi in the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand Growth Triangle (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

Policy and Legal Framework

Prior to the privatisation of broadcasting in 1984, the government determined the policy and legal framework for broadcasting. The Communication and Multimedia Act 1998 repealed the Broadcasting Act 1988, enacted four years after the establishment of TV3. These changes reflect the speed with which technology has changed the electronic media. Radio and Television Malaysia presents the government's programmes and policies. Purportedly, it aims to promote national unity, stimulate public interest, develop civic consciousness, and provide information and education (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). It emphasises the concept of Infotainment – the presentation of information and entertainment as a public service broadcasting station. However, with the advent of TV3, the government channels re-oriented their programming approach from an education-and-information bias to a greater entertainment orientation (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). The broadcasting Act 1988 governed private commercial radio and television. The act empowered the minister of information to grant radio and TV licenses. It stated that no person shall broadcast any matter in Malaysia except under or in accordance with a license granted under the Act (Section 4 (1)). The license could contain such terms and conditions as the minister might determine (Section 4 (3)). The minister also had the power to control content. Section 10 (1) empowered the minister, in the public interest, to prohibit the broadcasting of any matter (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

The Communication and Multimedia Act 1998 repealed the Broadcasting Act, as well as the Telecommunications Act 1950. Following the passage of the new law, a new Ministry of Energy, Communications and Multimedia, as well as a new Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission, was formed on November 1, 1998. The new ministry has taken over from the Information Ministry all the functions related to the policy and regulatory aspects of broadcasting. The Information Ministry would continue to exist, but would share some duties with the new ministry (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). The new ministry will take over the issuing of broadcasting licenses. The commission headed by Syed Hussein Mohamed, will be the single regulatory authority for the three industries that have converged: telecommunications, broadcasting, and computing. The commission took over some of the present technical functions of the old regulator, the Telecommunications Department. The regulatory functions of the Department of Posts would also go to the commission (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

Structure and Organisation

Radio

There are a total of 19 private and 34 government-owned radio stations in Malaysia today. Stations owned by the government operate under the RTM group network. RTM operates six radio networks:

R1: National Broadcast (24 hours),

R3: Capital City Broadcast/Regional Broadcast (18 hours),

R4: English Broadcast (24 hours),

R5: Mandarin Broadcast (24 hours),

R6: Tamil Broadcast (24 hours), and

Radio Muzik in FM-Stereo (24 hours).

In Sarawak, RTM runs a Yellow Network (Malay), a Red Network (Chinese and English), a Green Network (Iban), and a Blue Network (Bidayuh). Voice of Malaysia, RTM's overseas service, includes eight units broadcasting in English, Mandarin, Malay, Tagalog, Burmese, Thai and Arabic, and the Voice of Islam broadcasting in English and Malay. The government also operates Radio Penerangan (Information Radio) in the Kuala Lumpur area. Time Highway Radio (THR) is a commercial radio network in the peninsula. BEST 104 is a commercial FM station operated from Johor Baru. Other national broadcasters are Era, Hitz FM, Light & Easy FM, Mix FM, My FM and the satellite stations Classic Rock Radio and Opus Radio (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). The company Media Prima Berhad operates the three most popular stations HotFM (Malay), FlyFM (English) and OneFM (Malay) (Wagstaff, 2010). Community radio is non-existent in Malaysia (Wagstaff, 2010). Regarding the countrywide penetration of radio sets, UNESCO (2012) has estimated that in 2011 Malaysia hat 9,1 million radio receivers or 43.4 per 100 inhabitants.

Television

RTM also operates the two major TV networks: TV1, the Prime Network, which broadcasts in Malay, English, Mandarin, and Tamil. The private commercial TV stations include TV3, Mega TV, Metrovision, NTV7, and Astro DTH. Astro's several services include: Ria, an all-Malay Channel; Hua Li Dai, an all-Chinese entertainment channel; Wah Lai Toi, another Chinese channel; and Super Sport. Astro is a privately held company which benefits from strict license regulations imposed by the government. These regulations cause it to have a monopoly on satellite television and pay-TV. Its owners are considered close to the Malay government (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). The digital TV company Asia Broadcasting Network (ABN) has started to become more of a competition for Astro. Although their reception area only covers parts of Kuala Lumpur and Johor Baru, the company

is rapidly expanding throughout the rest of the country. Currently, Astro has about 3.5 million subscribers, which covers about 50 percent of the Malaysian TV market. ABN has not released any numbers so far, but claimed to target 80 per cent of all households until 2018 (The Star, 2012)

RTM functions under the Broadcasting Department of the Ministry of Information. The director-general of broadcasting, whose immediate head is the secretary-general of the Ministry of Information, is responsible to the Minister of Information. A deputy director-general and several directors in charge of specific sections – including news and current affairs, programming and engineering – assist the director general. Following the introduction of private commercial stations, RTM has become more businesslike.

The private commercial stations are organised on business line. For instance, a chairman and an executive director (assisted by a general manager) are at the head of TV3. Several division managers – including those for news and current affairs, programming, and engineering – assist the general manager. The security of staff is one aspect that sets apart government-owned broadcasting from private broadcasting. Faced with rising costs and loss of advertising during the Asian financial crisis, TV3, Astro and NTV7 retrenched their staff and cut down on broadcasting hours (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). TV3 temporarily halved its 24-hour-a-day service. The following cable/satellite TV broadcasting services are also open to the Malaysian audience: CNN International News (English), Discovery Channel (English with Malay subtitles), NBC Asia (English with Malay subtitles), ESPN International Sports (English), STAR Sports (English), HBO International Movies (English with Malay subtitles), STAR Movies (English with Malay subtitles), MGM Gold (English with Malay subtitles), STAR World (English with Malay subtitles), Channel V and MTV (Music Videos, English), Phoenix Chinese Channel (Chinese). Furthermore, there is Vaanavil, Malaysia's only all-Indian entertainment channel.

Analogue terrestrial television is currently the traditional way of receiving television in Malaysia, however it has now largely been supplanted by digital providers. Analogue terrestrial transmissions were scheduled to be switched off in phases as part of the digital switchover, expected to be completed in 2020 as a recommendation from Southeast Asia, however, it does not come to effect. The frequency has been moved to avoid signal jamming with television in Thailand. In 2005, the Ministry of Information announced their plan to digitalise nationwide free-to-air television broadcasts led by RTM. Trial broadcasts were undertaken, involving one thousand households in the Klang Valley during 2006-07. The test results were positive with over 88 percent of the participants reporting increased reception quality. TV3 carried out tests using a completely different system named T-DMB. The test signal consists of a single DAB stream, Fly FM, and two T-DMB streams, TV3 and a Hot radio visual, which carries a slide show with audio signal streamed from the radio station Hot FM. Despite a success of the RTM's pilot trials, the digital terrestrial television transition faced multiple problems. These problems stemmed from the lesser enthusiasm of content providers toward broadcasting digitalisation. With the resignation of then Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi and

the succession of Najib Tun Razak, the project by RTM was deferred indefinitely (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

Further distribution channels for TV content are mobile streaming and Internet TV. Telecommunications providers Maxis, DiGi and U Mobile offer television services for reception on third generation mobile phones. They consist of a mixture of regular channels as well as made for mobile channels with looped content. Maxis TV now offer more than 20 channels to Maxis 3G subscribers who own compatible mobile devices. Maxis is expected to introduce broadcast mobile TV services based in DVB-H technology in the near future. In October 2008, Astro launched Astro Mobile TV which currently provides 18 channels, all of which are mobile versions of its existing channels, seven of them are under its own brand. This service is only available to Maxis subscribers with compatible 2.5G or 3G handsets, and does not reprise its role from Maxis TV. Televison received via the Internet may be free, pay-per-view, multi- or unicast, streamed or downloaded over a variety of distribution technologies. Currently, there are only a few Malaysian TV channels which offer live-streaming or downloadable programme content to the visitors of their websites.

Programmes Policies

Malaysian laws and government policies determine the programme policy of Radio Television Malaysia. RTM operationalised these in its objectives which Adhikarya (1977) summarized:

1. To explain in depth and with the widest possible coverage, government policies and programmes to ensure maximum public understanding;
2. to stimulate public interest and opinion in order to achieve its desired changes;
3. to promote national unity – by using Bahasa Malaysia, the national language – in a multiracial society toward the preparation of a Malaysian culture and identity;
4. to assist in promoting civic consciousness and fostering the development of Malaysian arts and culture; and
5. to provide suitable elements of popular education, general information and entertainment (pp. 5-6).

Following independence, RTM's function was to help the government stabilise the country, promote unity, inculcate a sense of responsibility, and infuse the desired attitude and behaviour towards nation building (Idid and Sarji, 1993; Hashim, 1989). All programmes were supposed to contain developmental elements. However with the influx of video and later DVD home entertainment options, the government began to feel uncomfortable and began designing a more timely broadcasting policy (Sarji, 1998). With the advent of private commercial television, RTM has to change its programme policy to attract advertisers for both radio and television. It had to withdraw programmes that failed to attract audience and advertisers. Thus RTM is slowly moving away from its original philosophy of programming. The competition it faced from private radio and TV stations became a major factor in changing its strategy (Sarji, 1994). Both RTM and private stations use

audience rating as their guide for programming so much so that throughout the 1990s, Malaysia experienced, for the first time, the real battle for airtime. RTM, however, continues to insist that even as a corporatized body, profits would remain its second priority (New Straits Times, Feb 6, 1992).

The policy orientation for private TV stations in Malaysia is profit-driven. Sistem Televisyen Malaysia Bhd. (TV3), the leading private commercial station, has stated that its programmes must have mass appeal because only such programmes would attract sponsors and advertisers. The competition among TV stations resulted in a great imbalance between local and foreign content on Malaysian television. A 1992 study revealed that about 70 percent of TV3 programmes originated from abroad, compared to 58 percent of TV2 and 37 percent of TV1 (Sarji, 1994). These revelations caused the government to intervene; and in May 1991, the Ministry of Information instructed all TV stations to reschedule their programmes and broadcast more local programmes. Televising more local content had been an issue since the setting up of TV3 in 1984. Programmes on Mega TV and Astro are also covered by government guidelines. Generally, TV stations themselves censor films before broadcasting them. Officials of the Film Censorship Board stationed at TV3 also cover Mega TV, Metrovision, and RTM. However, Astro's own staff handles censorship of what Astro transmits. Initially, the Film Censorship Board trained Astro staff because of the special needs of the station, which had to re-transmit some programmes within one hour (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

Overall, Malaysia's authorities exert significant control over the media and have the power to impose restrictions in the name of national security. The government spends much effort on the protection of the population from what it considers harmful domestic and foreign influences (Muppidi, 2012). Although freedom of speech is granted through Article 10 of the Malaysian constitution, it remains restricted by numerous regulations. Especially the citizen's freedom of speech is limited by the International Security Act (ISA) and the Sedition Act which prohibits public comment on issues defined as sensitive, such as religious and racial matters (Muppidi, 2012). The ISA allows the government to imprison people without a trial in a broad number of cases, the Sedition Acts makes arrests on the grounds of 'seditious intention' possible creating an atmosphere of self-censorship among media staff. Another media-relevant law is the Broadcasting Act of 1988, which makes it necessary for every potential broadcaster to apply for a broadcasting license at the minister of information. The permit can easily be withdrawn, which gives the Ministry of Information a certain amount of power of ther countries media (Wang, 2001). Parties connected to the government therefore exert influence on all mainstream mass broadcasters in Malaysia. This has led to a big loss of credibility inside the Malaysian population (Wagstaff, 2010). Furthermore, some religious and political leaders are blacklisted to the extent that they are not allowed to appear on radio or TV (US Department of State, 2011).

Ownership and Financing

The government-owned Radio Television Malaysia operates TV1 and TV2, as well as national and regional radio stations in various languages. The largest private commercial station is STMB's TV3. Other private TV stations are Mega TV (a cable TV company), Metro Vision, NTV7, and Astro satellite TV station. Television, being an inexpensive source of entertainment, is available in almost every household, including in remote areas. UNESCO (2012) has estimated that in 2011 about 17,2 out of every 100 people in Malaysia owned a TV receiver. This translates into a penetration of about 85 percent of the population, taking five persons to a household. ACNielsen Malaysia media index (2010) shows that 96 percent of adults (15 years and above) live in homes with TV sets.

The government-owned broadcasting media derive income from three major sources: government grants, radio and TV licenses fees, and advertising, placement and programme sponsoring revenues (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

In 1997, RTM received Ringgit 620 million (USD 250 million) in grants and Ringgit 57,2 million (USD 23 million) in television license fees. In 1998, however, RTM received only Ringgit 540 million (USD 144 million) in grants (Ministry of Information, 1999). RTM's advertising revenue also declined to Ringgit 194.5 million (USD 51,2 million) in 1998 because of slashed promotional activities of the business sector. RTM's advertising revenue had risen from Ringgit 285,6 in 1993 to Ringgit 410,1 million 1996. But it has been on the decline thereafter. All the private TV stations depend on advertising for their income. Total advertising revenue of all TV stations, including RTM, was Ringgit 780,2 million (USD 314 million) for 1997 (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

Dynamics and Policy Trends

The main shift in broadcasting policy relates to privatisation. Prior to privatisation, the only private-sector participant in broadcasting was Rediffusion, which provided music and entertainment through cables. The policy shift has resulted in the emergence of several radio and TV stations. Karthigesu (1998), however, asserts that although deregulation has spawned "a few private radio and television stations, the government continues to be that main actor in domestic broadcasting by owning two television channels and an overwhelming number of national and local television stations" (p. 95). Anuar & Wang (1996) point out that the official role assigned to Malaysian television (of fostering national unity) may create problems "particularly when the thrust of the dominant political culture is ethnic" (p. 276). They see the urgent need for "democratising the access to mainstream mass media," particularly television, to bring about a sense of national unity and social justice so that people get equal opportunity to publicly express their ideas, anxieties and fears (p. 277).

Nain (1996) has warned about the negative impact of the international marketplace on the organisation of Malaysian television in the context of the country's internal tensions and contradictions. Retrenchment has occurred in several mass media organisations because of the

economic downturn. TV3 retrenched about 600 of its personnel and Astro about 400. Another media company to retrench was NTV 7, which laid off 62 members of its staff (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000). Retrenchment also affected the advertising clients, agencies as well as the film industry. A significant drop in advertising took place in 1998 compared to Ringgit 2,6 billion in 1997. Total media revenue dropped 17,1 percent (from Ringgit 2,61 billion to Ringgit 2,16 billion). Television advertising income dropped by 10,1 percent – considerably less than the 30 percent drop that Judy Lim, managing director of J. Walter Thompson Malaysia, has anticipated. The communications consultancy reduced its workforce from 100 to 50 in 1998 (Safar, Sarji & Gunaratne, 2000).

Conclusions:

In Malaysia politics play a dominant role for media organisations. Either these are state run, which means, due to the political dominance of the Barisan Nasional-government, under close government control, or they are private but directly linked to the main political parties that form the Barisan Nasional.

The development of Media Prima is particularly interesting. One might speak of a "reverse Berlusconi". Berlusconi gained political might through his control of the private media in Italy. Media Prima follows the other way around, from a media station directly connected to political power, it turned into the dominant private media organisation.

Very interesting is the technological development of media in Malaysia. This certainly was linked to political programmes like the vision 2020 and so-called mega-projects. However, the main actors were private, although connected to politics.

To speak of independent media in Malaysia is kind of difficult. However, this does not imply direct state censorship. In most cases this is not necessary, as the stations are politically "on line". Regulation in this way works mainly through either the market (with political intervention) or the administration by limiting licences.

CONTENT ANALYSIS

TV1 under Radio Televisyen Malaysia is a government owned television network with long history since 1946. Its news are known as Berita Nasional. TV3 on the other hand is the first private television network given its license in 1983 in effort of privatization. Currently it is owned by Media Prima Berhad, one of the key players of integrated media organization in Malaysia. Its prime news is known as Buletin Utama. Both TV1 and TV3 have their main news at 8pm at night.

While TV1 is government and TV3 is privately owned, it has to be said that the Malaysia broadcast media organization has always been under constant attack that it is too pro-government. This is due to the fact that the government has direct or indirect control of the ownership of mainstream media.

A. Station and frequency of news.

Overall, the number of news items collected was 380 news items from two main television stations in Malaysia, TV1 and TV3. TV3 had 6.8% more unit of analysis in comparison to TV1. Both of the station showed their news at 8pm for the duration of one hour. Table 1 showed the details.

Table 1: Station and frequency of news

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
TV3	203	53.4	53.4	53.4
TV1	177	46.6	46.6	100.0
Total	380	100.0	100.0	

B. Date and frequency of news.

Items were collected from 1st September to 7th September 2013 for both channels. The date with the highest number of news item was on 3rd September 2013 (17.6%) while the lowest number of news item was on 4th September 2013 (10.3%) with the difference of 7.3%. Refer to Table 2.

Table 2: Date and frequency of news

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
01.09.2013	57	15.0	15.0	15.0
02.09.2013	57	15.0	15.0	30.0
03.09.2013	67	17.6	17.6	47.6
04.09.2013	39	10.3	10.3	57.9
05.09.2013	65	17.1	17.1	75.0
06.09.2013	41	10.8	10.8	85.8
07.09.2013	54	14.2	14.2	100.0
Total	380	100.0	100.0	

One reason why 3rd September news item was the highest was because petrol price was raised by 20 cent per liter due to cut on the subsidy. This can be seen with title of news such as

- 2014 budget help middle income class
- Subsidy saved will be channeled by to the people

- Ringgit reached highest value in three weeks with move of subsidy
- KNSP cost increment 20% for investment income
- RM100 bil reward of halal product export

C. Theme of the news story

As can be seen from Table 3, politics is the most prominent theme brought out by the two channels. This is not surprising as the government is the main stakeholder in the mainstream media. This was followed by society, sports and economy. Religion however was the most downplayed theme (2.4%) due to the sensitivity of religious issue in the multi-ethnic country.

Table 3: First theme of the news story

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Politics	136	35.8	35.8	35.8
Society	63	16.6	16.6	52.4
Sports	58	15.3	15.3	67.6
Economy & finance	52	13.7	13.7	81.3
Environment & health	28	7.4	7.4	88.7
Culture	19	5.0	5.0	93.7
Science & technology	10	2.6	2.6	96.3
Religion	9	2.4	2.4	98.7
None of the above	5	1.3	1.3	100.0
Total	380	100.0	100.0	

Politics also remained the main theme for news that have second theme as can be seen from Table 4 but it was followed by economy and finance and then sports.

Table 4: Second theme of the news story

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Politics	14	3.7	58.3	58.3
Economy & finance	4	1.1	16.7	75.0
Sports	2	.5	8.3	83.3
Environment & health	2	.5	8.3	91.7
Culture	1	.3	4.2	95.8
Society	1	.3	4.2	100.0
Total	24	6.3	100.0	

There were few main political issues that were brought out for the seven days news. Firstly, there was news on petrol price hike in the country and reduction of subsidy by the government. Some of the titles were:

- RON95 increase by 20 cent due to subsidy ration
- Increase of oil price subsidy
- Subsidy to be taken out by stages

There were many news that highlighted the government's rationale for the subsidy ration and strategy in cushioning the impact of petrol price hike. Examples of the titles were:

- 2014 budget help middle income class
- Country development programme to be strengthened
- Subsidy saved will be channeled by to the people
- Ron 92 petrol may be reintroduced to ease people's burden.
- Study impact of fuel instability to fishermen.
- Government to increase income of middle class to RM4000 for government help
- Malaysia to be oil importer soon if high demand of oil not contained.

The second political issue that was much highlighted was the special operation by the police force to catch illegal immigrants especially those involved in triad activities. This special operation by the police was known as "Ops Cantas" literally translated as Pruning Operation.

- Illegal immigrants operation continued
- 68 operation about illegal immigrants to be done around villages and farms (2586 illegal immigrants caught)
- 6 drug syndicate defeated within 10 days
- Give up your illegal immigrants, govt warn employers
- Operation to eliminate illegal immigrants as the main agenda.

- Police to find cocaine processing lab at Sakang Toro
- Ops Cantas Khas - 56 investigation files opened

The last political issue that was much highlighted concerned Malaysia's objection to America's attack upon Syria.

- Malaysia to interfere with army in Syria
- Obama asked Congress to speed up decision to attack Syria
- Obama to influence G20 countries for attack on Syria
- Do not attack Syria
- Obama do not get support from the US congress even there are claims that Syria used gas on its people.
- Washington show proof that Syria use chemical weapon against its people.
- Malaysia reject any military acts

D. Type of news

The news was mostly presented by an anchor with pictures and graphic at the background followed by voice over with the video of the reported place or person. Refer to table 5.

Table 5: Type of news

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Anchor with background	260	68.4	68.4	68.4
Voice over	111	29.2	29.2	97.6
Report	5	1.3	1.3	98.9
Anchor no background	3	.8	.8	99.7
Feature	1	.3	.3	100.0
Total	380	100.0	100.0	

E. Protagonists field of action and function

Naturally because most of the news reported were political themed, the protagonists featured in the news were acting in the politics field of action (37.1%). Citizen was the next prominently featured protagonist at 16.8% followed closely by society at 15.8%. This is also closely related to the fact that society was the second most prominent theme in the news as per Table 3.

Together, politics, citizen and society made up of 69.7% of protagonists field of action. Protagonists from the specific field of sports, economics and culture made up the other 30.3%. Please refer at Table 6 for details.

Table 6: Protagonists field of action

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Politics	141	37.1	37.1	37.1
Citizen	64	16.8	16.8	53.9
Society	60	15.8	15.8	69.7
Sports	52	13.7	13.7	83.4
Economics	49	12.9	12.9	96.3
Culture	14	3.7	3.7	100.0
Total	380	100.0	100.0	

In terms of function of protagonists, the main protagonists were government members (13.7%), followed by victim or affected people (9.7%), citizens (6.3%) and others who are acting in political capacity (5.8%). Again the same pattern can be seen where the broadcast media in Malaysia give the broadcast time mostly to political figures followed by the public who are affected by the highlighted issue. This can be referred in Table 7.

Table 7: Protagonists function

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Government member	52	13.7	13.7	13.7
Victim/affected people	37	9.7	9.7	23.4
Other (Citizen)	24	6.3	6.3	29.7
Other (Politics)	22	5.8	5.8	35.5
Academics and experts	21	5.5	5.5	41.1
Athletes	20	5.3	5.3	46.3
Others	17	4.5	4.5	50.8
Other (Society)	17	4.5	4.5	55.3
Representative of military	14	3.7	3.7	58.9
Representative of private company	14	3.7	3.7	62.6
Coach (Sports)	13	3.4	3.4	66.1
Trade organizations	12	3.2	3.2	69.2

Journalists	12	3.2	3.2	72.4
Regional/local politician	9	2.4	2.4	74.7
Other (Economics)	8	2.1	2.1	76.8
Other (Sports)	8	2.1	2.1	78.9
Artist	8	2.1	2.1	81.1
Head of government	7	1.8	1.8	82.9
Representative of bank/finance	6	1.6	1.6	84.5
Representative of State company	6	1.6	1.6	86.1
NGOs etc (Society)	6	1.6	1.6	87.6
Audience	6	1.6	1.6	89.2
Other (Culture)	6	1.6	1.6	90.8
Head of state	5	1.3	1.3	92.1
Opposition member	5	1.3	1.3	93.4
Politician from international organization	5	1.3	1.3	94.7
President (Sports)	5	1.3	1.3	96.1
Political NGOs	4	1.1	1.1	97.1
Representative of religion	4	1.1	1.1	98.2
Representative of international economic organization	2	.5	.5	98.7
Demonstrators	2	.5	.5	99.2
Parliament	1	.3	.3	99.5
Labor union	1	.3	.3	99.7
Witness	1	.3	.3	100.0
Total	380	100.0	100.0	

F. Quotes

51.6% of the news item did not have a source of quote (a direct quote either by a person himself or read by another person). This is due to the fact that most of the news was read by the anchor or the voice over as can be seen in Table 5.

21.1% of quotes were from the politics field of action, followed by sports (7.9%), society authorities (7.1%), economics (6.1%), followed by citizen (6.1%) and lastly cultural figures (.5%). The citizens though featured prominently as protagonists of news item, was not often quoted in comparison to other authorities such as sports authority and economics authority. This is probably due to the fact that it enhance the credibility of news by quoting authorities (sports, society and economic) rather than normal citizen. Refer to table 8.

Table 8: Quotes field of action

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No quote	196	51.6	51.6	51.6
Politics	80	21.1	21.1	72.6
Sports	30	7.9	7.9	80.5
Society	27	7.1	7.1	87.6
Economics	23	6.1	6.1	93.7
Citizen	22	5.8	5.8	99.5
Culture	2	.5	.5	100.0
Total	380	100.0	100.0	

The political function that was quoted was mainly government member (12.1%), others from political category (3.7%), head of government (1.3%) and regional/local politician (1.3%). Most quoted sports authority was coach (2.9%) followed by others from sports category (2.6%), and athletes (1.3%). For the category of the society, the most quoted group was academic and experts (2.6%), followed by others from the society category (2.4%) and journalists.

It can be derived from the data, the broadcast media often quote authoritative figures in effort to enhance their reporting especially in regards to political issues, sports issues and even societal issues. For further details, refer to Table 9.

Table 9: Quotes function

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No quotes	196	51.6	51.6	51.6
Government member	46	12.1	12.1	63.7
Other (Citizen)	16	4.2	4.2	67.9
Other (Politics)	14	3.7	3.7	71.6
Coach	11	2.9	2.9	74.5
Academics and experts	10	2.6	2.6	77.1
Other (Sports)	10	2.6	2.6	79.7
Representative of private company	9	2.4	2.4	82.1
Other (Society)	9	2.4	2.4	84.5
Head of government	5	1.3	1.3	85.8
Regional/local politician	5	1.3	1.3	87.1
Politician from other country	5	1.3	1.3	88.4
Journalist	5	1.3	1.3	89.7
Athletes	5	1.3	1.3	91.1
Representative of bank/finance	4	1.1	1.1	92.1
Victim/affected people	4	1.1	1.1	93.2
President (Sports)	4	1.1	1.1	94.2
Representative of state company	3	.8	.8	95.0
Trade organizations	3	.8	.8	95.8
Other (Economics)	3	.8	.8	96.6
Opposition member	2	.5	.5	97.1
Representative of religion	2	.5	.5	97.6

Head of state	1	.3	.3	97.9
Representative of military	1	.3	.3	98.2
Political NGOs	1	.3	.3	98.4
Representative of international economic organization	1	.3	.3	98.7
NGOs etc	1	.3	.3	98.9
Witness	1	.3	.3	99.2
Demonstrator	1	.3	.3	99.5
Artist	1	.3	.3	99.7
Other (Culture)	1	.3	.3	100.0
Total	380	100.0	100.0	

Most quoted sources from the government will be Prime Minister Dato' Seri Najib, followed by Deputy Prime Minister Tan Sri Muhyiddin Yassin. Trailing closely with them were the government ministers such as Minister of Natural Resources and Environment, Datuk Seri G. Palanivel, Minister of Defence, Datuk Seri Hishammuddin Hussein and Minister of Youth and Sports, Tuan Haji Khairy Jamaluddin. Datuk Seri G. Palanivel was quoted in regards to the petrol hike issue, Datuk Seri Hishammuddin Hussein was quoted in regards to the Syria issue with United States and Tuan Haji Khairy Jamaluddin was quoted in regards to sports issues in Malaysia.

Sports figures quoted were Jamaluddin Haman (sepak takraw) and Ong Kim Swee (football). Famous athletes such as Datuk Nicol David (squash) and Lee Chong Wei (badminton) was also quoted.

G. Tenor

There were 196 news items without quotes. Therefore, in looking for the tenor of quotes, the researcher looked into the other 184 news items with quotes. From Table 10, it can be seen that 51.6% of the tenor of the sources were neutral. It is interesting then to note that 41.4% tenor of quotes was either negative to positive, somewhat positive and very positive. Only a small 7.0% tenor was positive to negative and somewhat negative.

This showed that the broadcast media in Malaysia hardly portray quotes in the negative tenors. In the context of the seven days data, both channels tend to project a positive quote even when the issues can be negative.

Table 10: Tenor of quotes

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
-2 (Somewhat negative)	12	6.5	6.5	6.5
-1 (Positive to negative)	1	.5	.5	7.0
0 (Neutral)	95	51.6	51.6	58.6
1 (Negative to positive)	3	1.6	1.7	60.3
2 (Somewhat positive)	70	38.0	38.0	98.3
3 (Very positive)	3	1.6	1.7	100.0
Total	184	100.0	100.0	

The same pattern is reflected in the tenor of the news item as can be seen in Table 11. Overall, the tenors proved the notion that the broadcast media in Malaysia acts as the medium for the government, its main stakeholder to bring across government's message to the people. Therefore the news are often time in positive tenors, framing the goodness of the government and its policy in order to comfort and pacify the audiences.

Table 11: Tenor of news item

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
-2 (Somewhat negative)	13	3.4	3.4	3.4
-1 (Positive to negative)	1	.3	.3	3.7
0 (Neutral)	291	76.6	76.6	80.3
1 (Negative to positive)	2	.5	.5	80.8
2 (Somewhat positive)	66	17.4	17.4	98.2
3 (Very positive)	7	1.8	1.8	100.0
Total	380	100.0	100.0	

G. Comparison between two stations

The researcher then compared both of the station, namely TV1 and TV3. First comparison was made in terms of the amount of news item per day. As per Table 12, TV3 had 26 items (6.84%) more than TV1.

Table 12: Date and station crosstabulation

Date	Station		Total
	TV1	TV3	
01.09.2013	29	28	57
	16.4%	13.8%	15.0%
02.09.2013	28	29	57
	15.8%	14.3%	15.0%
03.09.2013	34	33	67
	19.2%	16.3%	17.6%
04.09.2013	13	26	39
	7.3%	12.8%	10.3%
05.09.2013	33	32	65
	18.6%	15.8%	17.1%
06.09.2013	17	24	41
	9.6%	11.8%	10.8%
07.09.2013	23	31	54
	13.0%	15.3%	14.2%
Total	177	203	380
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The day with the biggest difference will be on the 4th of September 2013. On that day, TV3 gave more comprehensive on the attack on Syria issue in comparison to TV1. The issue of petrol hike was also mentioned for about four times from different perspectives whereas TV1 only have the mention of it once. For TV3, the issue of price hike was mentioned as below.

- Government to increase income of middle class to RM4000 for govt help
- Ringgit strength early sign of investor confidence
- Increase of oil price subsidy
- 5.5% renewable energy targeted

TV1 on the other hand, only have one item regarding the price hike, which is, "Increment of RON 95 and Diesel". In understanding this, the researcher proposed the reason being the ownership of both media. TV1 is a government owned television broadcast while TV3 is a privately owned station by

Media Prima, one of the leaders in the Malaysia's integrated media group. Therefore, TV1 is likely to downplay the issue of petrol hike and Syria which can cause unrest among the people in comparison to TV3.

Having said that, it has to be emphasized, broadcast stations in Malaysia are still regarded as more pro-government due to self-censorship and many constraints from the Malaysia's Broadcasting Acts.

The second comparison between the stations was the theme that was displayed as per Table 13. For TV1, the theme most displayed was politics, followed by economics and finance, society and then sports. For TV3, the theme most displayed was politics, followed by sports, society and then economics and finance.

Both station clearly place political theme as the main theme. While the order may differ, both stations are quite similar in the main four themes brought out. Both stations downplay the religion and science and technology theme with both of the themes receiving the least coverage.

Table 13: Theme and station crosstabulation

Theme	Station		Total
	TV1	TV3	
Politics	60	76	136
	33.9%	37.4%	35.8%
Economics and finance	30	22	52
	16.9%	10.8%	13.7%
Culture	9	10	19
	5.1%	4.9%	5.0%
Sports	27	31	58
	15.3%	15.3%	15.3%
Society	33	30	63
	18.6%	14.8%	16.6%
Environment and health	10	18	28
	5.6%	8.9%	7.4%
Science and technology	2	8	10
	1.1%	3.9%	2.6%

Religion	3	6	9
	1.7%	3.0%	2.4%
None of the mentioned	3	2	5
	1.7%	1.0%	1.3%
Total	177	203	380
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Third comparison was the protagonist field of action emphasized by both station and the results can be derived from Table 14. Again political protagonists emerged top. For TV1, it was then followed by society, citizen and then economics and sports protagonists. For TV3, political protagonists were trailed by citizen, society, sports and then economics protagonists. Cultural protagonists such as artist, actor, author and musician received the least attention.

Table 14: Protagonist and station crosstabulation

Protagonist field of action	Station		Total
	TV1	TV3	
Politics	67	74	141
	37.9%	36.5%	37.1%
Economics	24	25	49
	13.6%	12.3%	12.9%
Society	30	30	60
	16.9%	14.8%	15.8%
Citizen	26	38	64
	14.7%	18.7%	16.8%
Sports	24	28	52
	13.6%	13.8%	13.7%
Culture	6	8	14
	3.4%	3.9%	3.7%
Total	177	203	380
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

For quote's field of action, politics emerged the main field of action followed by sports. For TV1, it was then followed by economics, society and citizen. For TV3, it was trailed by society, citizen and then economics quote. Quotes in the broadcast news are mainly authoritative figures such as ministers, coaches and experts in society or economics. The citizens, while they are featured as protagonists or affected people, they are not often quoted. Refer to Table 15.

Table 15: Quote field of action

Quote field of action	Station		Total
	TV1	TV3	
Politics	37	43	80
	20.9%	21.2%	21.1%
Economics	12	11	23
	6.8%	5.4%	6.1%
Society	11	16	27
	6.2%	7.9%	7.1%
Citizen	10	12	22
	5.6%	5.9%	5.8%
Sports	13	17	30
	7.3%	8.4%	7.9%
Culture	1	1	2
	0.6%	0.5%	0.5%
No quote	93	103	196
	52.5%	50.7%	51.6%
Total	177	203	380
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

H. Comparison of time allocation.

Generally, the time allocated for news for TV1 and TV3 for each news item did not differ much whereby TV1 give about 117 seconds for each news while TV3 allocated about 99 seconds for each news. It is not surprising that TV3 have shorter length of time for each news as the style of TV3 are often comprehensive and brief, with various angles and more coverage on one issue. TV1 on the other hand prefer to delve deeper into one issue with more allocation for quotes and protagonists. This is outlined in Table 16.

Table 16: Mean and standard deviation of news length in each station

	Station	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Length	TV1	177	117.05	85.697	6.441
	TV3	203	99.20	79.828	5.603

The news that has the highest mean of time length was religion. This is surprising considering that religion was the most downplayed issue. It showed that each time religious issues are mentioned, though it is rare, it is explained at length. This is probably, due to the sensitivity of religious issue in a multi-ethnic country, the news makers must ensure details are provided in order to avoid misunderstanding.

For the rest of the themes, the data was consistent as with other data where the news most featured are most likely to receive the highest length of time, namely politics, economics and finance as well as sports. For further details, observe Table 17.

Table 17: Theme and time length

Theme	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Religion	9	151.11	105.593
Politics	136	132.38	109.773
Economics and finance	52	105.73	54.117
Sports	58	98.91	47.094
Culture	19	95.16	68.145
Society	63	80.32	50.376
Science and technology	10	76.30	67.307
Environment and health	28	70.07	64.129
None of the above	5	133.00	67.212
Total	380	107.52	82.984

The researchers discovered, among the top ten news with the highest length of time, three of it were on Pelan Pembangunan Pendidikan 2013-2025 or Malaysia Education Blueprint 2013-2025. The politicians went at length to describe and outline the latest education blueprint, indicating once again the media is the mouthpiece of government's policy.

In Table 18, the political figures are often given the highest length of time as protagonists followed by society, economics, sports, citizen and lastly culture.

Table 18: Protagonist field of action vs length

Protagonist field of action	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Politics	141	123.21	105.950
Society	60	109.13	81.083
Economics	49	109.00	61.829
Sports	52	104.27	52.678
Citizen	64	81.02	54.132
Culture	14	70.50	56.259
Total	380	107.52	82.984

When it comes to the quote, it was noted that while society and citizen may not be the most quoted group, they are given the highest length of time of reporting in comparison to political and economic figures. Refer to Table 19.

Table 19: Quote field of action vs length

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Society	27	152.19	92.058
Citizen	22	145.09	108.152
Politics	80	140.14	112.847
Economics	23	117.09	49.196
Culture	2	113.00	53.740
Sports	30	105.57	45.707
No quote	196	82.95	61.208
Total	380	107.52	82.984

Conclusion

All in all, the results showed a few things. Firstly, the broadcast media in Malaysia is very much political orientated. This is not surprising seeing that the government is the main stakeholder of mainstream media. Malaysia's many Broadcasting Acts too stirred the mainstream media to a more pro-establishment direction. Therefore the protagonists and quotes are most likely political figures with positive tenors especially on government policies.

However, having said that, the broadcast media too have been trying to strike a balance with issues that concerned the citizen and society at large. It is heartening that the mainstream media do give

the high length of time for quotes from society and citizen. It means that the people's voices too are being heard in the mainstream media.

TV1 and TV3 in general are quite similar in its coverage with slight difference on the emphasis of news. TV1 tend to be more in depth in its coverage especially in regards to political issues and downplay issues that could put the government in a negative light. TV3 on the other hand are more brief in its reporting, trying to cover many aspects of an issues in its news.

MYANMAR

ORGANISATIONAL ASPECTS

It is well known that Myanmar is currently passing through a phase of changes and reform. These directly affect the media, not the least, as media report on these changes and media provide an agenda that "change is in the air". This is well expressed in headlines like:

- "Burma Awakens: Newfound Freedoms Raise Hopes at Home and Abroad"- Spiegel

- "Myanmar's future is now" - The Times of India

- "Clinton says "quite hopeful" on Myanmar change" – **Reuters**

- "Myanmar Reforms: 'No Turning Back' On Road To Democracy" – Huffingtonpost

- "There are real signs of change in Burma" **Telegraph**

- "A change to believe in?"- The Economist

Still, however, information has to proceed in a careful way, which means it is important how the information is formulated. Here the story of the couple with four children is an example for such formulation of information:

The husband works very hard and when he comes home he does not want to be annoyed by bad news. Once one of the children broke its leg, certainly some bad news. When her husband came home the wife said: "three of your children did not break a leg". From the former GDR similar stories are known. One deals with a running competition between the west-German chancellor and the east German head of the party. In the competition the west-German won. The news report is as such: A long presentation of how powerful, strong and fast the head of the party was running. The final is that he made an excellent second rank. In contrast, the west-German chancellor was the second last in the competition.

History:

The BBC which started a Burmese-language service as part of its war effort laid the foundation for broadcasting in Myanmar. After independence, the government established the Burma Broadcasting Service (BBS), a government-owned and operated agency, which transmitted medium-wave radio services in Burmese, English and several minority languages(Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). Programming was similar to that of any democratic country, and radio reporters and broadcasters operated quite freely (Blackburn, 1978). This freedom came to an abrupt end with the military takeover in 1962. The Ne Win administration never gave up its control over radio, not even when personnel from state-owned radio went on strike and demanded freedom from censorship during the 1988 uprising. Compared to other South East Asian countries included in this study, Myanmar's radio network has always been quite limited in scope and reach, and it has one of the least developed national radio operations in the region at present (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). According to Blackburn (1978), this situation is the result of a combination of several factors: the government's inability to finance the establishment of an extensive radio network and its strong desire to maintain centralized control of radio broadcasting, which has led it to prohibit the development of regional services and stations. For instance, until the fall of the Ne Win administration, the government did not allow Myanmar radio to carry any form of on-air advertising because of the fear that commercialization would allow so-called undesirable elements of the population (such as the country's Chinese and Indian minorities) to exert influence, and reduce state control over the medium (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). However, Myanmar has always received both Burmese- and English-language shortwave broadcasts form a number of foreign radio services, including the BBC, the Voice of America, and Radio Free Asia, all of which are sources of independent news and information (Donow, 1995).

Television, established in 1980 with Japanese assistance also came under government ownership and control. Originally, the transmission of the country's first television station was limited to Yangon and the nearby towns (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). However, both Myanmar Television and a second station, set up by the military in 1990, are now available throughout the country. Initially, these TV stations share a single channel, but in 1997 the military station named Military TV, acquired its own channel. The late 1990s witnessed the entry of satellite networks such as Rupert Murdoch's STAR TV. However, government permission is required to own a receiver dish. Large hotels in Yangon that cater mainly to foreign visitors, as well as senior government and military officials have received permits to install satellite dishes. Anecdotal evidence indicates that in some of the northern towns, such as Mandalay and Lashio, a small number of satellite dishes smuggled from China are in use. Numbers remain small because of the expenses associated with the installation of dishes and the erratic supply of electricity in most upcountry areas (Muppidi, 2012).

Media since 1962:

The coup d'etat of Ne Win in 1962 transformed not only the state, economy and administration, but of course as well the media, which before was regarded as one of the most liberal in Southeast Asia.

Following the coup to seized power Ne Win imposed the "Burmese Road to Socialism". This was basically a policy of isolationism nationalize all newspapers and establish a Press Scrutiny Board to impose strict censorship. The 1962 Printers and Publishers Registration Law states that all written words: song lyrics, film video scripts, **calendar, poster, postcard, and formal message in accordance with patent** and even small piece of advertisement had to be controlled by the state or rather the military. This was probably the most far reaching law on censorship worldwide!

Until recently it was difficult to get a license. Usually at least 20 to 80% of the articles were cut out by the censorship. Any medium had to include propaganda pieces. Not to comply lead to severe punishment. Thereby an environment of fear was created. In addition news sources were not open, and it was not allowed to refer to foreign media. Often newspapers were suspended.

An example for a censored newspaper

In contrast an official government paper:

★ **Only with stability and peace will the nation develop**

★ **Only with stability and peace will democratization process be successful**

★ **Anarchy begets anarchy, not democracy**

★ **Riots beget riots, not democracy**

★ **Democracy can be introduced only through constitution**

People's Desire

■ We favour peace and stability

■ We favour development

■ We oppose unrest and violence

■ Wipe out those inciting unrest and violence

■ VOA, BBC - sowing hatred among the people

■ RFA, DVB - generating public outrage

■ Do not allow ourselves to be swayed

■ By broadcasts designed to cause troubles

Media and the new constitution

The new constitution states fundamental rights and duties of the citizens. To these belong (a) to express and publish freely their convictions and opinions. The Director General of the Ministry of Information said 'there will be no censorship board' (PSRD). A Complaint Commission will deal with the problem arise from irresponsibility of the press. However, is there a kind of "Self censorship or PSRD"?

Since the start of the reforms VOA, RFA, BBC, Radio Australia, etc and exiles media are back in Yangon. There is a more relaxing environment for local journalist after the lift of direct censor. The Press law is in dispute and shall be modified. Nevertheles, journalist still feel that they are being watched, not the least due to vague interpretation of content to fall under the legal charges.

At present there are 176 weekly journals and 230 monthly magazines (2011, June). Of these only 2 are in English. There are 11 private daily newspapers. The emergence of ethnic and regional papers are still facing challenges.

Journalists – Part of the Change/ Change Agent

Journalists are sandwiched between the government restriction and market demand. In difference to the other countries internet use is still very low with less than 10%-. Thus, newspapers and broadcasting are still the main means of information-. But the Burmese audience are not only from domestic but also from global Burmese community. Competition is likely to be more intense in the future, especially between Local and exile journalists and media, and between broadcasting and

print, as well as the web and print/broadcasting domestic media. Journalists are still very few, especially educated and professional journalists. Namely for TV and Radio far more journalists are needed.

This leads to the main problem, namely the education of journalists. So far no formal education of journalists exists. Most education is based on trainings often abroad, partly sponsored by international organisations like IMMF, Internews, international fellowships such as SEAPA, UCLA, AJF, etc. Most of the training is community based. Some courses are offered by UNICEF and UNESCO as well as national NGO like Egress/ Vahu. Some provide a more thematic trainings and exposure trips such as conflict sensitive report by IMS and land reporting by Yangon journalism school. Senior editorial staff and reporters get training outside and take a leading role. A change from a restrictive learning environment to a more open environment (e.g, egress and American embassy) is crucial.

For the future the discussion focusses on Public Service Media. The idea is to have free but responsible media with diversified media outlets. Myanmar Media should be much more responsible than any other media in the regional countries.TV, Radio, Online, Print and social media/ Political parallelism should be avoided. Private media is desirable, but media concentration of profit oriented media is not. Myanmar is in dire lack of educational institutional and academic voice. Thus, the institutionalization of formal journalism education is needed.

Broadcasting media: Radio

Radio service in Myanmar first came on air in 1936. Bama Athan "Voice of Burma") began in February 1946 as regular program. when the British established Burma Broadcasting Service (BBS). After independence in 1948, Myanma Athan. Myanmar Radio by the military government which came to power in 1988. The junta has also renamed the radio service's parent, BBS as Myanmar Radio and Television (MRTV) in 1997. Since late 2007, the main broadcast station has moved to Naypyidaw. Yangon Station now mostly relays Naypyidaw Station's programming.

Nay Pyi Daw Myanma Radio and Television (MRTV) since 2008 Until the launch of Yangon City FM in 2001, BBS/Myanmar Radio was the only radio station in the country.

Broadcasting media: TV

Most of the TV is state owned namely Myanmar Television (since 1980 June), MRTV3 (2001 August 19), MRTV-4 (2004 May 15), Myanmar International Television (MITV) (2010 March 31).

The Private Media Companies are Forever Group Co. Ltd. – MRTV 4, 5 Movies, 5 series, owned by Shwe Than Lwin – Sky net (Pay channel), active in construction, transportation, trading, mining, agriculture, industrial, and other businesses.

State owned broadcasting media will be transformed into public service media (in which term?). On 18 July, the deputy Minister of Information said the broadcasting law is under drafting. Only after the draft, the multi ethnic stations and NGO stations can get the permission.

End state ownership of the media and establish a public service broadcaster. It requires members of the governing body to act independently from the government and commercial interests. The task is to secure funding for PSM through a mixed system with 70% coming from the state and 30% from advertising and donation. PSM has to be accountable to parliament and the public.

Policy and Legal Framework

In Myanmar, the 2008 Constitution of the Republic protects the right of citizens to "express and publish freely their convictions and opinions", as long as this is not contrary to any law enacted with a view to protecting security, law and order, community peace and tranquillity or public order and morality (Mendel, 2011). Unlike the press, the broadcast media in Myanmar have always been owned and operated by the government. The Myanmar Television and Radio Department (MTRD) is responsible for radio broadcasting and for operating the country's first television service. The Ministry of Information and Culture controls the MTRD. The military set up a second television service, which functions under the supervision of the Ministry of Defense. Although television and radio services are not required to obtain licenses from the Ministry of Home and Religious Affairs, which controls the print media, their broadcasts, especially news, are subject to censorship by the Press Scrutiny Board. The board typically censors news that could give a bad picture of the military or the government. Information regarding northern Myanmar or the armed conflict with the ethnic Kachin rebels are completely banned from being broadcast (Muppidi, 2012).

The Television and Video Act dating to 1995 requires the public and organizations such as the United Nations who possess broadcasting and recording equipment to obtain a license from the Ministry of Communication. An amendment passed in 1996 to the television and video law imposed additional restrictions and more severe penalties on the distribution of carrier media such as video tapes and DVDs not approved by the censor. Communication devices were rationed or licensed to limit people's access to information. Foreign broadcasts, such as those by the BBC, the Voice of America, Radio Free Asia, and the Norway-based Democratic Voice of Burma, remained the main sources of unedited information (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). Those who operated unlicensed satellite-TV receivers were subject to a prison sentence of up to three years. The broadcasting environment in Myanmar has recently benefitted from greater freedom allocated to journalists, including the abolition of pre-broadcasting censorship in August 2012. The government has vowed to take further steps in a new media law to end the country's extensive censorship regime. However, all broadcasters have to follow guidelines in order to protect the three national causes (non disintegration of the union, non-disintegration of national solidarity and perpetuation of sovereignty (Muppidi, 2012). It remains to be seen how well the improved liberties will encourage continued growth in the radio and television markets, and how it may spur the development of internet

channels for the distribution of radio and television contents. The Burmese government is wary of international media presence, and as a consequence, many news organisations are banned from reporting in the country. Some private media companies are allowed thought the government owns a controlling stake in them. In 2011, the Ministry of Information has requested technical assistance from the UNESCO in terms of mass media development. Besides capacity-building, this includes the drafting of new media policy guidelines, which are based on regional and international practices and accepted by all stakeholders (Muppidi, 2012).

Structure and Organisation

Radio

Myanmar currently has four radio services: first, the government run Myanmar Athan or Radio Myanmar (previously named Burma Broadcasting Service) which broadcasts throughout the country with five transmitters located in Yangon. This station is entirely controlled by the Ministry of Information. The station headquarters used to be In Yangon, but where moved to the new capital Naypyidaw in 2007. Second, Yangon City FM, a local radio broadcaster operated by the Yangon City and Development Committee running a contemporary music and entertainment format. Yangon has three FM channels: 98 MHz, 102 MHz and 104 Mhz. Third, Mandalay FM, operated by the Forever Group and launched in 2008. The terrestrial broadcasting area is limited to the areas covering the Yangon – Mandalay highway. Fourth, Pyinsawady FM, began broadcasting to the regions of Ayeyarwady and Rakhine in 2009, also owned by Forever Group. Radio Myanmar usually begins daily with readings from the governments' Seven Point Road to Democracy, Twelve Political, Economic and Social Objectives and The Main National Causes. Little or no foreign music is permitted, instead a variety of traditional Burmese classics are played (Wagstaff, 2011). However, local radio stations usually play internationally known songs, re-recorded in Burmese. Regarding foreign radio stations, the BBC, Voice of America and Radio Australia directly transmit programmes in Burmese which are widely listened to. Other foreign stations with signal spill-over to Myanmar are All-India Radio, Radio Thailand, China Radio International, the Voice of Malaysia and NHK Radio Japan.

Radio is an extremely popular medium in Myanmar, and the ownership of radio sets is fairly widespread, even within the more remote regions of the country (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). A survey conducted by Nielsen Research Group Bangkok in 2010 showed that 95 percent of the radio audience listened to AM broadcasts while the remaining 5 percent listened to FM. According to the Broadcasting Board of Governors Gallup Survey of Myanmar Media use 2012, radio remains the primary medium to which people turn for news. Currently, 62.8 percent of Burmese say they listened to a radio programme in the past week. The Gallup poll results indicate that FM listenership continues to rise and suggests that AM listeners have migrated heavily toward new options on the FM spectrum. In 2012, only 18.3 percent of Burmese say they used a long wave band to listen to the radio in the past week. Shortwave radio use remained steady in 2012, continuing to garner a strong weekly audience at 34 percent of all Burmese. Radio remains the primary source of news for

Burmese living in small towns and rural areas, where 67.3 percent say they get news from radio at least once a week. City dwellers are less likely to rely on radio for news on a weekly basis. Two-thirds prefer to receive news from television. Overall, Myanmar Radio National Service was the top source of news named spontaneously by the Gallup respondents (Broadcasting Board of Governors, 2012). UNESCO has estimated that Myanmar had 4.2 million radio receivers or 9.6 sets per 100 people in 2006. This figure may not be accurate because it does not include the large number of radio sets smuggled into the country from China and Thailand (Lintner, 1998). Overall, Myanmar Radio National Service was the top source of news named spontaneously by respondents of the 2012 Gallup Media survey, followed by the official Myanmar Television (MRTV) and the private FM network, Shwe FM, which was launched in 2009. However, MRTV 4, a station jointly operated by the government and the private Forever media group, is the overwhelming top news source for residents of Burma's two largest cities, Yangon and Mandalay (Broadcasting Board of Governors, 2012).

Television

Myanmar's first television broadcaster, the state-controlled Myanmar TV, was established in 1980 and was initially available only within the Yangon area. The addition of some 120 relay stations throughout the country and the use of the AsiaSat satellite have expanded the coverage of this channel to 82 percent of the country. Official data claim that 267 of the country's 324 townships can receive Myanmar TV. The second television broadcaster is the military-controlled Myawaddy Television, established in 1990. This service which includes the stations Myawaddy 1 and Myawaddy 2, transmitting via satellite, was originally intended only for the armed forces. Since March 1997, it has been made available to the general public. Its coverage area is currently limited to three large townships, but expansion to other large towns is under way. UNESCO has estimated that in 2006, Myanmar had 260,000 TV-sets in use or 0.6 sets in use per 100 people. However, other research polls put this figure at about 500,000. Although the bulk of the TV sets are in urban areas, such as Yangon and Mandalay, many rural areas have access to community television. Television ownership remains far more concentrated in Burmese cities (82,9 percent) than in small towns and rural areas (45,7 percent). Almost two-thirds of Burmese TV owners (62,7 percent) use antenna for terrestrial reception, while 10,3 percent use satellite dishes. Satellite dish use is unusually common among Burmese TV owners living close to the Thai border (19,6 percent) (Broadcasting Board of Governors, 2012).

Further television channels are Myanmar International, the English-language channel which caters to overseas audiences via satellite and Internet stream, MRTV-4 with a focus on non-formal education programmes and films, and Movie 5, a pay-TV broadcaster specialising in foreign films originating mostly from China, Thailand, the UK and the United States. The latest addition to the Myanmar television bouquet is free-to-air channel MRTV 7, launched in February 2012. The light entertainment channel is a joint venture between the Forever Group and BEC Tero from Thailand (Forever Group, 2013).

The country's rapid growth in private FM and television stations has been fuelled largely by the Shwe Than Lwin Group. The company recently moved into the mass media sector from its traditional operations in agricultural and automotive trade, mining and construction. Its main media products, Shwe FM (launched 2009) and SkyNET (launched in 2010) focus on pop music, sports and entertainment but also have included a sort of public service news channel and other news products (Broadcasting Board of Governors, 2012).

Foreign Radio and Television

Radio constitutes the only medium through which the majority of the population in Myanmar can obtain news from outside the country in uncensored form. This is a major reason for the popularity of radio. Listeners may access foreign radio services such as the BBC, Voice of America, Radio Free Asia and Democratic Voice of Burma (Van den Heuvel & Dennis, 1993). The most widely heard foreign service is the BBC, which currently transmits more than 10 hours of Burmese programmes every week, focussing both on domestic and international news. The BBC broadcasts of the pro-democracy movement in 1988 were so popular that TV Myanmar had to change the time slot of its international news bulletin to retain its audience (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). The BBC listenership has declined somewhat in recent years because of obstacles placed by the military administration on independent domestic sources. The Voice of America service in Myanmar now broadcasts about 90 minutes of Burmese-language programmes daily. Although the U.S. broadcaster had almost as many listeners as the BBC during the 1988 uprising, the former never achieved the popularity of the British radio service because the listeners felt that Voice of America contained too much U.S. government influenced information. The Norway-based Democratic Voice of Burma, a service started in 1992 with a grant from the Norwegian government as well as NGOs such as the U.S.-based Open Society Institute and the National Endowment for Democracy, broadcasts for 90 minutes daily. Its transmission includes news and news commentary related to Myanmar as well as general segments devoted to health, women's issues, entertainment and music requests from listeners. Although this stations has a faithful audience, particular among pro-democracy groups, its reception in Myanmar is poor, a fact that undoubtedly reduces its listenership (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000). The Burmese broadcasts of Radio Free Asia began in 1997. With currently three hours of Burmese programmes daily, it has become very popular, rivalling both BBC and Voice of America. The primary reason for its success is its network of domestic sources, which are considered of higher credibility than of any other foreign radio broadcaster (Lintner, 1998). Because foreign broadcasters are vital sources of information for the Burmese and frequently broadcast material critical of the military administration, it is not surprising that the military government has jammed foreign broadcasts on several occasions. However, the government has not attempted to jam foreign radio services on a permanent basis, because the country's military rulers also depend on these services for news (Allott, 1994).

In 2005, MRTV5 launched as Myanmar's first pay-TV offering including mostly light international entertainment content on Channels 5 Movies, 5 Series and 5 Cartoons. MRTV5 is a co-creation of the

Ministry of Information and Forever Group (Wagstaff, 2010). As of January 2013, Forever Group included three BBC channels in their pay-TV offering: BBC World News, BBC Entertainment and the BBC children's channels. All three will be broadcasted in English and are estimated to reach 250.000 households (BBC, 2012).

While satellite TV is not banned explicitly, Myanmar does not operate an indigenous satellite television service. Those who wish to install satellite reception dishes obtain a special permit license for 10,000 Kyats (circa 10 US-Dollars) from the government. These are typically issued only to large hotels and government officials (Donow, 1998). Similarly, government permission is required to establish a privately-owned television cable network. Recently, the government decided to stop issuing new licenses for reception dishes or for setting up cable networks, although the existing permits are still valid. Regardless, people continue to obtain dishes and set up informal cable systems illegally with hardware acquired from China and Thailand, especially in the upcountry rural regions where restrictions are not enforced as rigorously as in the urban areas and their surrounding areas Lintner, 1998). The precise number of satellite dishes in Myanmar is not known, but it is probably significantly lower than in Thailand or Malaysia because of the costs of the license, the dish itself and the installation. Located squarely within the footprints of Thaicom and AsiaSat, Myanmar mostly picks up programming beamed from these satellites. Most viewers receive programmes from Thai channels and STAR TV network, which includes music video station Channel V, STAR Movies, STAR Sports and general entertainment programme STAR Plus. Some viewers can also pick up Singapore-based Asia Business News network, while most of the large hotels also receive CNN and BBC news on their in-house cable systems. The general population however, does not have access to these news-oriented channels. Murdoch's STAR TV network tends to have little political content. The government tries to reduce consumption of foreign television via satellite since the 2007 uprising. One of its main steps to achieve this goal was a 166 fold increase in the satellite fee (Wagstaff, 2010). Another factor is that only 25 percent of the people have electricity (Eckert, 2013). Overall, the political impact of satellite television in Myanmar is very limited (Donow, 1998). However, Wagstaff estimates that the underground audience for foreign newscasts is growing larger as many Burmese go out of their ways, walking long distances to other homes with reception capabilities and risk being arrested for accessing foreign media (Wagstaff, 2010).

Ownership and Financing

The Government and the military own and operate all domestic broadcasting in Myanmar. Although both Radio Myanmar and Myanmar TV are state funded enterprises, they do carry commercial advertising. The bulk of the advertising air-time on TV is paid for by domestic businesses, except for a few adverts placed by international conglomerates like Procter & Gamble, Nestlé, and British American Tobacco (Chadha & Kavoori, 2000).

Dynamics and Policy Trends

Although the Burmese media were once free and vibrant, now they are among the most repressed in the world. Heavy-handed control and censorship constitute the cornerstones of the military government's broadcasting policy. The broadcasting media in Myanmar seem to have followed a curious trajectory going from independence to control. As a result, the country's broadcasting media is largely untouched by the phenomenon of globalisation, witnessing neither the proliferation in the technologies of distribution nor the emergence of multiple media outlets experienced by other nations in South East Asia (Muppidi, 2012). Instead, its restrictive and limited character presents a very stark contrast not only to the West, but also to other Asian countries, many of which have experienced some liberalisation and deregulation of their broadcasting media in recent years (Wagstaff, 2010). The likelihood of change under the current administration remains limited. This is hardly surprising given the government's position that the media should restrain themselves from making statements that would disrupt the public order, and that the government has the right to take appropriate steps to balance press freedom with domestic tranquillity (Amnesty International, 1994). Thus the only way that broadcasting in Myanmar could achieve greater freedom is through political change and the establishment of a democratic government. Regardless of the recent changes in the political landscape, that appears to be a distant prospect. There is now privately-owned broadcasting media outlet in Myanmar. The only non-government controlled news sources are of foreign origin. The Freedom House Organisation gave Myanmar a media restriction score of 97 out of 100 based on four criteria: laws and regulations, political pressures and controls, economic influences, and repressive actions that influence content (Sussman, 1999). International broadcasting organisations are forced to hire government-approved journalists and cannot post their own staff. Moreover, the government-controlled Myanmar News Agency acts as the only gatekeeper and distributor of international news within the country (Wagstaff, 2010).

Conclusions

The situation in Myanmar is still very open. Although we have a lot of new media in the print sector, broadcasting is still strongly under control of the government or of tycoons connected to it. The basic difficulty is the lack of qualified personnel for media. So far no schools or programmes exist. Education is based on trainings. Some of these are good, others are not. This leads to a separation among those who received training within Myanmar and those who went abroad and had a chance for a better education. These are now the leaders of the media.

THAILAND

ORGANISATIONAL ASPECTS

The Royal Thai Navy introduced telegraphic radio from Great Britain into the country in 1907 and set up two radio stations for official use. Thailand's first public broadcasting commenced when King

RamaVII delivered an inaugural speech to the Thai in February 1930. After the end of the absolute monarchy in 1932, the new government used radio as the main communication tool to educate the Thai about democracy. Although its initial mission as stated in Kin Prachadhipok's inaugural speech was to provide commerce, entertainment and education for tradesmen and commoners, radio rapidly became a state propaganda tool for the government. The Propaganda Department (later named the Public Relations Department) founded in 1933, transferred all radio broadcasting away from the department of Post and Telegraph. Radio Thailand, the official government broadcasting station established in 1941, came under the operation and control of the PR Department. After World War II, various government agencies established more radio stations. Tor Tor Tor was the second state-run radio network established in 1952. Prompted both by economic and political imperatives, radio broadcasting proliferated. Currently, there are 204 AM stations, 334 FM stations and six shortwave broadcasters operating in Thailand and about 16 million radio sets in use (Sirakan, 2012).

Thailand was the first country in continental Asia to start regular television broadcasting. The Thai government conceived television with a definite political objective. Prime Minister Pibul Songkram had a deep interest in using mass media for his political and cultural legitimization. Legislation created the Thai Television Co. Ltd., a joint public- and private-sector venture, in 1953. It went into operation in 1955, as Channel 4 in Bangkok. The second TV station, Channel 7 of the Royal Thai Army, commenced in January 1958 as a commercial operation but started receiving a government subsidy since 1963. TV broadcasting in its early days covered only the area around Bangkok, offering newscasts and entertainment programmes such as drama, music, classical dances, movies and game shows. Colour transmission began in 1967 (Ekachai, 2000).

Today, Thailand has six national TV stations, eight regional stations and two cable stations. The government or the armed forces run five of the six national stations. The Army operates Channel 5 and the Mass Communication Organisation of Thailand operates Channel 9. The Bangkok Entertainment Company and the Bangkok Television Company operate Channel 3 and Channel 7 respectively under government license. The PR Department operates Channel 11 as an educational station. Independent Television (ITV), the country's first privately owned independent television station, began broadcasting in July 1996, stressing news, interviews and documentaries. Key staffers of ITV came from the English-language daily the Nation. Unlike the print media, the government controls and operates the broadcast media as commercial enterprises through long-term leases to private companies. Except for the Ministry of Education and Radio Thailand stations, all other radio broadcasters are of commercial nature and entertainment-oriented and rely heavily on advertising (Sirakan, 2012).

Policy and Legal Framework

Thailand adopted new constitutions in 1997 and again 2007. The 1997 Constitution included some of the most detailed protections for freedom of expression anywhere in the world, and there were

largely replicated in 2007 (Sirakan, 2012). The 2007 Constitution of Thailand includes a generic guarantee of freedom of expression, allowing for restrictions as provided for by law for various purposes, including protection of security, the rights of others and maintaining public health and morals (Mendel, 2010). It also prohibits the closure or banning of media outlets and prior censorship, as well as state subsidies to private media. It provides various protections for the presentation by individuals of their views in the media and prohibits elected officials from owning media outlets. The 2007 Constitution is particularly relevant to broadcast policy. It provides that there shall be one independent state agency responsible for allocating frequencies, which are declared to be a national resource, and for supervising broadcasting and telecommunications. The regulator is also required to prevent such market dominance as may undermine the liberty to receive information from diverse sources (Mendel, 2010).

The Provisions in Chapter III of the 1997 Constitution relate to the broadcast media as well. Because Section 39 of the Thai Constitution guarantees "the right to freedom of expression", it forbids officials to censor news before its publication, except "in time of war or fighting; but this only possible by virtue of law." Section 39 also forbids the government "to close down the mass media (the press, radio and television stations)." The inclusion of the broadcast media, controlled by the government (except for private broadcasters) is a notable development because previous constitutions only protected the rights of the print media. Section 40 states: "The frequency bands of radio, television and telecommunications are public resources... An independent public agency will allocate bands and oversee relations with the mass media under the law" (Sirakan, 2012). The House of Representatives unanimously passed the Frequencies Allocation and Broadcasting and Telecommunications Supervision Organisation Bill (FABTS) on its first reading on April 7, 1999, despite protest from academic and civic groups who contended that the one regulator to be established would still be under government control. The bill requires the appointment of a 15-member national communications resources management commission to allocate radio, television and telecommunication frequencies and to oversee services in these fields. The legislation must become law within three years of the 1997 Constitution. The law must set up a new, independently run, and publicly supervised body to oversee broadcasting and telecommunications enterprises. The opponents of the approved bill preferred another version drafted by a panel chaired by Supatra Masdit, a minister in the Office of the Prime Minister. The panel composed of mass communication experts and media representatives, called for the establishment of two independent regulators: a national broadcasting commission to administer radio and television frequencies; and a national telecommunications commission to oversee telecommunications services and frequencies. Both would comprise seven commissioners. Public hearings were scheduled to discuss and eliminate problematic issues (Sirakan, 2012).

The major laws and regulations that currently govern broadcasting in Thailand are:

The 1955 Broadcasting Act (amended in 1965, 1978 and 1987),

the 1955 Radiocommunications Act (amended in 1961 and 1992),

the 1987 Act for the Control of Business concerning Tape and Television Material, and other legal provisions in Copyright Act, Criminal Code, Consumer Protection Act, and the like (Sirakan, 2012).

The Broadcasting Act, which covers cable television as well but does not apply to government channels, gives the state substantial control over the allocation of channels and of program content. It requires private broadcasters to obtain a license from the Public Relations Department, which can revoke the license subject to appeal. Muntarbhorn argues that the law is antiquated because "it perpetuates a state monopoly" (Muntarbhorn, 1998). Decrees No. 15 and No. 17 of 1976, which were revoked in the early 1990s, obliged radio and TV stations to broadcast state news, and imposed strict conditions on program and advertising content. Ministerial Regulation No. 14 of 1994, issued under the Act, allowed for censorship on grounds of public order or good morals. The regulation also set up the National Broadcasting Commission, which replaced the National Broadcasting Executive Board set up in 1974 as a pre-censorship organ to control all aspects of broadcasting. FABTS will replace the NBC under the new constitution. The 1955 Radiocommunications Act covers radio broadcasting and related equipment other than TV broadcasting. The 1987 Act for the Control of Business concerning Tape and Television Material applies to videotapes and the videotape business. Inspecting officials can order the erasure of material that violates the act. The provisions of the criminal and civil codes and other laws also apply to broadcasting in regard to copyright and consumer protection. Television in Thailand is a state monopoly often used for patronage. Although the state began to sell privileged franchises to the private sector in 1967, television has remained the main propaganda tool of the government. After the May 1992 political crackdown, during which the broadcast media toed the government line, the public demand for an independent broadcast media has forced the government to loosen its control (Prateepchaikul, 2007).

Structure and Organisation

The Broadcasting Directing Board, which reports to the prime minister, determines all aspects of radio broadcasting, such as operating hours, content, programming, advertising and technical requirements. The Office of the Prime Minister, through the PRD, manages Radio Thailand and the National Broadcasting services of Thailand (NBT). All radio stations are required to broadcast NBT-transmitted 30-minute local and international newscasts daily at 7 am and 7 pm. Government transmitters broadcast the signals of all private radio stations, which must renew their licenses annually.

According to research paper written by Prof. Ubonrat Siriyuvasak of Chulalongkorn University which appeared in Asia Media Report produced by Inter Press Service Asia-Pacific, there were altogether 524 radio stations, five state-owned television stations and one independent, iTV, which, as a result of the government's decision in 2010, would transform into a public service television station,

named TITV. A breakdown of the radio stations is as follows: 147 or 28.05 % owned by the Public Relations Department, 201 or 38.35 % owned by the Defense Ministry, 44 or 8.4 % owned by the police, 62 or 11.83 % by Mass Communications Organisation of Thailand, 16 or 3.05 % by the parliament, 12 or 2.3 % by the University Affairs Ministry, 12 or 2.3 % by Post and Telegraph Department and 30 or 5.72 % owned by other state agencies. In practice however, most of these radio stations were leased out to private operators on contractual basis. The top six major radio operators in 2013 were A-Time Media of GMM Grammy Group, Radio Arm, U & I Corp (presently Virgin Radio) of BEC-TERO. GG News, Skyhigh Network of RS Promotion and CA Radio. They made up 51.42 % of total share of the ownership of 35 privately-operated radio stations in Bangkok. According to another study conducted in 2003 by Somkiat Tangkitvanich of TDRI, there was a growing concentration of ownership and revenue in radio industry (Tangkitvanich, 2007). Among the top 10 radio stations in Bangkok, eight were music stations while the other two were local traffic news and talk stations with A-Time Media having the largest audience share. The same study showed that there were 15 large business groups which operated both AM and FM radio stations across the country. The top three groups were KCS Corp and JS Broker of the Satitsatien group; Prince Marketing, Belloy, Smart Bomb and Minute Band of Bunsatit group; and RK Media, R&T Media, and IT Inter of Rungtanakiat group. They had among them 80 stations or 15.26 % of total number of radio stations. The PRD also operates 11 AM/FM radio stations for educational purposes , one in Bangkok and the rest in the provinces. Thailand is also host to three international relay stations: BBC East Asian, Radio France Internationale and Voice of America (Sirakan, 2012).

Programme Policies

Radio Thailand has been broadcasting special programmes for Chiang Mai for more than three decades. These are aimed at hill tribes such as the Yao, Akha, Karen, Lisu and Lahu. There programmes, prepared by PRD officials in collaboration with representatives of hill tribes, consist of news, takes on various subjects, currents affairs relating to the hill tribes, culture and tradition (Ekachai, 2000). Private operators of TV stations are free to determine entertainment programming even though the state owns and controls all broadcasting. However, all TV stations must carry the state-run Television of Thailand's evening news at 7 p.m. Programmers are generally free to determine the content and nature of other programmes without government intervention. However as with the print media, self-censorship exists, especially in reporting, commenting on, and analysing current events because private concession holders do not want to risk losing their license. Stations occasionally edit or blackout portions of programming deemed politically sensitive of pornographic (Ekachai, 2000).

Programming resembles the commercial format in other countries. The TV networks provide viewers a steady stream of local serial drama, talk shows, quiz and game shows, and imported film from the United States, Great Britain, Japan and Hong Kong. Sports programmes, particularly local and overseas soccer, boxing, golf, NBA basketball tournaments and snooker are popular among the Thai. US and Japanese cartoons, as well as local children's programmes, also attract a sizable audience of

young viewers. Until recently, news and information programmes accounted for the least airtime – about 6 to 15 percent for news and between 7 and 14 percent for information programs. Media research in the 2000s, however, showed that news programmes ranked among the top three popular programmes as a result of the changing socio-political context and a new format of TV news reporting initiated by a private media group on Channel 9. Thus stations began to expand the half-hour newscasts into 90 minute and 120 minute ones, and to air short news-bulletins every few hours. In 2012, the news and information programmes took up more than 12 percent of air time on commercial stations and almost 50 percent on the education channel (Prateepchaikul, 2007). After May 1992, leading broadcast journalists and academics started to push for the autonomy of the state media. A more liberal climate has subsequently encouraged the news broadcasters to openly criticize current political and social affairs. The most popular format on every channel has been panel discussions among experts with openline commentaries from the audience. Among the favourites are programmes such as "Mong Tang Moon" (Different Perspectives), "Nation News Talk", "Trong Pradem" (Right to the Point) and "Koe Wela Nok" (Time Off). The new trend of the current affairs programmes came to a halt when Banharn Silapa-archa's government suspended "Mong Tang Moon" on the state-run Channel 11 in February 1996. Officials alleged that the show's founder and Moderator Chermsak Pinthong was biased. Later, all his radio shows were removed as well (Prateepchaikul, 2007). Radio Thailand (Sor Wor Tor), the external service, broadcasts regular programmes in Burmese, Cambodian, Chinese, English, German, Indonesian, Japanese, Laotian, Malay, Thai and Vietnamese. the Voice of Free Asia (Wor Or So) broadcasts in Cambodian, English, Laotian, Malay and Vietnamese (Sirakan, 2012).

Ownership and Financing

The Broadcasting Act of 1955 and subsequent ministerial regulations have limited radio and television transmission exclusively to 11 state agencies, whose two principals are the PRD and the military. The military owns two television stations and a substantial number of the country's national and local radio stations. Although independent companies operate broadcasting media on a concession basis and the recent governments have tried to abolish outdated regulations, the government can revoke the concessionary license at any time.

Siriyuvasak wrote that three models of commercial broadcasting media have developed in Thailand because of the contradiction between the structure of ownership and financial constraint. As the owner of all broadcasting stations, the state allowed three types of stations: those with (a) allocative control, (b) operational control, and (c) revenues and franchise (Siriyuvasak, 1996). Stations controlled and operated by the state that receive revenues from state budget allocations and advertising come under the first model. Stations that contract all air time to the highest bidder for 5-10 years come under the second model, with the state agencies receiving an initial lump sum instalment and a percentage share of monthly revenue to the involved state agency. The structural differences between state ownership and media entrepreneurship in commercial radio have created issues over the control of airtime and the quality of programme production. Furthermore, because

the government typically gives contracts to private media operators or advertisers who are prepared to meet the kickback requirement, no clear station policies exists on how to serve the needs of the audience (Sirakan, 2012). Following the Thai Public Broadcasting Service Act, the Thai Public Broadcasting Service (Thai PBS) was created. An analysis of the draft Act by the Media Freedom Organisation in July 2007 highlighted a number of positive features. These included strong guarantees for the independence of the new television broadcaster, along with effective accountability mechanisms and an innovative funding mechanism through an additional 'sin tax' on liquor and tobacco, which is largely insulated against political interference (Mendel, 2011).

Dynamics and Policy Trends

As the Thai House of Representatives was trying to even out some contentious issues in the new broadcasting and telecommunications bills, the road toward media liberalisation and privatisation seemed long. The 1997 Constitution that stipulates transparent regulations on broadcasting and telecommunications has apparently caused some confusion. Although the government has been giving concessions to private companies, the broadcast media are not really out of government control. Despite ITV's claim to be the first independent TV operation, the Office of the Prime Minister still owns the station's license. Media analyst Ubonrat Siriyuvasak has argued that if ITV were truly independent, it would not need a government agency as overseer (Siriyuvasak, 1996). As long as the concession system remained in place, she said, broadcasting in Thailand would be subject to state control. On the brighter side, the Thai media have become freer, more responsible and more accountable as a result of the 1997 Constitution that guarantees freedom of the press, the establishment of the Press Council, and the implementation of the 1997 Official Information Act. The key challenge for the media is to respond to the rising expectation of the public for a more responsible media. The Chuan Leekpai government should get credit for creating and promoting greater media liberty. Chuan has literally left the mass media untouched, unlike many of his predecessors who not only tried to tamper with the media but also sought to manipulate it and its owners. Further, the Interior Ministry's media advisory group has already recommended the abolition of the infamous Press Act of 1941.

Most of the major players in radio industry in Bangkok were linked to large entertainment media corporation such as U&I Corp or BEC-TERO or of major music corporations such as A-Time Media of GMM Grammy and Skyhigh Network of RS Promotion and media brokers. The last group consists of major national operators, mostly concessionaires whose business is brokering between state agencies and media producers. The television industry, on the other hand, is limited in scope because only a few media corporations can enter the sector and compete successfully. There are three privately-operated stations, Channels 5, 9 and 11. Channel 7 which is owned by Krungthep Witayu lae Thoratat of the Karnasuta family was given a 56-year concession (from 1967-2023) from the Army. Channel 3, owned by Bangkok Entertainment Corp or BEC-TERO of the Maleenont family was given a 50-year concession (1995-20250) from the Office of the Prime Minister. These concessions are spared the effects of the 1997 Constitution which requires a redistribution of

transmission frequencies. Article 40 of the so-called People's Constitution which took effect in1997 but was revoked to change ownership structure of broadcast media in Thailand where the broadcast media is entirely owned by the state. The charter stipulates that transmission frequencies for radio or television broadcasting and radio telecommunications are national communication resources for the public interest (Sirakan, 2012). It calls for the setting up of an independent regulatory body to redistribute radio and television frequencies to be called National Broadcasting Commission and another to redistribute telecommunication frequencies. The setting up of the NBC has never been successful as various vested interest groups sought to push their way to have a say in the commission (Sirakan, 2012). Therefore transmission frequencies still remain under government control. The only exception was the setting up of ITV, supposedly an independent television station, during early 2000s. Eventually, the station was taken over by the Shinawatra family before the ownership was transferred to Temasek of Singapore in a controversial shares deal in 2005. In 2007, ITV ownership was transferred back to the government after the company failed to pay concession fees and taxes amounting to several billion Baht. The station will eventually become a public service television station in accordance with the government's decision (Sirakan, 2012).

Since the 1997 Constitution set out to redistribute transmission frequencies which have long been controlled by the state, preparations were made by several private firms, non-governmental organizations and communities to apply for the frequencies to operation their own stations (Sirakan, 2012). The Public Relations Department was assigned to draw up regulations regarding the so-called community radio stations. It was stipulated that 80 % of the transmission frequencies reserved for community radio stations were to be allocated for the private and government sectors and the rest for public sector with a condition that the public sector's frequencies would not be utilised for profit-making. Unfortunately though, power struggling among vested interest groups has stalled the establishment of the NBA, causing frustration among the applicants to operate community radios. Impatient with the seemingly endless bickerings, several of them went ahead to set up their community-based stations to break free from state control (Sirakan, 2012). Thanks to the advent of new broadcasting technology and low investment costs, the vacuum-period during which the NBA was still non-existent while the Public Relations Department was confused about its regulatory power gave rise to proliferation of ``illegal'' community radio stations, many of them owned by music giant companies to promote their music as well as local politicians (Ekachai, 2000). It was only when some of the frequencies interfered with the operations of aeronautical radio station in a way which could jeopardise air traffic that the Public Relations Department, at the government's instruction, tried to rein in the illegal or unlicensed community radio stations (Sirakan, 2012).

CONTENT ANALYSIS

As an initial content analysis there was a comparison of International News in 3 different Thai Television channels in 1 week (12-18 May 2013) in terms of Pattern and Content.

1. Channel 3:

It is based on Private Rental Leases and owned by BEC-TERO (under license from MCOT). It started broadcasting on 26 March 1970 as Thailand's first commercial television station. It is 2nd Leading (Audience and Market share) Television Station in Thailand and 4th Terrestrial Television of Thailand. In addition it is 2nd Color Television station in Southeast Asia. Broadcasting is across the borders into Laos, Cambodia and Malaysia.

News are broadcasted ½ of a day (12 hours). Recently there was a change of the format of reporting news from "Reading" to "Telling" in 2003. It is the TV station with most of the news reporters

2. Channel 7:

   Similar to Channel 3 it is Private Rental Leases. It is owned by Bangkok Broadcasting Television (under license from Royal Thai Army) and started broadcasting on 27 November 1967 as Thailand's first Color Television station in Southeast Asia. Currently 1st Leading (Audience and Market share) Television Station in Thailand. It is received outside Thailand in Laos and Malaysia

   News reporting since the 1st day of launching the station with a focus on "Latest and Breaking News". It is the 1st Channel with Special features in reporting news which gain popularities among audience and best for sport news

3. Channel 9:

- Channel 9 is a State Enterprise owned and operate by MCOT (Mass Communication Organization of Thailand), It started broadcasting on 24 June 1955 as Thailand's first and oldest television station (formerly: channel 4). It is the 3rd Leading (Audience and Market share) Television Station in Thailand. Broadcasting beyond the borders into Malaysia, Western Cambodia and Myanmar

  News:

  It is a 24-hour-News Station. A News Bar was added in 2002. It cooperates with International News Networks: CNN (USA), BBC(UK), NHK (Japan), CCTV (China) etc. in 2002

Comparison

Terms of Patterns

TV Channel 9, tends to have rapid access to International news and various news more than the other 2 channels. Bangkok Broadcasting Television Channel 7, still, tends to focus on Latest news, Breaking news. Thai Television Channel 3, tends to report general news more. All three channels gradually tend to have new styles of news reporting with News bar for 24 hours. They tell news instead of normal reporting (reading). In some special programmes headline news from daily newspaper are read. They are quite professional with several reporter for each news category. They provide opportunities for the audience to participate: News reporting (sending sms).

Thai Television Channel 3	Bangkok Broadcasting Television Channel 7	Modernine TV Channel 9
- Philippines rejects Taiwan's allegations of murder/ **Taiwan-Philippines**	- Philippines refused Taiwan's request for a joint investigation of shooting death of Taiwanese fisherman by Philippines coast guard - Philippines rejects Taiwan's allegations of murder/ **Taiwan-Philippines**	- Philippines refused Taiwan's request for a joint investigation of shooting death of Taiwanese fisherman by Philippines coast guard - Philippines rejects Taiwan's allegations of murder - Taiwan/ **Taiwan-Philippines**
-	Mechanical Problem, American Airlines flight diverted to Aruba/ **USA-Aruba**	Mechanical Problem, American Airlines flight diverted to Aruba/ **USA-Aruba**
-	-	5.9 earthquake strikes Japan off Fukushima coast/ **Japan**
"Angry Bird" 3D animated film coming to theaters in 2016/ **USA**	-	"Angry Bird" 3D animated film coming to theaters in 2016/ **USA**
-	Deadly clashes between **Muslims** and Christians in Egypt's Alexandria/ **Egypt**	Deadly clashes between **Muslims** and Christians in Egypt's Alexandria/ **Egypt**
Myanmar's Thein Sein heads to US for first state visit/ **Myanmar-USA**	-	Myanmar's Thein Sein heads to US for first state visit/ **Myanmar-USA**
"Harry Potter" first edition annotated by author up for auction/ **USA**	-	"Harry Potter" first edition annotated by author up for auction/ **USA**
-	-	Bombs at mosques in Northwest Pakistan kill 15/ **Pakistan**
60 injured in US train accident – **USA**	60 injured in US train accident – **USA**	Investigation after US train accident/ **USA**

Heavy rains leave at least 55 dead in south China – **China**	Heavy rains leave at least 55 dead in south China – **China**	Heavy rains leave at least 55 dead in south China – **China**
Thieves steal $1M worth of jewels during Cannes film festival**/ France**	Thieves steal $1M worth of jewels during Cannes film festival**/ France**	-
-	Over 70 injured as Hong Kong light-rail train derails**/ Hong Kong**	Over 62 injured as Hong Kong light-rail train derails**/ Hong Kong**
Burma release political prisoners before visit USA**/ Myanmar**	Burma release political prisoners before visit USA**/ Myanmar**	-
The world's biggest street painting**/ Turkey**	The world's biggest street painting**/ Turkey**	-
-	Bomb attacks across Iraq**/ Iraq**	-
-	Syria refugees reach 1,500,000**/ Syria**	Syria refugees reach 1,500,000**/ Syria**
South Korea says North Korea fires 3 shot-range missiles/ **North-South Korea**	South Korea says North Korea fires 3 shot-range missiles/ **North-South Korea**	South Korea says North Korea fires 3 shot-range missiles/ **North-South Korea**
-	Turkish protesters clash with police in bomb-hit border town/ **Turkey**	-
-	Mexico volcano registers more seismic activity/ **Mexico**	-

Conclusion

In Thailand we have the situation that TV is still quite "semi-privatized" that means either direct or indirectly, the stations are connected to the administration. Interesting is that Thai-TV finds an audience outside Thailand, especially in Myanmar, Laos, Cambodia and as well Malaysia.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES

The open society notes that no region in the world has more diverse conditions for media than Southeast Asia. With a political spectrum that straddles vibrant free markets and one-party monopolies, encompassing many business models, varieties of ownership, stages of technological development, and degrees of media freedom, the region can offer a bewildering spectacle. (http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/publications/southeast-asian-media-patterns-production-and-consumption). There are several reasons for such a diversity. On one hand the differences in political systems, on the other the level of development and economic affordability in terms of state or private expenses for an infrastructure as well as private expenses to purchase the necessary gadgets. Nevertheless, looking at a smaller sample like the four countries mentioned here it is easier to draw some common trends, although Myanmar somehow is the "odd man out" in political as well as economic terms or the general level of development.

Already a brief look at broadcasting media and its development in southeast Asia indicates two main variables for comparison:

1. Technology
2. Politics and state formation

In fact, these variables are not only relevant for the region, they are basic variables for media all over the world.

BROADCASTING MEDIA IN SOUTHEAST ASIA:

Although radio transmission was developed in the early part of the 20th century, the first usage of radio as a means for mass communication with a regular program began in the 1920th. However, broadcasting remained limited to a few big cities. Only in the 1930th did it become more wide-spread. Radio broadcasting started in Southast Asia in the 1930th. First limited to the centres. Thailand was the first in 1930 with a speech by King Rama VII. Malaya (1933) and Burma (1936) followed. Especially in Thailand radio became an important instrument for "nation-building" during the governments of Phibul Songkran in the late 30th. Nation building and national integration was the main objective of broadcasting in the other countries as well after independence. The former radio stations run by the colonial governments were transformed into national stations. Quite soon radio became a popular and wide spread medium for the dissemination of information, entertainment etc.

While radio can be transmitted using short wave or am, which requires less in terms of infrastructure (transmission towers etc.) to cover large regions, TV is based on the better quality FM transmission. These require a far larger and elaborate infrastructure of towers, stations etc. TV was introduced first in Thailand in 1955. In Malaysia and Indonesia it took about ten years longer (1963 Malaysia, 1964 Indonesia). TV was introduced into Burma in 1979 only.

The radio and TV stations were all state owned and under state control. Not the least due to its reach even into remote regions, radio and TV are the most wide spread media used by the people in the region. Nearly any household has a TV set, in remote regions running on battery or solar power. Thereby the state and government were able to frame the discourses and information provided to the citizen.

In the late 80th development was increasingly connected to privatization and de-regulation. For media in Southeast Asia this meant privatization of media. In Thailand private stations had been set up already in the 1970 as rental lease from the military. In Malaysia the first private TV station TV3 belonged to UMNO, one of the government parties. The first private TV in Indonesia was run by a member of the family of Suharto. In this way, privatization was more an instrument of the ruling groups to enhance their ability to either gain an income and to disseminate their own policies.

Cable TV was never that popular in Southeast Asia. Instead, in the late 90th satellite TV became important. First Malaysia later Indonesia and Thailand set up their own satellites. In addition, other satellite TV could be received in the region. Here Myanmar is an exception. Satelite TV was kind of illegal.

While satellite TV allows already to leave the realm of the country and gain access to global programmes and information. The rise of the internet especially after 2005 implied another far reaching change of media in the region. The "mobile" internet revolution (access to the internet thrugh smart phnes) is last stage of this development.

These processes can be described as extension and diversification of media and their reach. Radio and TV are produced under state control for a national mas audience. This was the basic pattern until the late 80th. Privatization modified this pattern to some degree. Besides the state, private entertainment enterprises produce programmes for national mass audience(s). Increasingly specialized programmes for specific audiences are produced by the private as well as the larger number of state owned stations. The internet then dissolves the link between producer and audience. Special producers of information provide these for special audiences. However, even the internet addresses mass audiences. Without such a mass audience, the enterprises would not be able to generate any income. However, as the data show, the mass provider like facebook, google, etc. do not themselves produce information. They provide links to information. In this way we have an agent in-between producer of information and consumer, the provider of information on information or where this information can be found.

1930 - 1960	1960 - 1990	1980 - 2000	2000 -
Radio			
	TV		
		Satellite TV	
		Private TV	
			Internet
State producer			
State owned, controlled			
Addressing a mass audience			
		Addressing special audiences	
		International production	
			Dissolution between producer/consumer
			Intermediate enterprises
			Privatization of media consumption any time any where
Relevant agents for production of media			
state	parties	enterprises	enterprises
government			De-centralized
Relevant audiences			
National mass audience		International mass audiences	Personal, communal
		Communities/clubs	

Percent of Individuals Who Used the Internet in Previous 12 Months

Source: International Telecommunications Union, ICT Eye database; chart by TigerMine Research
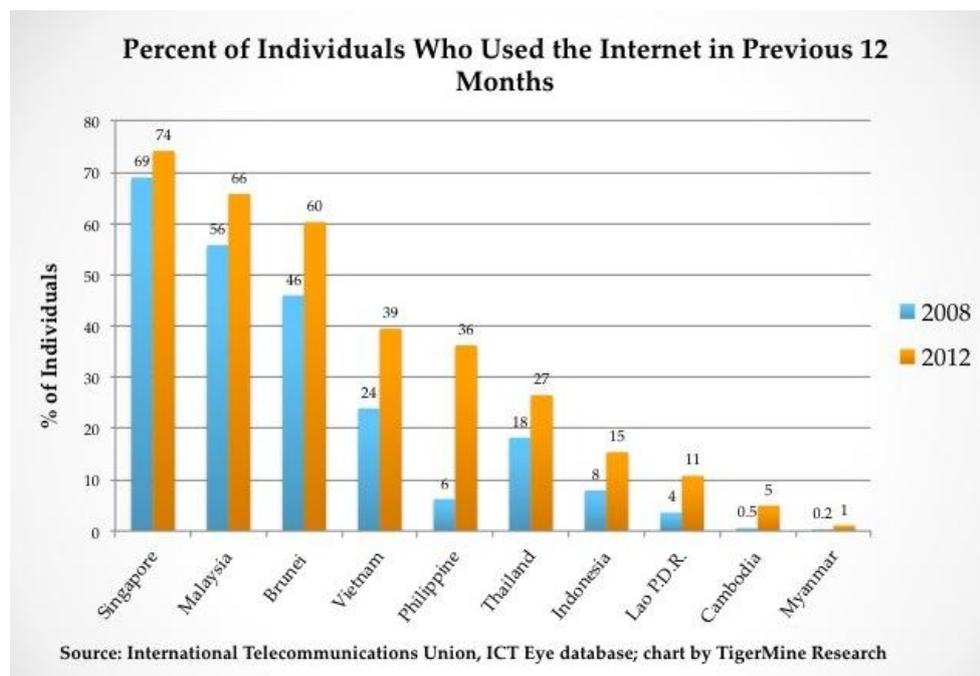
Figure 5

Mobile cellular subscriptions (per 100 people)
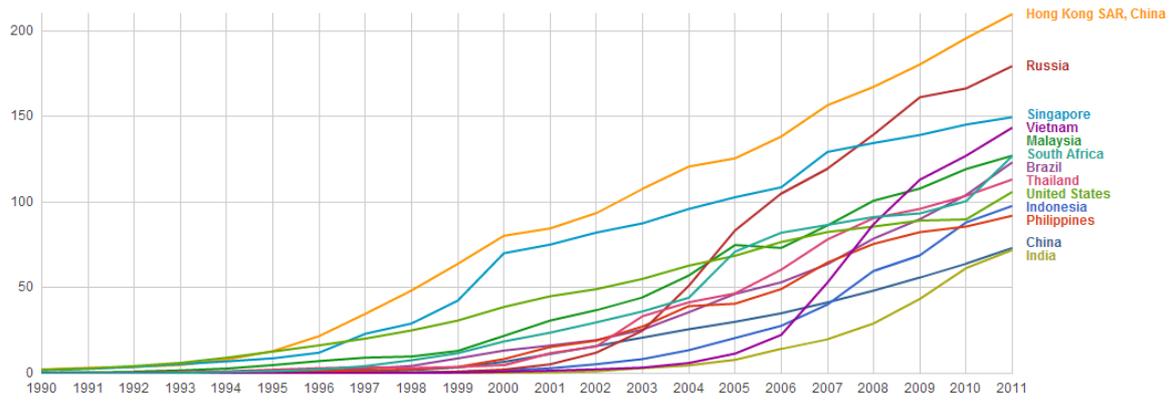
Mobile cellular telephone subscriptions are subscriptions to a public mobile telephone service using cellular technology, which provide access to the public switched telephone network. Post-paid and prepaid subscriptions are included. *Source(s): International Telecommunication Union, World Telecommunication/ICT Development Report and database, and World Bank estimates.*

Figure 5a

Internet users as percentage of population
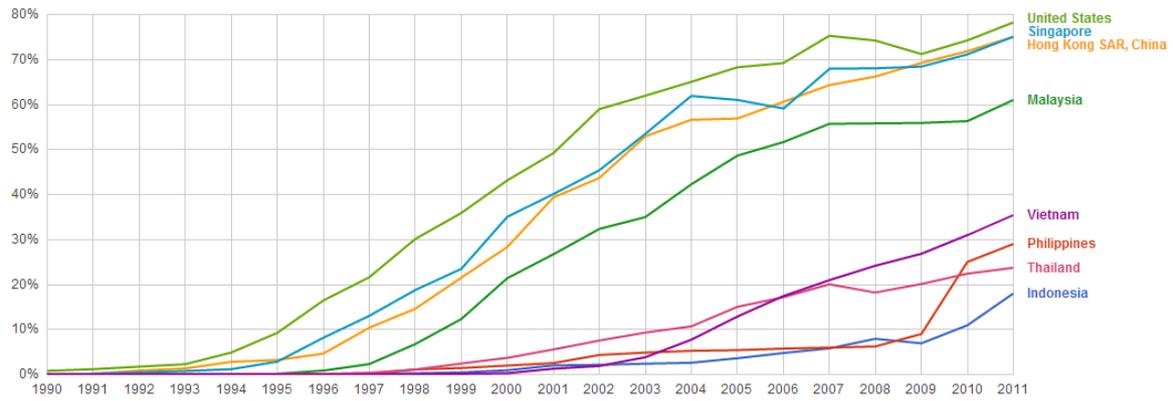
Internet users are people with access to the worldwide network. *Source: International Telecommunication Union, World Telecommunication/ICT Development*

Phase I: 1930th to 1990 th

STATE owned, controlled

National mass audience with little choice

| producer sender | → RADIO, TV → | receiver consumer |

Phase II: 1990th to 2000

STATE owned, controlled

National mass audience with choices

| producer sender | → RADIO, TV → | receiver consumer |

private TV →

Satellite TV → National, international mass audience

Phase III: since 2000

STATE owned, controlled

National mass audience with choices

| producer sender | → RADIO, TV → | receiver consumer |

private TV →

Satellite TV →

National, international mass audience
Individual, communal audiences

producer as receiver consumer → Private provider of links Google, facebook ← receiver consumer as producer

Rise of diversity of broadcasting media

The rise of diversity is certainly closely linked to the increase of number of agents and the differentiation of the audience. In terms of nation-building, we in fact do have a national mass-audience. The audience as such is a form of integration based on the respective national ideologies. However, development implies differentiation. New economic opportunities emerge, division of labour is strengthened etc. Namely globalization leads to far reaching differentiations, not the least because thereby global flows and networks having their nodes within different nations evolve. The rise of multiple agents during the 1990th is therefore not by chance, but itself related to the degree of global integration of the countries of the region. There are several further factors that are relevant:

Globalization of neo-liberal ideology:

This concerned de-regulation of the economies and privatization of state enterprises. In addition the ideology of good governance and democratization played a role. Especially the world bank followed a policy to reduce the control of the state over the economy and politics. Thus, it is no surprise that broadcasting was privatized. It provided an extension of the economy, it was regarded as a crucial aspect of democratization and it was strongly sponsored by international media-enterprises like Murdoch etc.

Economic development

The economic development had given rise to a diversified middle class with specific interests. Pften consumerism is mentioned in this context. One aspect of consumerism was the consumption of media and access to wider information coupled with a larger interest of what is going on in the world. As mentioned, the midde class itself is highly diversified. It consists of business, civil servants, civil society, professionals etc. These have their own specific interests and demand programmes that fit their expectations. Thereby the mass-audience is differentiated into several specific mass-audiences.

Technology

In terms of technology we have a development from centralized technologies using a reactive infrastructure to de-centralized receivers. Already satellite TV modifies this structure, because the sender is globally de-centralized, and the possibilities of choice increase for the receivers. Then the older TV transmission towers become less relevant. Thereby infrastructure becomes cheaper and is to a large degree privately created by the receivers themselves who buy the dishes. The internet and mobile phones extend this de-centralization even further. Now the sender as well as the receiver is de-central. However, thereby the need for coordination increases, what gives rise to the internet enterprises such as google and facebook that provide the information about information. Interestingly, the importance of physical infrastructure becomes secondary to the importance of the virtual infrastructure.

Political participation

This factor is quite specific. Broadcasting allows for access to information which is ever more outside of the control by the state, government or parties etc. Simultaneously, the differentiation of the middle classes and of society in general allows for particular programmes serving particular interests. IN this way, the citizen become participants that can impact on consumption including consumption of media. As consumers they are subjects and part of the economy. The further economic development spreads, the more people become integrated. Similarly for media, the more they spread, the more they are integrated into the media. With the technological changes, they can start to participate in media production as well as consumption. This in turn has political implications. Interestingly, in all the countries used as case studies, we see an expressed demand for wider political participation.

As media provide virtual collectives that can turn into real masses and crowds, the importance of media increases. Media provide information that affects wishes, interests and acting possibilities. This is most obvious with regards to advertising. Through advertisements in media the business attempt to enlarge the consumers of their product. Similarly, persons, organisations etc. use media to address followers.

Simulacra and media (hyper)-reality

With more programmes, more statins and more actors involved in media, we do not only get more information to a mass audience, and more specific information to specific audiences from spheres outside of everyday life. Increasingly knowledge is produced by media information and the interpretative frames of the media. It is not possible to verify the truth of the information and even less their interpretation. In other words, media information turns into "believe". Although media can never represent reality, because due to the means of presentation, reality is transformed into pictures, symbols, visions etc. this hyper-realty affects individual acting.

The problem is that we do not only have more information, but we have as well contradictory information. Advertisements show that certain goods like sweets etc. are good for you. A feature shows that these sweets are bad for your health. One program points at the soundness of a policy, while other information show that this is completely wrong. As a result, much of the controversies are located in the hyperspace of media. Do then media start to define and structure politics, economy etc.? This question is the basic issue of the discussion of "mediatization". We will turn to this in the following chapter.

Major Usage of homepage by mobile phone in 2008

Malaysia	Indonesia	Thailand
1. google.com	1. facebook.com	1. google.com
2. friendster.com	2. google.com	2. hi5.com
3. facebook.com	3. friendster.com	3. live.com
4. yahoo.com	4. yahoo.com	4. hotmail.com
5.myspace.com	5. waptrick.com	5. my.opera.com
6.youtube.com	6. peperonity.com	6. pantip.com
7. my.opera.com	7. digg.com	7. manager.co.th
8. wikipedia.org	8. getjar.com	8. gamejump.com
9. tagged.com	9. detik.com	9. youtube.com
10. gamejump.co	10. gamejump.com	10. livescore.com

COMPARATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

METHODS AND DATA SOURCES

In order to gather meaningful data about the media system in Southeast Asia we used the method of a quantitative content analysis with qualitative components. It was determined that local researchers analyzed broadcasts of one state owned TV station as well as one private TV station in Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand. As broadcasting in Myanmar is still strongly under control of the government or of tycoons connected to it, only one state owned station was analyzed in this country. The researches collected the data between September 1st and September 8th. The total data package is comprised of 1.210 broadcasts. In this report we will present the data of each country as well as a comparative analysis of all nations.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Description of TV broadcasts according to country

Number of Broadcasts on Indonesian TV Stations

RCTI
TVRI

138 · 102

n=240
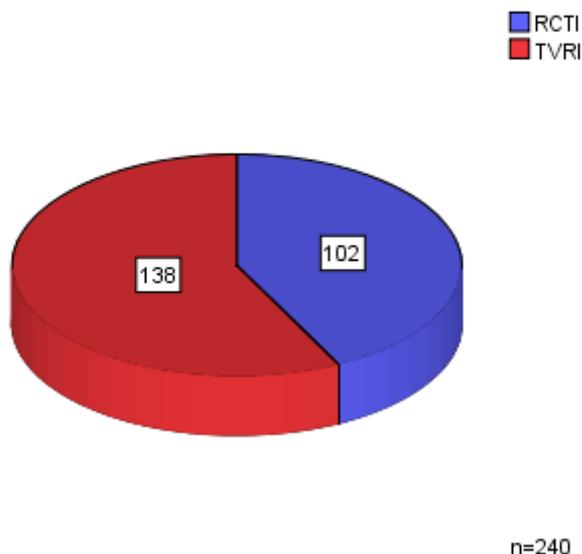
In Indonesia 240 broadcasts were collected. 138 (57,5%) broadcasts were extracted from the state owned TV station (TVRI) while 102 (42,2%) are broadcasts on the private TV station (RCTI). On the average a broadcast in Indonesia lasts 1:48 minutes. In this regard, a broadcast on a state owned TV station is 38 seconds longer than a broadcast on a private TV station (2:04 minutes compared to 1:26 minutes).

Number of Broadcasts on Malaysian TV Stations

TV3
TV1

177 · 203

n=380
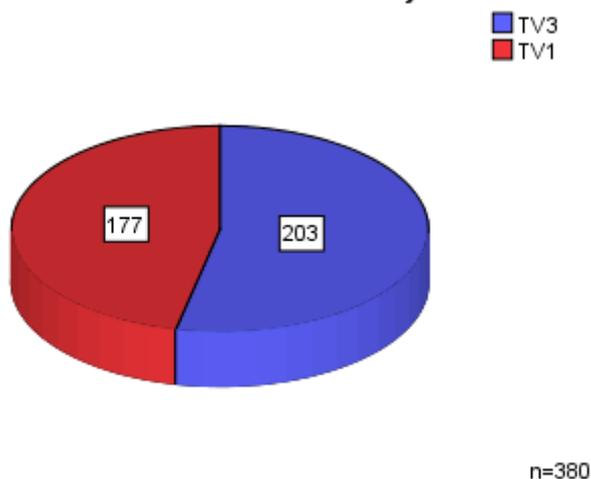
380 of 1210 broadcasts were obtained in Malaysia. In contrast to Indonesia 177 (46,6%) broadcasts were extracted from the state owned TV station (TV1) while the major part consisting of 203 (53,4%) are broadcasts on the private TV station (TV3). In Indonesia as well as in Malaysia an average

broadcast lasts 1:48 minutes. A broadcast on the state owned TV station is 17 seconds longer than a broadcast on the private TV station (1:57 minutes compared to 1:40 minutes).

Number of Broadcasts on Myanmarian TV Stations

■ MRTV

124

n=124
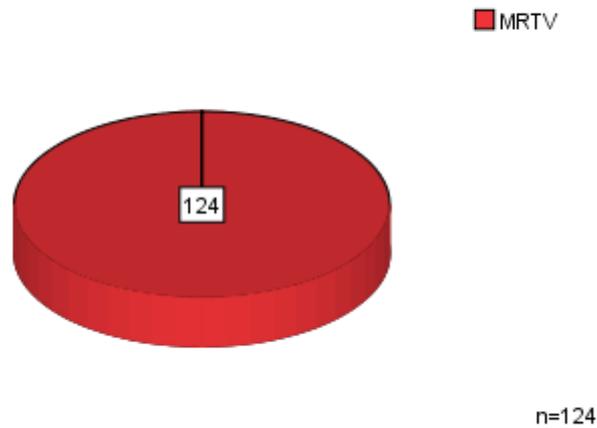
Against the background of the media system in Myanmar 124 broadcasts on the state owned TV station MRTV were collected. The average duration of a broadcast in Myanmar amounts to 1:37 minutes, taking into account that the shortest broadcast lasts 20 seconds in contrast to the longest broadcast, which lasts 8:06 minutes.

Number of Broadcasts on Thai TV Stations

■ Thai
■ Mode

187
279

n=466
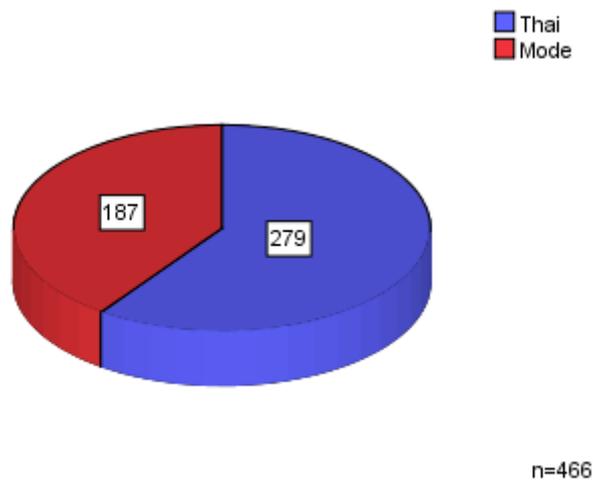
In this project the majority of the broadcasts was obtained in Thailand (466). 187 (40,1%) broadcasts were extracted from the state owned TV station (Mode) while 279 (59,9%) are broadcasts on the private TV station (Thai). The average broadcast in Thailand lasts 1:40 minutes. In contrast to

Malaysia and Indonesia, a broadcast on a private TV station is longer than one on a state owned TV station (1:46 minutes compared to 1:32 minutes).

Number of Broadcasts According to Stations (transnational)
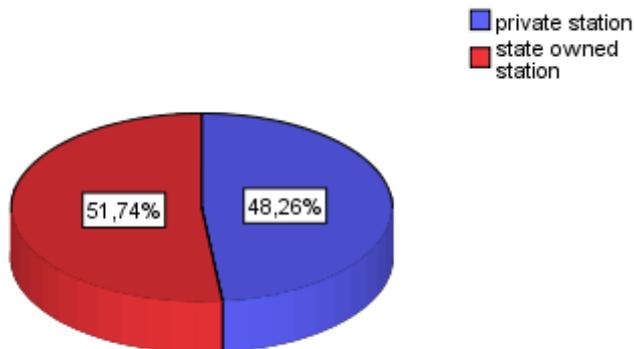
n=1210

The transnational comparison of all the Southeast Asian countries involved in this project shows that private TV stations are almost as evenly represented as state owned TV stations in the research. This ensures a balanced composition of data.

Themes of the News Topics
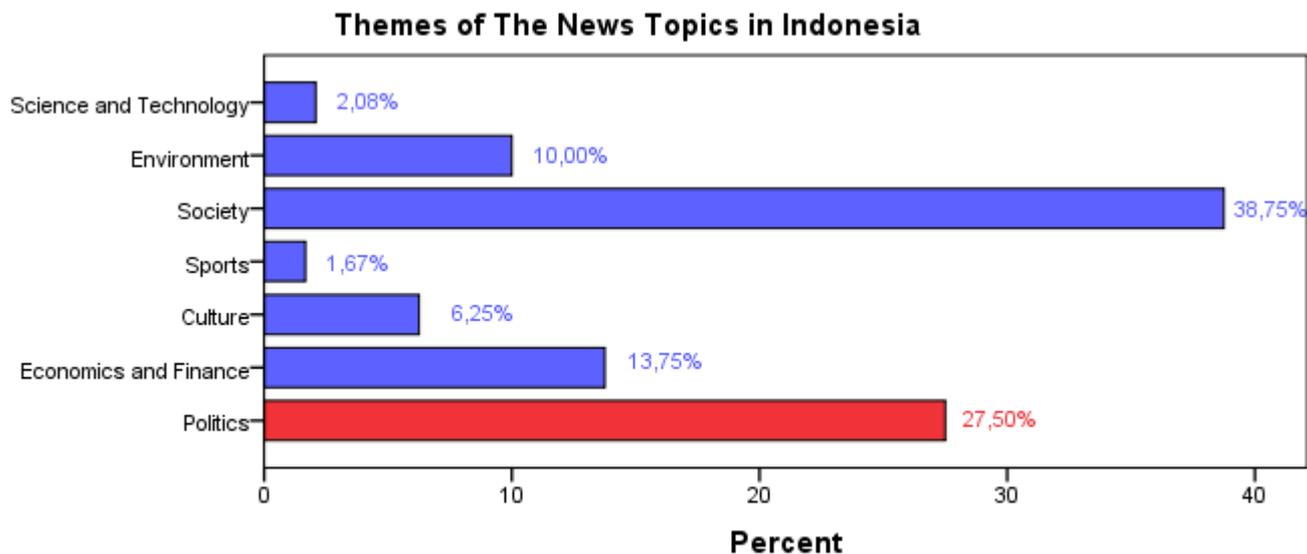
n=240

Politics, with 27%, is the second most popular theme in Indonesian newscasts. Therefore politics play a central role in the media coverage in Indonesia. Three-fifths of the political themes are

broadcasted by the state owned TV station TVRI (in comparison to the private TV Station RCTI: 39,4%).

Themes of The News Topics in Malaysia

Theme	Percent
Religion	2,37%
Science and Technology	2,63%
Environment	7,37%
Society	16,58%
Sports	15,26%
Culture	5,00%
Economics and Finance	13,68%
Politics	35,79%
None of the above	1,32%

n=380
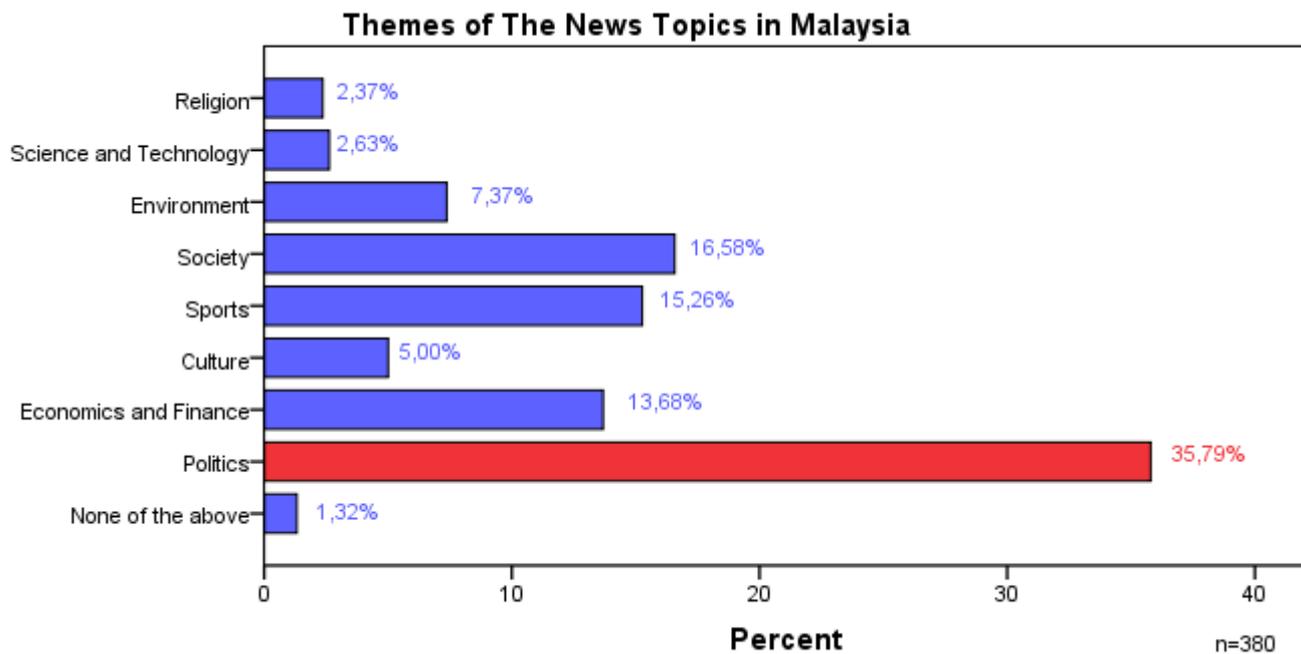
With 35,8% politics dominate the news coverage in Malaysia. In contrast to Indonesia the private TV station TV3 covers with 55,9% more political themes than the state owned station TV1 (44,1%).

Themes of The News Topics in Myanmar

Theme	Percent
Science and Technology	5,65%
Environment	7,26%
Society	7,26%
Sports	12,10%
Culture	1,61%
Economics and Finance	7,26%
Politics	57,26%
None of the above	1,61%

n=124
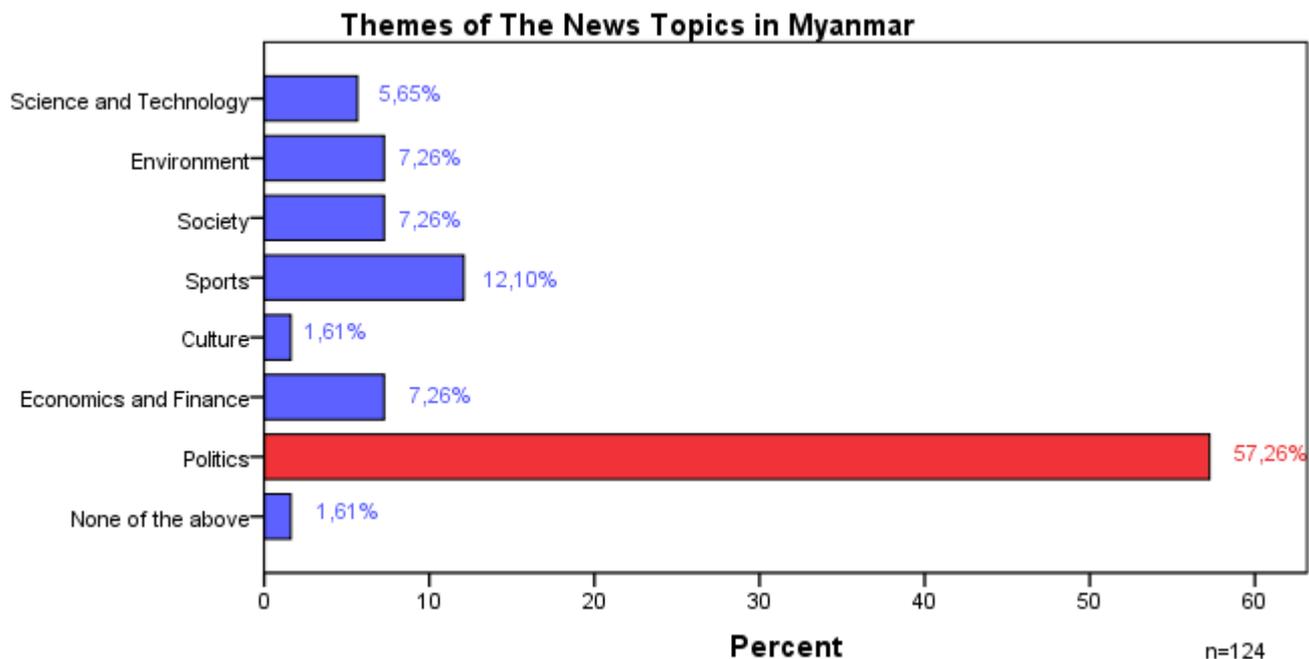
Myanmar is the country with the highest level of reporting on politics in Southeast Asia. Due to the lack of data about private TV stations a comparison between state owned and private TV stations cannot be made. Nevertheless political themes are not neglected.

Themes of The News Topics in Thailand

	Percent
Religion	1,29%
Science and Technology	4,29%
Environment	10,30%
Society	20,17%
Sports	23,61%
Culture	2,79%
Economics and Finance	17,81%
Politics	11,37%
None of the above	8,37%

n=466
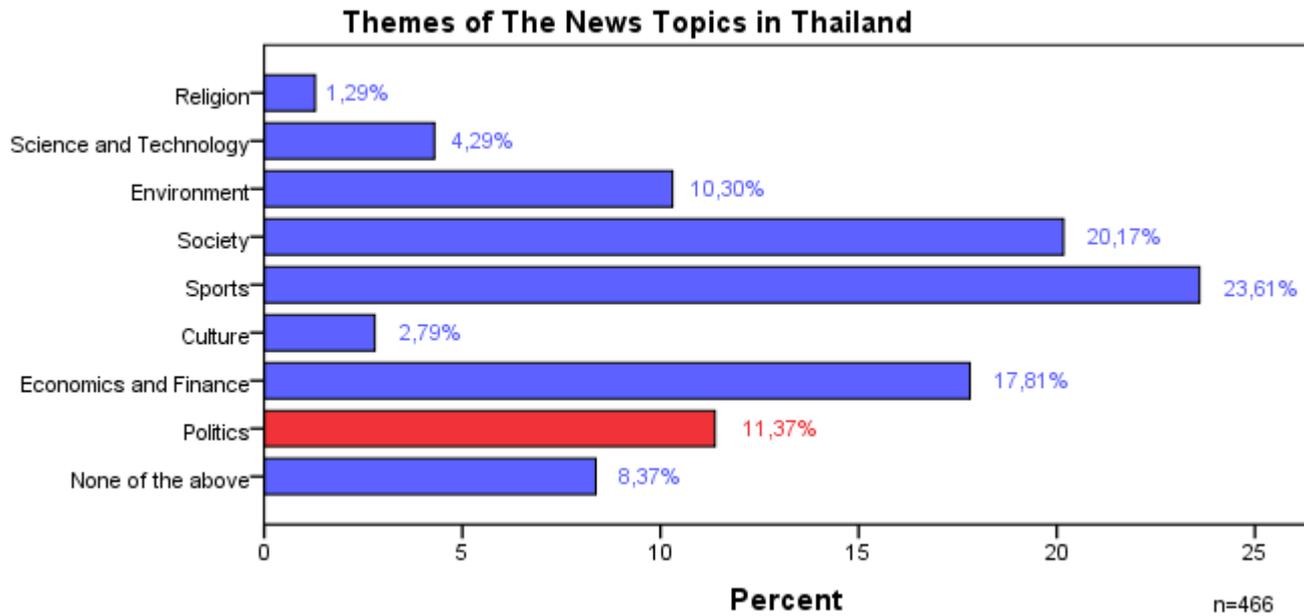
In Thailand political reports play a minor role as a topic in broadcasting (11,4%). Other themes like sports, society or economics and finance seem to be more relevant for news reporting in Thailand. The state owned TV station MODE covers two-thirds of the political reporting.

Themes of News Topics (transnational)

	Percent
Religion	1,24%
Science and Technology	3,47%
Environment	9,01%
Society	21,40%
Sports	15,45%
Culture	4,05%
Economics and Finance	14,63%
Politics	26,94%
None of the above	3,80%

n = 1210
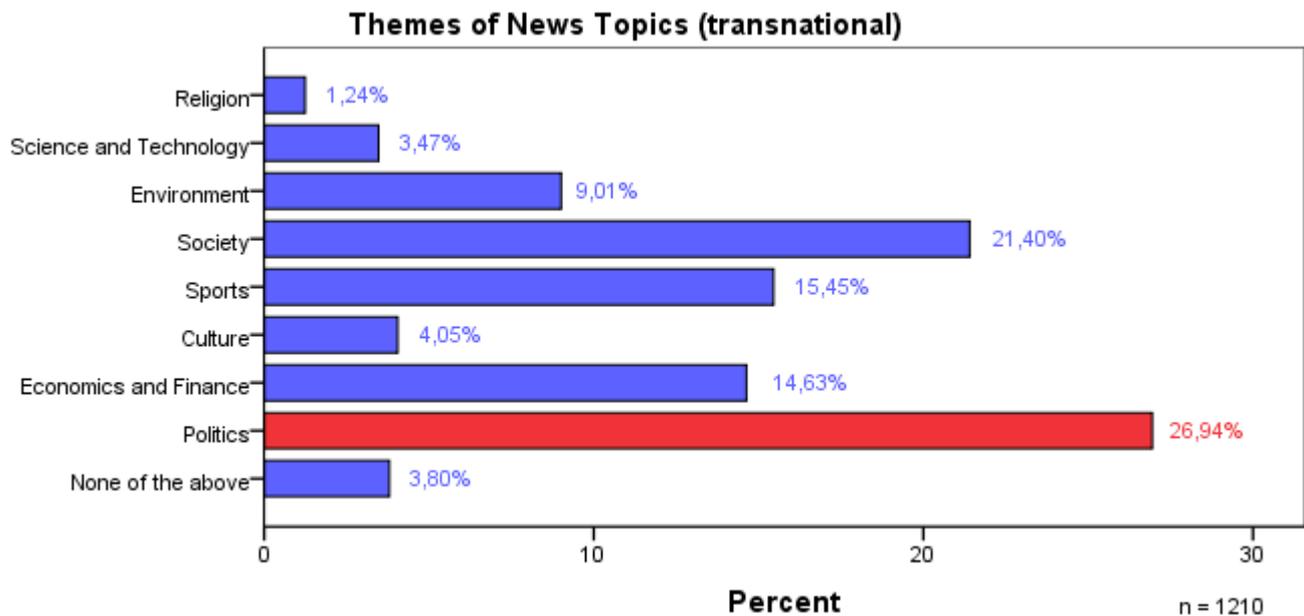
Overall, politics play a central role in the media coverage in Southeast Asia. More than one quarter of news reporting is based on political themes. The coverage of politics differs from country to country. In a further step it would interesting to analyze the relation between variables, e.g., the influence of political actors on the agenda of TV stations. This will be done via analyzing the qualitative data within the next weeks.

Setting of the News Topics

Reporting According to the Place of Interest (Indonesia)

Setting	Percent
United Kingdom	0,42%
Poland	1,25%
Syria	1,25%
Singapore	0,42%
Russia	2,50%
Philippines	1,25%
Palestine	0,42%
Kazakhstan	1,67%
Iran	0,42%
Indonesia	88,33%
China	0,83%
Afghanistan	0,42%
USA	0,42%
n.a.	0,42%

n=240
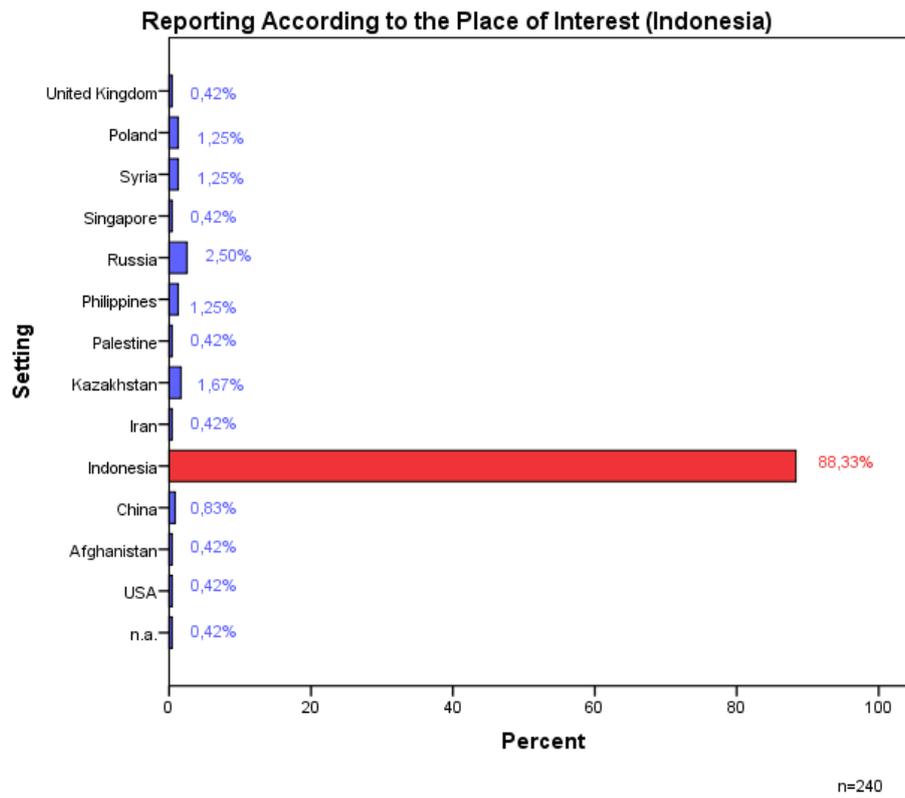
Reporting Acoording to the Place of Interest (Malaysia)

Setting	Percent
Worldwide	0,752
South Africa	1,128
Australia	1,128
United Kingdom	2,256
Romania	0,376
Lithuania	0,376
Italy	0,752
Germany	0,752
Vietnam	0,376
UAE	0,376
Thailand	1,880
Syria	0,752
Saudi Arabia	1,128
Palestine	0,376
Myanmar	0,376
Malaysia	71,43
Japan	1,128
Iraq	0,376
Indonesia	0,752
India	0,752
China	4,135
Egypt	1,128
Peru	1,128
Brazil	0,376
USA	4,511
Mexico	0,376
Guatemala	0,752
Dominican Republic	0,376

n = 266

Reporting According to the Place of Interest (Thailand)

Setting	Percent
Worldwide	0,64%
South Africa	0,21%
Australia	0,86%
United Kingdom	6,01%
Spain	0,64%
Switzerland	0,21%
Sweden	0,43%
Poland	0,21%
Monaco	0,21%
Italy	0,21%
France	0,43%
Germany	0,43%
Belgium	0,21%
Vietnam	0,21%
Thailand	71,67%
Syria	1,72%
South Korea	0,64%
Russia	0,43%
Philippines	0,43%
Myanmar	0,43%
Maledives	0,21%
Lao	0,21%
Cambodia	1,07%
Japan	4,72%
Iraq	0,21%
China	1,93%
Brazil	0,21%
USA	4,94%
Guatemala	0,21%

n=466

The three diagrams above show that news reporting in all countries linked to research relate to events within the respective country. The news reporting of Indonesian TV Stations about inner-national events add up to 90%. Outer-national events are being neglected in reporting with the exception of the nearby archipelago of the Philippines (1,25%).

The situation in Malaysia and Thailand is similar. The place of interest is in ¾ of the cases located within the country (Malaysia 71,4%, Thailand 71,7%). Malaysia is the only country, which reports on events in project-related countries, albeit only to a small extent (Thailand 1,9%, Indonesia 0,8%, Myanmar 0,4%). Due to the lack of numbers about Malaysia at the moment no representative statements can be made about it.

TRANSNATIONAL FINDINGS

Table 1: Station and frequency of news

Station

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	RCTI	102	8,4	8,4	8,4
	TVRI	138	11,4	11,4	19,8
	TV3	203	16,8	16,8	36,6
	TV1	177	14,6	14,6	51,2
	MRTV	124	10,2	10,2	61,5
	Thai	279	23,1	23,1	84,5
	Mode	187	15,5	15,5	100,0
	Total	1210	100,0	100,0	

Table 2: Date and frequency of news

Date

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	01.09.2013	165	13,6	13,6	13,6
	02.09.2013	170	14,0	14,0	27,7
	03.09.2013	187	15,5	15,5	43,1
	04.09.2013	167	13,8	13,8	56,9

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
05.09.2013	186	15,4	15,4	72,3
06.09.2013	157	13,0	13,0	85,3
07.09.2013	160	13,2	13,2	98,5
08.09.2013	18	1,5	1,5	100,0
Total	1210	100,0	100,0	

Table 3: First theme of the news story

Theme1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None of the above	46	3,8	3,8	3,8
	Politics	326	26,9	26,9	30,7
	Economics and Finance	177	14,6	14,6	45,4
	Culture	49	4,0	4,0	49,4
	Sports	187	15,5	15,5	64,9
	Society	259	21,4	21,4	86,3
	Environment	109	9,0	9,0	95,3
	Science and Technology	42	3,5	3,5	98,8
	Religion	15	1,2	1,2	100,0
	Total	1210	100,0	100,0	

Table 4: Second theme of the news story

Theme2

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None of the above	5	,4	2,6	2,6

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Politics	43	3,6	22,3	24,9
	Economics and Finance	31	2,6	16,1	40,9
	Culture	11	,9	5,7	46,6
	Sports	3	,2	1,6	48,2
	Society	62	5,1	32,1	80,3
	Environment	19	1,6	9,8	90,2
	Science and Technology	10	,8	5,2	95,3
	Religion	9	,7	4,7	100,0
	Total	193	16,0	100,0	
Missing	System	1017	84,0		
Total		1210	100,0		

Table 5: Type of news

TypeofNews

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Reader with backround picture/graphic	817	67,5	67,6	67,6
	Reader without backround picture/graphic	13	1,1	1,1	68,7
	Voice over	115	9,5	9,5	78,2
	Report	224	18,5	18,5	96,7
	Feature	13	1,1	1,1	97,8
	Comment	2	,2	,2	97,9
	Interview	20	1,7	1,7	99,6
	None of the above	5	,4	,4	100,0

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Total	1209	99,9	100,0	
Missing	System	1	,1		
Total		1210	100,0		

Table 6: Protagonists field of action

Protagonist1fieldofaction

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No protagonists/quotes	14	1,2	1,2	1,2
	Politics	449	37,1	37,3	38,4
	Economics	141	11,7	11,7	50,1
	Society	166	13,7	13,8	63,9
	Citizen	206	17,0	17,1	81,0
	Sports	169	14,0	14,0	95,0
	Culture	35	2,9	2,9	97,9
	Other	25	2,1	2,1	100,0
	Total	1205	99,6	100,0	
Missing	System	5	,4		
Total		1210	100,0		

Table 7: Protagonists function

Protagonist1function

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	14	1,2	1,2	1,2
	Head of state	42	3,5	3,5	4,7

Head of government	33	2,7	2,8	7,5
Parliament	31	2,6	2,6	10,1
Government member	147	12,1	12,3	22,4
Opposition member	18	1,5	1,5	23,9
Regional/local politician	25	2,1	2,1	26,0
Politician from other country	25	2,1	2,1	28,1
Politician from international organization	7	,6	,6	28,6
Representative of military	52	4,3	4,4	33,0
Political NGO's	10	,8	,8	33,8
Other	59	4,9	4,9	38,8
Representative of bank/finance	14	1,2	1,2	39,9
Representative of Private company	47	3,9	3,9	43,9
Representative of State company	33	2,7	2,8	46,6
Representative of international economic organization	5	,4	,4	47,1
Labor union	6	,5	,5	47,6
Trade organizations	26	2,1	2,2	49,7
Other	12	1,0	1,0	50,8
Academics and experts	70	5,8	5,9	56,6
Journalist	24	2,0	2,0	58,6
Representative of religion	8	,7	,7	59,3
NGO's etc.	12	1,0	1,0	60,3

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Other	51	4,2	4,3	64,6
	Victim/affected people	140	11,6	11,7	76,3
	Witness	5	,4	,4	76,7
	Demonstrator	20	1,7	1,7	78,4
	Other	40	3,3	3,4	81,7
	President	22	1,8	1,8	83,6
	Coach	17	1,4	1,4	85,0
	Athlets	108	8,9	9,0	94,1
	Audience	11	,9	,9	95,0
	Other	11	,9	,9	95,9
	Artist	19	1,6	1,6	97,5
	Actor	3	,2	,3	97,7
	Author	2	,2	,2	97,9
	Musician	1	,1	,1	98,0
	Other	9	,7	,8	98,7
	71	15	1,2	1,3	100,0
	Total	1194	98,7	100,0	
Missing	System	16	1,3		
Total		1210	100,0		

Table 8: Quotes field of action

Quote1fieldofaction

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No protagonists/quotes	216	17,9	19,3	19,3
	Politics	325	26,9	29,1	48,4

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Economics	114	9,4	10,2	58,6
	Society	137	11,3	12,3	70,8
	Citizen	142	11,7	12,7	83,5
	Sports	136	11,2	12,2	95,7
	Culture	23	1,9	2,1	97,8
	Other	25	2,1	2,2	100,0
	Total	1118	92,4	100,0	
Missing	System	92	7,6		
Total		1210	100,0		

Table 9: Quotes function

Quote1function

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	216	17,9	19,5	19,5
	Head of state	18	1,5	1,6	21,1
	Head of government	26	2,1	2,3	23,5
	Parliament	17	1,4	1,5	25,0
	Government member	123	10,2	11,1	36,1
	Opposition member	16	1,3	1,4	37,6
	Regional/local politician	17	1,4	1,5	39,1
	Politician from other country	12	1,0	1,1	40,2
	Politician from international organization	2	,2	,2	40,4
	Representative of military	37	3,1	3,3	43,7
	Political NGO's	8	,7	,7	44,4

Other	48	4,0	4,3	48,8
Representative of bank/finance	14	1,2	1,3	50,0
Representative of Private company	36	3,0	3,3	53,3
Representative of State company	30	2,5	2,7	56,0
Representative of international economic organization	4	,3	,4	56,4
Labor union	4	,3	,4	56,7
Trade organizations	18	1,5	1,6	58,4
Other	9	,7	,8	59,2
Academics and experts	61	5,0	5,5	64,7
Journalist	22	1,8	2,0	66,7
Representative of religion	6	,5	,5	67,2
NGO's etc.	11	,9	1,0	68,2
Other	37	3,1	3,3	71,5
Victim/affected people	82	6,8	7,4	79,0
Witness	7	,6	,6	79,6
Demonstrator	16	1,3	1,4	81,0
Other	36	3,0	3,3	84,3
President	20	1,7	1,8	86,1
Coach	15	1,2	1,4	87,4
Athlets	83	6,9	7,5	94,9
Audience	5	,4	,5	95,4
Other	13	1,1	1,2	96,6

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Artist	13	1,1	1,2	97,7
	Actor	3	,2	,3	98,0
	Author	2	,2	,2	98,2
	Other	5	,4	,5	98,6
	71	15	1,2	1,4	100,0
	Total	1107	91,5	100,0	
Missing	System	103	8,5		
Total		1210	100,0		

Table 10: Tenor of quotes

TenorofQuote1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very negative	87	7,2	7,8	7,8
	Somewhat negative	141	11,7	12,6	20,4
	Positive to negative	59	4,9	5,3	25,7
	Neutral	344	28,4	30,8	56,5
	Negative to positive	67	5,5	6,0	62,5
	Somewhat positive	274	22,6	24,6	87,1
	Very positive	144	11,9	12,9	100,0
	Total	1116	92,2	100,0	
Missing	System	94	7,8		
Total		1210	100,0		

Table 11: Tenor of news item

TenorofSource1

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Very negative	93	7,7	8,6	8,6
	Somewhat negative	141	11,7	13,0	21,5
	Positive to negative	64	5,3	5,9	27,4
	Neutral	314	26,0	28,9	56,3
	Negative to positive	94	7,8	8,6	64,9
	Somewhat positive	263	21,7	24,2	89,1
	Very positive	118	9,8	10,9	100,0
	Total	1087	89,8	100,0	
Missing	System	123	10,2		
Total		1210	100,0		

Table 12: Date and station crosstabulation

Date * Station Crosstabulation

Count

		Station							Total
		RCTI	TVRI	TV3	TV1	MRTV	Thai	Mode	
Date	01.09.2013	13	27	28	29	14	31	23	165
	02.09.2013	18	22	29	28	16	39	18	170
	03.09.2013	10	20	33	34	15	41	34	187
	04.09.2013	21	24	26	13	17	45	21	167
	05.09.2013	18	17	32	33	17	43	26	186
	06.09.2013	15	8	24	17	12	42	39	157
	07.09.2013	7	20	31	23	15	38	26	160

08.09.2013	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	18
Total	102	138	203	177	124	279	187	1210

Table 13: Theme and station crosstabulation

Theme1 * Station Crosstabulation

Count

		Station							Total
		RCTI	TVRI	TV3	TV1	MRTV	Thai	Mode	
Theme1	None of the above	0	0	2	3	2	28	11	46
	Politics	26	40	76	60	71	18	35	326
	Economics and Finance	11	22	22	30	9	40	43	177
	Culture	7	8	10	9	2	4	9	49
	Sports	3	1	31	27	15	65	45	187
	Society	44	49	30	33	9	68	26	259
	Environment	9	15	18	10	9	38	10	109
	Science and Technology	2	3	8	2	7	15	5	42
	Religion	0	0	6	3	0	3	3	15
Total		102	138	203	177	124	279	187	1210

Table 14: Protagonist and station crosstabulation

Protagonist1fieldofaction * Station Crosstabulation

Count

		Station							Total
		RCTI	TVRI	TV3	TV1	MRTV	Thai	Mode	
Protagonist1fieldofaction	No protagonists/quotes	1	13	0	0	0	0	0	14
	Politics	21	88	74	67	74	67	58	449
	Economics	4	11	25	24	7	43	27	141
	Society	16	8	30	30	10	48	24	166
	Citizen	52	16	38	26	15	39	20	206
	Sports	3	0	28	24	12	58	44	169
	Culture	5	2	8	6	1	7	6	35
	Other	0	0	0	0	0	17	8	25
Total		102	138	203	177	119	279	187	1205

Table 15: Quote field of action

Quote1fieldofaction * Station Crosstabulation

Count

		RCTI	TVRI	TV3	TV1	MRTV	Thai	Mode	Total
					Station				Total
Quote1fieldofaction	No protagonists/quotes	7	13	103	93	0	0	0	216
	Politics	23	73	43	37	24	67	58	325
	Economics	3	17	11	12	1	43	27	114
	Society	18	16	16	11	3	49	24	137
	Citizen	43	16	12	10	2	39	20	142
	Sports	3	0	17	13	1	58	44	136
	Culture	5	3	1	1	1	6	6	23
	Other	0	0	0	0	0	17	8	25
Total		102	138	203	177	32	279	187	1118

Table 16: Mean and standard deviation of news length in each station

Report

Length

Station	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error of Mean
RCTI	102	86,48	43,509	4,308
TVRI	138	123,58	62,885	5,353
TV3	203	99,20	79,828	5,603
TV1	177	117,05	85,697	6,441
MRTV	124	96,97	71,560	6,426
Thai	279	105,81	185,119	11,083
Mode	187	92,34	77,562	5,672
Total	1210	103,76	110,416	3,174

Table 17: Theme and time length

Report

Length

Theme1	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
None of the above	46	80,89	55,064
Politics	326	117,38	91,791
Economics and Finance	177	116,50	117,241
Culture	49	105,22	65,747
Sports	187	73,83	53,054
Society	259	99,57	113,274
Environment	109	99,52	136,373

Science and Technology	42	79,10	69,920
Religion	15	267,73	420,819
Total	1210	103,76	110,416

Table 18: Protagonist field of action vs length

Report

Length

Protagonist1fieldofaction	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
No protagonists/quotes	14	114,14	49,727
Politics	449	114,48	105,128
Economics	141	101,12	86,469
Society	166	115,77	149,758
Citizen	206	101,28	139,758
Sports	169	72,84	54,156
Culture	35	96,71	67,444
Other	25	80,84	60,413
Total	1205	103,78	110,592

Table 19: Quote field of action vs length

Report

Length

Quote1fieldofaction	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
No protagonists/quotes	216	84,22	60,258
Politics	325	116,18	112,185
Economics	114	103,55	89,711
Society	137	127,19	161,633

Citizen	142	126,03	167,857
Sports	136	68,26	52,062
Culture	23	112,48	66,206
Other	25	80,84	60,413
Total	1118	104,62	113,175

ORGANISATIONAL ANALYSIS MEDIA IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON MEDIA

The more people discuss about media and media have become a field of academic research and teaching, the more it becomes complicated to describe what media does mean. It is a typical example for a synthesized term loaded with connotations. Depending on the communicative frame the meaning differs quite widely, as I will show later on. The synthesis and meddling concerns already the term itself. It is Latin but comes from Greek. Its initial meaning was middle or mediating. The middle of the polis was the Agora where all citizens met for joint decision making about the polis that is politics. The middle or centre of politics was the common good.2 This meaning of middle and mediating is still kept when speaking of a medium. In spirit media-cults f.e. the medium is mediating between the people and the spirits. Now, who or better what is the medium, when we speak of broadcasting media?

In sociology money and power are discussed as media as connections between unintended actions of persons.3 They are as well "in-between" and mediating. Money is the mediation between buyer and seller, or between producer, trader and consumer. Through the use of the medium money these are connected and related to each other, even though nobody has any intention towards a relationship. While money is the medium within the market-economy, power is mediating actions within the administration. In any administration decision making competences are unequally distributed, and we have a relation between a superior who can make decisions, and minors, who have to follow these decisions. In addition we have laws and regulations. Thus, any act within an administration or formalized organisation is connected to other acts within the administration, and finally, through law making, to the legislative and political power relations. These media are connected to the rationalities of the respective systems. They do not themselves form either a rationality or a logic of themselves. Monetary exchange is linked to a profit-rationality, not to a "money-logic".

Are broadcasting media as well such a means to enable co-ordination of unintended action? As a simple example: I have never decided to learn German. It just happened because I was born in Germany to German parents, as many others with whom I can thus easily communicate. Language in this sense is a "medium", in-between persons, which at the same time provides a means for

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2 This reminds of Eisenstadts argument on processes of institutionalization. Institutions evolve from a public sphere around the definition of a common good.

3 Any form of social action is based on intentions that are linked to some forms of rationality, which provides meaning for the actor. However, due to contingencies in interaction any act has unintended effects and consequences, or is connected to unintended aspects.

communication among selected persons and it evolves from communication as an unintended effect.4 Following this perspective media are unintended effects of communication, which then form a basis and a means for intentions of communication. As a result, media are oscillating between facilitating and limiting communication. As facilitators of communication, they allow for a "surplus of meanings" due to contingencies of connotations, because any word and any symbol means more than what is directly said or shown. This allows for dynamics of change.5 At the same time they limit communication to what can be understood and comprehended. Any meaning that is not understandable gets ignored and any meaning that does not fit the techniques of media cannot be communicated.6

With regards to broadcasting media the similarity as "in-between" like money etc. is even more expressed. But, in-between what are these media? On one hand we have producer of information, which might be news, entertainment etc., and audiences. Although the producers have an audience in mind, just like any trader or producer hopes to find customers, whether communication works or not is not pre-defined. Media are disseminating information for an audience, but the individuals can select whether or not becoming part of such an audience and thereby gain access to the information. Thus, the sender refers to a generalization, an audience, not individuals, while the individuals select whether they want to become part of an audience or not, and of what audience. They individually select information provided as interesting for them or not. Thereby media links persons as part pf an audience with those producing the information.7

In a radical way, we can say that only what is communicated is real, or, reality is created in communication. Communication shapes our interpretations, based on which we construct our world. This world view or interpretative frame is verified or falsified again through communication. Increasingly communications goes beyond the own experiences. Especially media provide information beyond own experiences. In this way, our own world is increasingly shaped by communicated experiences rather than own experiences, and we cannot verify or falsify the information. This leads to the impossibility to differentiate between reality and image. (Baudrillard). As a consequence, we cannot distinguish between experiences in real or hyper-space, or experiences made by the body and imagined experiences created by media. In fact, often the image is far stronger than reality, because the image is communicated in a comprehensible

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4 This reminds of Giddens argument concerning social structures as virtual structures. They only become real to such a degree that they are applied in acting. Similalrly, institutions can be taken as "virtual" regulatives of acting that only exist as regulations, if social acting follows them.

5 Castoriadis metaphor of society as a volcano "spitting out meanings" fits this quite well.

6 This rather simple issue is at the core of media as a means of propaganda and manipulation or of media as means of enlightenment and liberation.

7 Quite often this un-intended relation becomes intended, when the information producers turn into "media stars", to whom persons of the audience develop virtual often emotional relations.

way. It includes explanations, while reality does not explain itself. This power of media to affect interpretations is the base for mediatisation. However, communication is more than media. Furthermore, is it media that has such power or is it the power to control media or establish interpretations as generally valid?

Communication is based on institutions through which shared meanings and mutual understandings of connotations are established like language, education and of course, media As such communication is closely connected to communities, groups etc. that can understand each other. Media are means to facilitate the flow of information. But these means imply selection of information (what can technically be transmitted) who can select the information and who has the control over the resources needed by media etc. In this perspective, media themselves are a contested field.

MEDIATIZATION

Media have to mediate between those sending a message and an audience receiving it. The medium are the technical gadgets facilitating this kind of communication and the media organisations. Media is thus neither the sender nor the receiver, nor is it communication, but flows of information. In this sense media are neutral. They do not by themselves produce meaning, select information etc. One recent discussion in media studies concerns the questions whether media do have an own logic, and in how far this media-logic defines politics etc., a process referred to a "mediatisation". Lilleker (2008) argues that that the media shape and frame processes and discoursse of political communication as well as the society in which that communication takes place (Lilleker, 2008). Mediatization in this way points out that the social construction of reality proceeds with and through media. For Hjarvard, (2008) media form an institution that exerts an influence over other institutions by submitting these under a "media-logic". The term media logic refers to the 'institutional and technological modus operandi of the media, including the ways in which media distribute material and symbolic resources and operate with the help of informal rules' (Hjarvard, 2008: 113). Later, the reference to media-logic is taken back again, as Hjarvard (2012) indicates: "Mediatization generally refers to the process through which core elements of a social or cultural activity (e.g., politics, religion, and education) become influenced by and dependent on the media' (Hjarvard, 2012: 30).

The dominance of media can hardly be overlooked. Definitely much of what a person perceives about the world is shaped by media. Therefore if something should be known to wider masses of persons be it a product, a political programme or politician, media are crucial to transmit information with the respective interpretative frame. But can we thus argue that media are dominant, or are media a tool? In how far is "mediatization" itself a simulacrum produced by models and ideologies? One might even apply Marx here. Mediatization revives an idealistic understandings of the world and of processes of change. However, it is not changes of

interpretative frames of and within media to change the world. Adopting thesis eleven, I would say, journalists provide different interpretations of the world. However, interpretations don't change the world.

FIELDS AND SOCIETY

Speaking of un-intended action implies intentions. Intentions are always connected to interests and the ability to realize interests, in other words, power. Although in society we have individuals, most actors are larger figurations like communities, groups, movements or organisations. These aggregates of individuals can be regarded as "single" or institutional actor because they imply coordination and attunement among its members. In a university, f.e. we have people that share some common traits, namely to gain knowledge, to earn a living, to do interesting work, etc. All members of a university have in common that they value knowledge quite highly (more than f.e. money) and want to have some free space in which they can pursue their interests. Of course although the university dominates our life to quite a large degree (contects to friends, place of spending life-time etc.) not all our individual interests, demands etc. are limited to the university, but we all have some life outside of it as well, and often are members of other organisations as well like sports club, family, etc. In most cases it is less the individual that acts, but individuals within organisations. Not the least because organisations can exercise more power and has more resources than an individual. Thus, it makes sense to look at organisations when looking at intended actions.

When we shift the perspective from individuals towards organisations or institutional actors, strategies become relevant. These strategies concern first of all:

- Legitimacy, legality of the organisation itself what implies recognition of the interests associated with the organisation,
- Control over and extension of resources connected to the organisation,
- Enhancement of status and societal position to increase its power,
- Ability to act

As long as resources are limited, status hierarchical and both define power in the sense of ability to follow strategies, we necessarily have competition and struggles among organisations. These struggles are connected to certain areas, topics etc. that are disputed. In a general way, we can define these as "fields of strategic action". Some are only relevant for some actors during some time, others are always relevant for all actors. Especially the first issue, legitimacy and legality is crucial and regulated by the state that defines what is legal. Legitimacy as well as status etc. is defined by society while the control over resources has connected to the economy. Accordingly, the state or better some parts of it are such fields, as is society and the economy.

In a perspective of fields, media play a particular role. Again, I understand media as un-intended consequences of intended action in communication. Organisations communicate with each other in fields which the y contest. As un-intended consequence, parts of the information are disseminated outside of the field itself f.e. by media. Media are as well, as mentioned before a powerful means to frame world views, and thus legitimacy and status. In this way, media themselves are a contested field within the competition among organisations to influence and impact on communication.

The structuration of the field is connected to strategies of organisations and their respective interests especially with regards to the 4 points raised above. To get continuity, the field is supposed to be stabilized by institutionalization like f.e. laws, common acceptance, formalization etc.

From this angle, mediatisation is resulting from strategies of f.e. media organisations to dominate media, or media are dominated by other organisations and rationalities.

BROADCASTING MEDIA AS A STRATEGIC FIELD IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Due to technical issues like the need for a special infrastructure of stations etc. and the dominance of state power, media were state owned and controlled in Southeast Asia. The state was more or less overlapping with the elites and accordingly, political power implied dominance of media that were used as a means to disseminate state ideologies. The overlapping of state and elite meant that propagating the state was propagating the elite and vice versa. Since the late 80th this undisputed unity between state and elite was challenged by big business. The more business was able to separate itself from state ownership and state control, the more it was necessary that ideologies legitimizing business were spread. Because the bureaucracy and military tended to still exercise strong control over state owned media, privatisation of media was regarded as a way out. Thus, political strategies were applied, together with international organisations to allow for private media stations. In addition, private media was itself a welcome source of profits.

In difference to the state and elite as well as business, who were acting on a national level, NGO had their strength either with regard to specific communities or groups or local issues. Strengthening these communities was high on their agenda. One way for that was communal radio outside of state and business control.

If we look at the current situation in Southeast Asia we find a mix between state, private and communal media stations.

	Myanmar	Indonesia	Thailand	Malaysia
Policy and structure				
	Freedom of media, but censorship of broadcasting Licences have to be applied for from the state Censorship should be abandoned No foreign media	Freedom of media Compulsory programmes on nation building and development Private media licenced Forms of censorship/control usually based on religious grounds	Freedom of media in the constitution. Control by independent organisation (NBTC) Privatization	Freedom of media Private media licenced by the state
Structure and Organization				
	Broadcasting widely state controlled (military) Since recently private broadcasters "underground" reception of broadcasters	Private and government radio and TV stations Private are connected to big business	TV controlled by state organisations (military). Private providers with licence. These are larger companies. Communal radio wide spread	Private and government radio and TV stations Close links between government and private media providers

Myanmar	Indonesia	Thailand	Malaysia
Ownership			
State owned	Pubic and private stations some local/regional stations First stations owned by Suharto family	Mixed system. State owned or private	Mixed system
Trends			
Perhaps less state control of broadcasting	Importance of national satellite TV Censorship body still exists to control "public morality" Court cases as political instrument	National media are either state owned or by large entertainment enterprises. Communal radio as (ambivalent) alternative Party connected media (Blue Sky) Enhanced role of the NBTC (digital TV etc.)	Increasing importance of satellite TV Continuous control by the leading parties and their private media business

The situation in Southeast Asia indicates that mediatization is not wide spread yet. In contrast, media is used as a tool, as a means within strategies. In addition, the coalition between state based groups and business groups to form an integrated elite, implied the subjugation of media under the strategies to maintain their power and position. Perhaps mediatisation requires an established public sphere, and mediatisation is nothing else then the dominance of the public sphere by media. The overlab between published and public opinion, which of course implies the end of public life. As long as such a public sphere is not yet institutionalized in Southeast Asia, mediatisation is not an issue.

The organizational structure is one of the frames of media. State broadcasting differs form private business or from community stations, due to the functions of the respective organizations.

THE STATE AS MEDIA PROVIDER

The function of the state is societal integration and control. Both is based on ideologies to enhance state legitimacy. Depending on the political structure of the state, whether we have an authoritarian or democratic regime, critique is either taken as challenge or as a means to enhance legitimacy. It is important to distinguish between state and government. The state covers the administration as well as legal system, and the legislative institutions like parliament, cabinet etc. The basis for state legitimacy is its connection to a societal consensus concerning the common good. This can be procedures, policies etc. as well as substantial goods.

There are a few common goods that are self-evidently connected to the state. Firstly it is security from external enemies (military) and internal security (police) as well as calculability based on laws. For this the state is given the monopoly of force including violence. These can be extended by f.e. welfare (welfare states), economic opportunities, providing the frame for markets etc.

Through media the state is informing the people as well as framing information in such a way that these either reflect a consensus or provide the impression that a consensus exist. A problem in authoritarian states is their usual lack or limited legitimacy. In this case the repressive apparatus' play a role. Instead of facilitating public discourse which always implies critique, repression is applied. Media are important for all states due to the link to common good, consensus and integration. For the state it is important to reach the citizen and use media to disseminate its working as well as its demands of the people.8 Media is thereby on of the "mediations" between state and citizen.

To achieve integration and security the state has to be able to "control". On one hand control works through the apparatuses like military, police, courts etc. On the other hand, control implies the control of media based on the laws and organisations to regulate media. Due to the control-logic, media are used in a one way system that is the state stations provide the information to the audience. In centralized states, the media are accordingly highly centralized as well. As such the tendency is that information becomes one-sided. Furthermore, media can be abused for propaganda.

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8 Here the famous saying of J.F. Kennedy has to be mentioned: „Ask not what the country (state) can do for you, ask what you can do for the country (state).

Especially after independence, the state in southeast Asia faced the problem to integrate multi-cultural, multi-ethnic countries, where large remote regions were more or less outside of the control of the state. The official media engaged in "nation-building in the sense that a consensus among those politically active was defined as general societal consensus and disseminated by the media. Those politically active were those that were involved in political decision making and thus the elites or parts thereof. As a result any critique of media, consensus etc. was taken as critique of national unity as well as any critique of the elites was regarded as challenge of national unity.

The way to solve the problem of a too close link between state and media has been solved in Britain and Germany by establishing independent media organizations, financed by own sources and fees.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISES AS MEDIA PROVIDER

Private enterprises are integrated into the economy. The rationality of an economy is utility maximization and profitability. The economy is regulated by the market that is supposed to be independent from non-market interferences. As Polanyi notes, the market as self-regulating. For this media play a role as means of information as well as means for generating profits. Often this is indirect in the sense that media enterprises provide a service for others like advertising etc. Media enterprises are often part of larger conglomerates. The basic issue for media enterprises is to generate a profit which comes from an interdependency between gaining a share of the audience and willingness of other companies to provide funding for f.e. advertisements. Of course, the state can as well be a customer of media enterprises. The contents is regulated by the market based on audience share and share of advertising. Both correlate in the sense that a large audience attracts more advertising and vice versa.

Based on this profit-orientation of private media, enlightenment through information dissemination does play a minor role if at all. Furthermore like state based media it is a one way affair, although less centralized. One problem is monopolization of media. One dynamic of markets is monopolization or dominance of markets. This can happen with media as well.

In southeast Asia a wave of privatization of media happened especially in the ninetieth. However, most of the private media are bigger enterprises.

MEDIA AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The main function of civil society is to generate and express a social consensus and define a common good. While the state is based on power, the economy on money and profits, civil society is based on communication. In this way civil society is most closely interwoven with media. In fact, media started as newspapers or later as broadcasting media with the rise of middle classes and civil society. As pointed out before, civil society is not homogenous at all but usually highly diverse.

This diversity combined with media allows for information pluralism. Instead of monopolies of the state or private conglomerates and centralized one way structures, civil society facilitates de-centralization and diversity.

The importance of civil society is to some degree reflected in the organisation of public media in Germany. The stations are organized quite similar to NGO. The media laws including the constitution state explicitly that any monopolization or state interference is impossible.

In Southeast Asia this is reflected in the importance of the internet, of which the main users are middle classes, and communal radio like in Thailand.

MEDIA AND THE INTERDEPENDENCIES BETWEEN STATE, ECONOMY AND CIVIL SOCIETY

The three poles of state, economy and civil society are interdependent and imply tensions. The state aims at control, while the economy aims at de-regulation. The state creates collectives (nation), while the economy produces individuals. Civil society aims at diverse collectives based on consensus and solidarity. Both are crucial for the state and economy, but both challenge civil society as well. In these tensions, media can play an important, even crucial role. They can make the tensions open to the public and thereby an object of discourse and thus for dynamic consensus formation.

A problem in Southeast Asia is that the interdependencies lead to overlaps and limited differentiation. In Malaysia for example the government-parties hold political power over the state and are owners of private enterprises. As a result, the difference between private and state media gets blurred. In Indonesia during the authoritarian period under Soeharto the private media belonged to his son. Again, the differences are dissolved. In these cases civil society usually loses and becomes object of manipulation from the economy as well as the state.

So far, the development of media in Thailand is the most advanced. With the establishment of the NBTC as independent public organization, the control of the state or market over media is reduced. The communal radio stations are as well potential facilitators of civil society. However, the problem is how these are financed. Here perhaps some projects of the NBTC to support non-commercial non-party etc. communal broadcasting might be useful.

ASEAN IDENTITY AND ASEAN MEDIA POLICY

Introduction

According to Article 1 (14) of the ASEAN Charter, one of the purposes of ASEAN is to "promote an ASEAN identity through the fostering of greater awareness of the diverse culture and heritage of the region" (ASEAN 2007). The agreement for the promotion of cooperation in mass media and culture of 1969 was the first document which recognizes the pivotal role of the media for the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to achieve this purpose. It includes the idea of broadcasting programmes to promote the aims, purposes and activities of ASEAN in every member country and thus foster the institutions popularity among its people (ASEAN 1969). Later declarations and programmes have further specified the ASEAN media policy. While the Declaration of ASEAN Ministers Responsible for Information includes the agreement to deepen the cooperation between ASEAN member states media sectors (ASEAN 1989a), the programme for the Enhancement Of ASEAN Cooperation in the Television, Radio, Film And Video Areas, and the Programme For The Enhancement Of Press Cooperation Among ASEAN Countries, offer the specific details for the cooperation. The former agreement focuses on the exchange of TV Programmes and the broadcasting of ASEAN songs in the radio (ASEAN 1989b), the later one encourages member states national press to promote the paramount goals of ASEAN and greater ASEAN-awareness among its peoples, (ASEAN 1989c). What all of these programmes and agreements have in common, is the idea of promoting ASEAN Identity through the media.

The role of Media in building ASEAN Identity

The ASEAN Ministers responsible for Information (AMRI) restated their commitment to this principal during their Joint Media Statement at the 11th AMRI in 2012. According to them, "both the new and traditional media would continue to play a significant role in the dissemination of information to the peoples of ASEAN, subsequently connecting them beyond their borders and bridging the cultural gap" (ASEAN 2012). It is therefore not surprising, that the concept is also included in the blueprint for the ASEAN Socio-Cultural community (ASCC), which represents the most ambitious, as well as the most ambiguous of the three pillars towards achieving an ASEAN Community from 2009 until 2015. The ASCC blueprint includes six sections, respectively on Human Development, Social Welfare and Protection, social justice and rights, environmental stability, building an ASEAN identity and narrowing the development gap. Especially within the documents section E on Building ASEAN Identity, the media is continuously stated as an important mean in terms of identity building efforts (ASEAN 2009, p. 341). The goal of Section E of the ASCC blueprint is to "Create a sense of belonging, consolidate unity in diversity and enhance deeper mutual understanding among ASEAN Member States about their culture, history, religion, and civilisation." (ASEAN 2009, p. 340). ASEAN identity shall thus be forged through cooperation between state governments and the media, in order to publicize ASEAN programmes with a focus

on those, which deal with arts and culture. This also includes sporting events, such as the SEA and the PARA Games (Ibid., p. 341). Furthermore, it encourages the cooperation of different ASEAN members media personnel, in order to promote greater understanding of cultural diversity and enhance cultural tolerance. In line with this goes the encouragement of adequate medial exposure of interfaith dialogues (Ibid., p. 341). Similar exchanges as between the media personnel are expected within the television industry, in order to spread information about cultures and arts of the ASEAN countries, as well as having a more balanced media content (Ibid., p. 341). Additionally, the ASCC Blueprint aims to increase public awareness about cultural heritage, i.e. sites and practices through the media (Ibid., p. 342). In terms of implementation mechanisms, the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Council is set up und held fully accountable for the successful implementation of the ASCC blueprint, whereas the ASEAN Secretariat obtains a supervisory role (Ibid., p. 344).

Challenges for the Building of ASEAN Identity

It should be mentioned that one trademark of the ASEAN way of consensus building is the usage of rather ambiguous terms in their policy papers. Thus while some member states may have interpreted the terms above in a very progressive manner, others may have construed it quite differently (Feigenblatt 2012, p. 248). This might present difficulties within the establishment of a common ASEAN media policy, as well as of a common identity, especially with regard to the enormous diversity in terms of language, religions and cultures in the region (Asciutti 2010). The reason for this ambiguity is the unevenness of the media landscapes in South East Asia, which has proven to be a difficult factor in the past. This includes that media, which is produced in some member countries, would have to be censored in others due to constitutional differences. Furthermore, policy papers such as the ASCC blueprint do not necessarily represent the wishes of the people, but rather the voice of governmental elites. The ASEAN in particular, has historically favoured the nation-state as the most important instrument of regional government (Feigenblatt 2012, p. 242). This raises the issue of the ASEANs many multi-ethnic societies, in which there has been a struggle over the definition of "national", and "minority culture" (Feigenblatt 2012, p. 264). Governments promoting minority cultural artefacts would thus run the political risk of weakening majority claims in terms of national culture primacy (Funston 2010). Another challenge within the mediated promotion of cultural heritage in order to foster ASEAN identity is the relatively recent establishment of the boarders of the ASEAN states. The boarders do therefore not necessarily reflect actual ethnic dividing lines. The result of this is that some cultural sites where created by ethnic groups other than the national majority within the respective state. Also, there are cultural sites, which were established by defunct nation states, or have changed ownership from one country to another over the years. The promotion of these cultural sites could as a result cause more conflict then it would cause identity building (Cuasay 1998; Hinton 2006).

Implementation

n spite of the challenges described above, ASEAN has recorded notable success in terms of the implementation of the ASCC blueprint. As stated by the Prime Minister's Office of Brunei Darussalam, completed and ongoing projects address 96% of the actions mentioned in the Identity Building section of the ASCC blueprint (The Cambodia Herald 2013). In terms of media policy addition, the Ministers responsible for information stated at their joint media statement on March 3rd, 2012 in Kuala Lumpur, that they supported implementations such as the joint production of a television series entitled 'Colours of ASEAN' in High Definition. Furthermore, the ministers voiced satisfaction regarding the ongoing implementation of the ASCC blueprint, especially in terms of existing television and radio programmes such as the ASEAN Quiz, the ASEAN News Exchange (ATN) and the ASEAN in Action (AiA) (ASEAN 2012). All of these Actions taken have also been mentioned positively in the ASEAN annual report 2013-2012, which gives an equally promising evaluation of the implementation progress (ASEAN 2013, p. 65).

Conclusion

The ASEAN media policy until today has mainly been regarded as a mean to promote the ASEAN and an ASEAN identity within the peoples of its member states. The ASCC can be seen as a clear example for a document established through ASEAN as it makes numerous compromises in order to avoid some of the issues stated under Section 3. In spite of the ACC blueprint being a moderately superficial agreement, the member states expresses a clear will to establish an ASEAN community. It can therefore be stated, that the process of South East Asian integration and identity building will most likely continue to be a slow but steady one. With regards on what has been achieved in the past, the ASEAN way will possibly evade enough issues, to achieve increasing consensus on an increasingly common media policy and a strengthened ASEAN identity.

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Diversity of broadcasting media in Southeast Asia certainly is quite large, reaching from communal stations to private and state owned national stations and programmes. Nevertheless certain pattern prevail like the dominance of either state/government dominated stations combined with large private stations. In this regard the idea of media to be independent from close associations to governments, political parties or large private organisations (monopolies) is not yet wide spread and even less so realized. The NBTC in Thailand as an independent public organisation is an exemption and perhaps something like a first step into the direction of public, independent media regulation.

Turning to the contents in all cases national news during the selected week either politics or sports are the main items. The selection depends strongly on what is currently taken as relevant for the audience by the producers. That sports played such an important role in Thailand was not the least due to the performance of the Thai team at the SEA-Games. Similarly it can be assumed that a football world-championship would make sports most important news items. Currently sports will be less relevant in Thailand compared to the protests in Bangkok. However, these are minor news items in other countries. Information about the ASEAN neighbours in general still is very limited. This might change with enhanced integration during the coming years.

Interesting is in how far we have some indicators of a correlation between organizational pattern and contents. The diversity of broadcasting media in Thailand and Indonesia indicate a larger pluralism. However, this pluralism is less in terms of information about others, but more in the sense to serve the respective audience. In contrast, in Myanmar and Malaysia the government is far more dominant with regards to media either for the state run stations or the private stations that tend to be connected to the main party or leading politicians. This limits pluralism and f.e. the opposition relies far more on internet and social media.

In terms of content regulation we have three main pattern:

1. In Thailand the NBTC as independent public organisation has the task to regulate. However, several organisations do not contact the NBTC first for any complains, but tend to make these public. Thereby the NBTC has to react rapidly, and often without sufficient time to clarify the matter. This is particularly problematic, if the issues are connected directly or indirectly to wider political issues. Under the current circumstances many cultural and moral questions (Thaines etc.) are used as political issues. Thus, any activity of the NBTC connected to complains of such a type turn into political commentary. This potentially challenges the independence of the NBTC.

2. In Malaysia and Myanmar the organisational frame itself with its very close connection to the government is an implicit form of regulation.

3. In Indonesia the diversity of the country itself allows for more openness, However, there, similar to Thailand extra-media organisations like parties, religious groups etc. try often success fully to impact on the stations and media content.

In sum, the main problem in Southeast Asia is that media are still controlled and strongly influenced by organisations and groups outside of the media field. Certainly what is discussed as mediatisation does not at all describe the a situation we find there. On the contrary, media are not "independent", but structured by society, politics and the economy. The contestations of organisations and groups within the "field of media" reflects to a large degree the figuration of strategic groups within the countries. This leads to question in how far media are applied as a

means for strategic groups, or whether media can play a role to control and integrate strategic groups.

In how far media are means for national integration is a difficult question and can hardly be answered. Media provide information but exclude these as well. The problem in Malaysia and Myanmar, where we have stronger government control is that audiences turn to other sources of information like internet, satellite TV, rumours etc. In Thailand and Indonesia radio and TV are the main sources of information for the people, but these tend to be fragmenting. People are only following those programmes and are interested in those information that is in line with their own interests and interpretations. As a result media can even widen the gulf within society.

One obvious trend in all countries, although to a far lesser degree in Myanmar is that new more individualized media like internet, facebook etc. and a larger selection of stations by satellite TV becomes more relevant. That this trend is not yet as strong in Myanmar is due to technical limitations. These are two contradictory but interdependent trends:

1. Internet, facebook etc. leads towards individualization and a form of re-construction of "village"-communities in a virtual space, where everybody is able to create his or her own programme. This virtual reality can become quite removed from what happens in "real" reality. Potentially it might challenge something like a social consensus in favour of individualization and orientations towards virtual communities.

2. Satellite TV allows to "globalize" media consumption. This might enhance empathy and cosmopolitical orientations. However, it can trigger as well identification with global communities.

The two trends of individualization and globalization have in common that they are beyond forms of national regulation. In addition, those media depending on advertising to finance themselves have to take these shifts into account to maintain their audience. In general the requirement is that the quality of national programmes has to improve. This means that issues have to be taken up that are beyond a limited national perspective. It implies as well that the stations have to open themselves for critique, be it critique of the government, of morals taken for granted etc. In fact, they have to educate people how controversies can be made without leading to emotions and hate etc. In short, the media stations have the task to show what rules are crucial for controversies and to handle conflicts based on mutual respect. So far, this is a field widely ignored by the media. They tend to have the tendency to either ignore interpretations and opinions different from the own, or to dis-credit these as nonsense, against conventions etc.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. The NBTC is a special form of organisation for the regulation of media in Southeast Asia. In many ways it can be taken as exemplary. This has three implications for the NBTC:

   a) The NBTC has to develop exemplary forms of media regulation based on its independence from the state and economy. It has to show that this independence allows it to improve pattern of media organisations and of media content.

   b) The NBTC has to engage on an ASEAN-level. On long term perspective might be that similar organisations are set up in the other ASEAN countries and in the longer run these can form an ASEAN umbrella as a way to coordinate media regulation on the ASEAN scale. The experience of the EU indicates that without such national initiatives such a body is to be formed in a top down approach in the sense that the EU, or in this case ASEAN will set up an organisation or conference which is far less integrated into national media fields. An initiative based on independent bodies like the NBTC would reflect more of a "bottom" up approach in the sense that the respective national organisations form an ASEAN commission or conference for the coordination of media development.

   c) The NBTC should take up a role as "educator". On one hand this means to "educate" audiences. Provide information but beyond this as well educate with regards to controversial issues and rules how such issues can be discussed. In short it is a task to educate mutual recognition and empathy. This might require special programmes as it has to be both entertaining and informing. On the other hand, it has to educate media providers. One aspect of this "education" is as well to provide information on the ASEAN neighbours. In this regard we have an overlap with what is discussed under 2

2. The data presented in the study indicate the importance of the organizational structures for media content. It shows as well that challenges of the content through f.e. internet and global media (satellite) have to be taken care of and might affect the organisations as well, not the least by losing or reduced audiences. In addition, economic, cultural and political development lead to new interests and aspirations of the audiences as well as new forms to satisfy these new demands. Media organisation therefore have to be "learning organisations" to be able to adapt to such changes. Learning goes beyond training courses or business consultations etc. Learning implies changes of mind sets and cognitive structures of those involved in media production. Here state related media have a potential advantage as they are less depending on profits and can develop new formats, styles etc.

3. The above brief discussion of mediatisation indicated that media reflect societal dynamics. The question is whether they can as well affect societal dynamics. In any case, media play a role for the so-called "self-reflection" of society. This sounds more complicated as it is. Self-reflection is already if media take up issues in news or entertainment that are currently en vogue, relevant or taken as interesting by the audience. Besides such an non-reflected self reflection, media should engage in reflected self-reflection. This is that media have to identify how in society politics, culture etc. is perceived and discussed. These shall be taken up by media and their rationality made explicit. In short, in their discussions different groups tend to limit an issue to one or two dimensions. The task of media is then to show the multi-dimensionality of such issues. To give an example. Drug abuse is an important issue. One argument is that drug abuse is done by naughty kids who do not obey their parents. Another argument is that drugs are abused to be accepted by a peer group. A further argument is that drug abuse results from neglect of the kids by their parents, as these have to work hard to make ends meet etc. How can these arguments, (and a few more) be integrated f.e. in a series, special programmes etc.

4. Formats and ways have to be found to enhance ASEAN media cooperation. ASEAN integration is going to proceed on an accelerated scale, not the least due to economic necessities of the countries of the ASEAN region. This has to be taken up by media organisations in the double sense of coordination between organisations and of providing information about ASEAN. Here, may be some experiences from the EU could be of help. Since several years there have been special EU wide game shows where teams from different cities compete, usually in a funny way. A more recent example is the joint French-German programme ARTE. Furthermore regularly movies or series from other EU countries are shown and joint series are in the making. This is an important field for the NBTC to engage in.

5. As has been shown in the diagrams, the field of media has become far more complex then it was before. Besides state owned media, we now have private media enterprises, often civil society connected communal stations, satellite TV that provides access to global programmes and the internet. The problem is that all the organisations have different rationalities (profitability, information dissemination, self-presentation etc.). The emergence of media as a fields within ASEAN makes matters even more complex. The question is whether this complexity leads towards fragmentation of the field, and how integration, and on what level (regional, national or ASEAN) can be maintained or rather achieved. Certainly, specific ways of regulation with regards to the organisations are required. What works well for state programmes is usually not applicable for private stations and even less so for communal stations. Thus, differentiated ways of

documentation and regulation are needed. Furthermore, it has to be agreed upon, what structures are required to enhance integration on the base of complex diversities.

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