



Yogyabarta - Indonesia,  
November 21 - 22, 2012

# PROCEEDING OF JOGJA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON COMMUNICATION



## COMMUNICATION IN CULTURE : WHOSE CULTURE ?



**Proceeding of Jogja International Conference on Communication (JICC)  
“Communication in Culture: Whose Culture?”**

**Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 21-22 November 2012**

**Editors:**

**Prof. Dr. Abu Hassan Hasbullah (Malaysia)  
Dr. Jessica Raschke (Australia)  
Dr. Mike Hayes (Thailand)  
Dr. Subhan Afifi (Indonesia)  
Dr. Basuki Agus Suparno (Indonesia)  
Prayudi, PhD (Indonesia)  
Agung Prabowo, M.Si (Indonesia)**

**Design & Layout :  
Kartika Ayu Ardhanariswari, S.Sn  
Kurnia Arofah, M.Si  
Winantiyo, S.Sos**

**ISBN : 978-602-18913-0-8**

**Published by :  
Komunikasi UPN Press, 2012**

**JICC 2012 is conducted by Department of Communication Studies,  
Faculty of Political and Social Sciences,  
University of Pembangunan Nasional “Veteran” Yogyakarta  
and the Indonesian Journal of Communication Studies (IJCS)**

**JICC Secretariat:  
JI Babarsari No.2 Yoyakarta 55281, Indonesia  
Phone: (+62 274 485268)  
Email : [jicc\\_upnyk@yahoo.com](mailto:jicc_upnyk@yahoo.com)**



**Jogja International Conference on Communication**

<b>Susilastuti DN</b> Media as The Theatrical Stage For Political Elites	281-288
<b>Aryanta Nugraha</b> Media and Foreign Policy: the Case of Indonesia and Malaysia relations	289-298

#### **Cultural Communication, Organization, Public Relations and Marketing**

<b>Maylanny Christin</b> The Implementation Of Cultural Approach In Marketing The Telecommunication Product (A Case Study of Telkom Company Marketing Communication in Southeast Sulawesi Indonesia)	301-309
<b>Iis Kurnia Nurhayati</b> Slogans And University's Image: The Use of English in Universities' Slogans in Developing the Image of The Universities (A Case Study in Private Universities in Bandung, West Java, Indonesia)	310-321
<b>S Kunto Adi Wibowo</b> Online Newsroom Management: A Case Study from Siemens Indonesia	322-333
<b>Dr Ismail Sualman et. Al.</b> Smokers' Cognitive Dissonance Towards Fear Appeal Advertising On Cigarette Packs	334-349
<b>Ririn Risnawati</b> Service Quality As Interpersonal Communication To Maintain Guest Satisfaction	350-368
<b>I Gede Adiputra</b> Working Environment And Communication Climate Have Effects Upon Performance Of Lecturers At Faculty Of Economy In Tarumanagara University	369-383
<b>Suhaila N, et al.</b> Relationship Between Interpersonal Communication, Superior-Subordinate Communication And Communication Barriers With Communication Satisfaction Among Support Staff In University Putra Malaysia	384-402
<b>Agus Triyono and Suhariyanto</b> The Constribution Of Village Tourism In Increasing Inter-Regional Communication	403-410
<b>Kinkin Yuliati</b> Relationship Patern between Leadership Image and Organization Leadership Style with Public Trust (an Explanative Survey: the President RI: Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, 2011)	411-425
<b>Yohannes Ari Kuncoroyakti, Andika Witono and Manik Sunuantari</b> Tourism Communication Review in Local Cultural Perspective	426-440



## THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN INDONESIAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS MALAYSIA

**Aryanta Nugraha**

Department of International Relations, UPN "Veteran" Yogyakarta

Email: Aryanta.n@gmail.com

### **Abstract**

This article seeks to examine the impact of Indonesian media on the Indonesian foreign policy formulation towards Malaysia. Indonesia has undergone political transformation that has not only resulted in a new political order, but also leads to broadening actors that participate in the formulation of foreign policy. As media gained more freedom and independent undeniably mass media plays a pivotal role in the flow of information from the international events to domestic public. Using policy-media interaction model built by Piers Robinson, this paper argues that Indonesian media plays important role in Indonesia foreign policy decision making towards Malaysia, although considered as not directly. This paper shows that the indirect role is related to the media function as agenda setter in political debates as well as its role to promote interests of groups of society.

**Keywords:** media, Indonesian foreign policy, Malaysia

### **Introduction**

Following democratization process, Indonesian media gained more freedom and independent. This political transformation has not only resulted in the new political order, but also led to broadening actors that wanting to participate in all policy-making process (Iisgindarsah, 2012). The greater freedom of press contributes to the more assertive role of the media in articulating the aspiration of the society. Undeniably mass media gained its salience as one of the most important political communication channels of input as well as output in decision making process both in domestic and foreign policy. Regarding to foreign policy, Indonesian media has also been playing a pivotal role in the flow of information of the international events the decision makers and the public. Natalegawa (2011) stated that 'media is a pillar of foreign policy and diplomacy'. Media is also the primary source of Indonesian foreign policy and diplomacy to domestic public. As the media coverage is the main information source for the public on certain international issues, to some extent, this will potentially influence public opinion and the public's foreign policy preferences. If the foreign policy decision makers respond to the public opinion (based on the media coverage) it is very reasonable to conjecture that the media has power to influence to shape the foreign policy outcome.

One of the most contentious issues in foreign policy that gained public saliency is Indonesia foreign policy towards Malaysia. Much has been said that bilateral relations between Indonesia and Malaysia in the post-Soeharto era are more complex and problematic (Holst, 2007, Wardhani, 2008, Khalid & Yacob, 2012). Several problems such as territorial disputes, migrant labour, and cultural feuds are amongst problematic issues that put the two countries into strain relations. Many argued that asymmetric pace of democratization and economic development contributes to the ups and down in bilateral relations (Wardhani, 2008, Kelana & Hara, 2009, Khalid and Yacob, 2012). Democratic opening has been rapidly happened in Indonesia, while Malaysia is still lack behind. Malaysia, however, more developed



economically than Indonesia. Asymmetry in both countries internal conditions affected the bilateral relations, both at government to government (G to G) and people to people (P to P) level.

Mass media is often mentioned as one of key factors that has been putting the two countries relations into negative pace. Indonesian media has been accused for reporting sensational news that triggered tensions between people and governments in two countries Indonesian media has also been accused as the narrators that provoke anti-Malaysia mass rallies in Indonesia as forms of protest to Malaysia behaviour towards Indonesia (Khalid and Yacob, 2012). With a greater freedom in hand, mass media began to play assertive role in blowing up sensitive issues that influencing emotional feeling of Indonesian people. It could be understood since Indonesia in democratization era witnesses a sudden large increase number of electronic and printed media. To some extent, Indonesian media position has been influenced by new parameters such as ratings, business interest and political interests of the media.

Although there is reasonable understanding that Indonesian media has been instrumental in influencing recent development of Indonesia and Malaysia relations, the role of media in affecting Indonesia's foreign policy towards Malaysia has not been deeply studied. It is the contention of this paper to investigate the role of media in shaping Indonesian, and influencing foreign policy towards Malaysia. It however a very early study and only covers macro perspective in interpreting media content instead of strict methods media of framing.

### **Does Media Influence Foreign Policy: CNN Effect vs Manufacturing Consent**

Mass media plays important role in political process as it channels information of events to citizen. As the primary conduit between events, policymakers and the public, undeniably media has become the most important source of information that in turn will develop public opinion. It however, puts media into two opposite positions regarding to its impacts towards public. On the one hand, media is considered as neutral political player and represents one of important parts in democratic politics. Thomas Jefferson once stated in 1787 "were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter" (Evans, 1992). On the other hand, media is also depicted as biased due to its political views. According to this argument, media often covers negative and sensationalistic news to win bigger share of readers, listeners or viewers as well as advertisement. In contrast to President Lincoln statement, another American president, Quincy Adams, describe media reporters as "assassin who sit with loaded blunderbusses at the corner of streets and fire them off for hire or for sport at they may select" (O'Heffernan, 2001).

Theoretically, there are two potential roles that mass media can play in political process. The first is "agenda setting". Agenda setting is related to media coverage regarding to certain political issues. By emphasizing coverage on one or two issues over other issues at a given time and what other issues should be neglected, media pulls the concerns of the politicians and the citizen about the issues. At this stage, media induces public opinion and political choices that should be addressed by the political system. Another potential role of mass media is media "framing". It relates to how media portrays the events. In the framing process, media employs certain frames which form its perspective in bringing news to its audience. By using a certain story line, symbols and other stereotyping, media creates the images and in turn 'construct' reality. However, there are still questions should be addressed; what determine which events get extensive coverage while other events get little or no coverage? Why journalists pay attention to a certain issue?

There has been a long debate on the relationships between media and foreign policy, particularly on what is the impact of the media towards the decision making process in foreign policy. The debates culminated in two opposite theoretical stands that trying to explain this matter, the so called “CNN effect” that underlines big potentials of media effects on foreign policy and “the manufacturing consent” theories that hold pessimistic view regarding the role of the media (see for example, Naveh, 2002).

### **CNN Effect**

News media, according to the “CNN effect” supporters, has huge power so that it has ability to “move and shake the governments” (Cohen, 1994: 9). The CNN effect represents the influence of the development of television news as a new kind of real time reporting from anywhere in the world. This communication technology can have striking images of events of the world such as starvation in some parts of the world, natural disaster, or wars. Dramatic images of real time reporting can have huge impacts to domestic audiences that demand for quick response from the government. At this stage, there will be conflict between ‘temporary emotional responses’ from the public with a more well thought consideration of foreign policy officials, regarding what policy or action should be taken related to the external events covered by the television news. Regarding this situation Livingston and Eachus (1995) argued that ‘elite decision makers (often) loss of policy control to news media’. This view was derived from the experience of Western countries, particularly the United States intervention during the humanitarian crises. Jacobsen (2000) and Livingston (1995) argued that the media has driven the Western government to intervene militarily in humanitarian crises. Accordingly, Harmon (1999) also showed that horror footage of February 1994, “market massacre” in Sarajevo, has real-time effect to the United States’ foreign policy, since the US let NATO to issue ultimatum towards the Bosnian Serbs that led to offensive force of NATO against the Serbians.

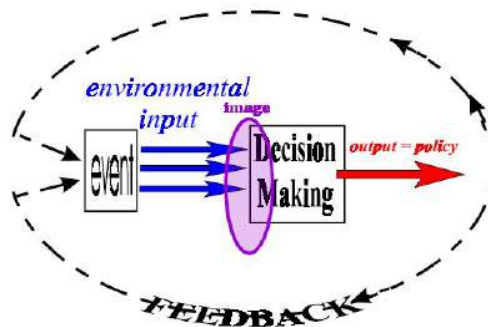
Regarding the relations between media and foreign policy, some effect CNN researchers have different conclusion. Matthew Harmon finds that the CNN effect exerts its influence in two important ways: first, as a catalyst, and the second is as a watchdog (Harmon, 1999; 2). As a *catalyst* means that with its real-time speed in reporting news or events, the media could force the government to make a quick response to a certain foreign issue. At the same time, the government officials have more time to adjust of the policy through rhetoric. If it continues without resistances, it could strengthen the focus of the foreign policy. As a catalyst also makes the conduct of foreign policy more transparent and democratic at some stages since the diplomats and military forces are reviewed by the media. Media as *watchdog* means that the media could force the government to explain and building support in the conduct of foreign policy. The policymakers could employ the real-time reporting of the media by using a certain frames to obtain public support. On the contrary, if the policymakers fail to build a concrete and well-established policy, the media will carry out the lack defined policy by criticizing it and put forward the policy preference of the government’s opponents (opposition). Furthermore the media closure of the ill-defined foreign policy, government officials will find criticisms, or open petitions from the public to change the policy.

In a similar vein, Jacobsen (1997) describes CNN effect role in foreign policy in three effects: first, media as accelerant, in which media shorten the time to make a decision to respond a certain foreign events. Media can also become a medium of sending signal to the opponent in time of conflict with foreign opponent. Second, media as an impediment, in which media could become inhibitor of government policy when it undermines public support through its coverage. Third, media as an agenda setting agent, which

believes that media coverage, will put some events or issues as important foreign policy agendas and drives for fast responses from the government.

The ‘CNN effect’ of media to impact foreign policy is inseparably related to media coverage. The bigger coverage, it would likely to have a faster and direct impact. The ‘CNN effect’ of media is also inextricably from media framing. Media creates images and filters reality in foreign policy decision making process. The news media, therefore, sets up the environment for decision making process in foreign policy. As Naveh (2002) argued that the media is involved in all stages of foreign policy formulation process in which the CNN effect theory relates to the creation of environment that supply data and information for the government officials in decision making process. The figure below presents the CNN effect as the creator of environment for decision making process.

Figure.1 Media, CNN effect and decision making process



Source: Chanan Naveh (2002), ‘The Role of Media in foreign policy decision-making’, *Conflict and Communicayion policy online*, vol 1. No. 2, p. 4.

Although the mass media has increasingly powerful and become independent actors, especially in the United States political stage, it is too exaggerated to describe the effect as direct ‘cause-effect’ since the media does not control the foreign policy. The CNN effect theory suggests that the ability of media to influence foreign policy is as catalyst or accelerant, watchdog or impediment and as agenda setter. Instead of having direct influence and or controlling the foreign policy making the relationship between media and foreign policy is far more complex in it remains in the ‘black box’. The CNN effect is also hard to be applied in non-western countries where the explosion of media technology has not reach a similar level with the western countries’ media. The relations between media and foreign policy in western countries therefore may not be accurate to be applied in non-western countries.

**Manufacturing Consent**

The importance of news media coverage in shaping foreign policy responses has raised doubt about the validity of media in influencing and shaping government foreign policy making. The so called manufacturing consent theory argues that rather than create foreign policy, news media is mobilized into supporting government policy (Robinson, 1999). This theory highlights the ability of government to influence the news media and the tendency of journalists to perceive the events through the cultural and

political perspective of the political and social elites. In short, manufacturing consent theory maintains that news media instead of influencing, as being influenced by government policy (Robinson, 2001; 525).

There are two version of manufacturing consent theory. The first is executive version. In this version news content conforms to the official agenda and the news content reflects the frame of reference of members of executive. According to executive version, news media do not purpose to confront or challenge the executive policy agenda. A Research by Robert Entman, *Framing the US coverage of international news: contrast and narratives of the KAL and Iran Air incident* (1991) showed that in the case of Korean Air and Iran Air shoot downs in 1980s, news media frame in the US followed the executive frame regarding the cause of the shoot down. In the case of Iran Air shoot down, the US was responsible and framed as technical failure, while for the Korean Air shoot down, the Soviet Union was responsible and framed as moral infuriate (cited from Robinson 2001; 525-526). The executive version, therefore, underlines that the executive policy interests avert news media influences on foreign policy.

Another version of manufacturing consent theory is elite version. According to this version, news media coverage conforms to the perspective of political elites in wide-ranging whether executive, legislative, or other influential political figures in society. A book by Daniel Hallin, *The Uncensored War* (1986), found that during the Vietnam War, the news media played a challenger role to official US foreign policy. According to Hallin, it happened after some political elites in the US shifted and divided over the US policy on Vietnam. News media coverage reflected the split and sounding opposition to the Vietnam War (cited from Robinson 2001; 526). Robinson added that in any political issues news media coverage often reflect the elite consensus or legitimate controversy amongst elites. A significant point of elite version in manufacturing consent theory is that news media that criticizes executive policy come about when there is elite conflict regarding the conducted policy. At this stage news media coverage has ability to influence the process of decision making in foreign policy, since there is conflict over a given issue (Robinson, 2001; 527).

The manufacturing consent theory has been criticized as vague since it considers media and audience as inactive. It also judges the audiences are easy to be manipulated and paying no attention to the reality behind the framing and the media coverage, while critical contents of the media is just considered as elite disagreement. In short, manufacturing consent theory argues that the relations between news media and foreign policy formulation are mostly sounding and mobilizing government policy.

### **Policy-Media Interaction**

In the middle of the debate between CNN effect and manufacturing consent, Piers Robinson offers policy-media interaction as a new approach to understand more clearly the impact of media to foreign policy decision making. Policy-making is a process that involves complicated political bargaining between actors. A solid and a definite policy represent actors' consensus and harmony between branches of government, conversely policy uncertainty relates to a degree of elite dissensus or disagreement.

Media would likely to have possibility to influence policy if there is uncertain policy or elite dissensus on a given issue (Robinson, 2001; 534-535). Policy uncertainty is related to several factors. First, there is disagreement amongst executive members over a policy that causes policy uncertainty. Second, policy uncertainty is the result of there is no policy at all regarding a given issue. When there is policy uncertainty, media coverage could take side by employing frame perspective of one side of elite debate. In this case media coverage may provide new information that adds new source in bargaining power amongst actors in seeking policy direction. Media coverage on policy uncertainty will have effect on policy making because of;



first it will influence bad public opinion to the government performance; second, it will damage the government image; and third, the government will improve the effectiveness of policy making. It is therefore, the higher level of policy uncertainty, the more exposed of the media coverage towards policy process. The figure below shows the policy-media interaction model built by Robinson.

Figure 2. Policy-Media Interaction Model

Degree of elite Agreement	Media-executive relationship	Role of the media
Elite consensus	Media coverage on consensus	Media become sounders of official policy (executive manufacturing consent)
Elite dissensus	Media coverage on elite controversy	Media reflects elite disagreement (elite manufacturing consent)
Elite dissensus plus policy uncertainty within government	Media takes sides in political debate, employing one side framing and become active actors in decision making process	Media influences the direction of government policy ( not just in terms of policy result, but the political contest in process of policy making)

Adapted from Robinson (2001), ‘Theorizing the influence of media on world politics; models of media influence on foreign policy’, *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 16, no. 4, p. 536).

There are two important aspects that could be drawn from the model above. First, the combination of policy uncertainty and critical media coverage would likely to lead media influence on foreign policy. Instead of being passively sounding the government voice, news media becomes active participant in elites debate by adopting an oppositional view from the executive during policy uncertainty. At this stage news media might play influential role in foreign policy making process. Second, during policy uncertainty, news media could also play independent role in political contest by promoting particular interests of groups in society that seek to challenge authorities and to make a political change. The media covers processes in which non-elites perspective also gain press coverage, and at this stage, the policy challenger groups could set media agenda to influence the foreign policy outcome.

Compare to CNN effect and manufacturing consent theory, media-policy interaction model provide a more useful theoretical tool to understand the relations between media and foreign policy formulation. Instead of continue to debating the effect or non-effect argument, this model shows that media influence would likely to be significant in the case of elite debate over foreign policy in a given issue. This model also highlights the potentials of news media to promote non-elite perspectives and interests over a certain foreign policy issues

**Media in Indonesia Foreign Policy towards Malaysia**

Does Indonesian media Indonesian plays role in influencing indonesia's foreign policy formulation? If it so, what kind of influence that has been played by Indonesian media? Applying policy-media interaction model on the role of Indonesian media on Indonesian foreign policy towards Malaysia, it shows that media plays important role in Indonesia-Malaysia relations, although largely considered negative in terms of putting the two country relations into dynamic tensions. It was acknowledged by the director of LKBN Antara,



Saiful Hadi who stated that media has triggered the two countries into spat due to the interests of the media's owner ('Media Picu Ketegangan RI-Malaysia', ([http://www.waspada.co.id/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=219763:media-picu-ketegangan-ri-malaysia&catid=17:nasional&Itemid=30](http://www.waspada.co.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=219763:media-picu-ketegangan-ri-malaysia&catid=17:nasional&Itemid=30)).

Taken unresolved issues such as territorial dispute, migrant workers and cultural disputes all together, Indonesian media contents are generally framed by nationalism and patriotism. Since 2002, Indonesian media has become more assertive and give saliency on Indonesia-Malaysia relations. The media contents are also framed by the intention to build a sense of belonging, that undeniably putting Malaysia as opponent if not enemy (Yusuf, 2012). The Malaysians have often been posed as "arrogant", new rich country and even stealer, while at the same time showed that Indonesians are the "jealous" one (Bayuni, 2010). Instead of being neutral, Indonesian media coverage began actively promoting nationalism spirit and sometimes recall back the idea of *ganyang Malaysia* (crush Malaysia) from the Soekarno era. It is not surprising, if Malaysian Foreign Minister, Anifah Anam irritated and with what she called sensational news that has provoked anti-Malaysia rallies in Indonesia ('Malaysia gerah dengan berita dari Indonesia', <http://fokus.news.viva.co.id/news/read/173744-malaysia-gerah-dengan-berita-dari-indonesia>).

The media, however could be categorised as provocative when framing Indonesia-Malaysia relations. Noor (2009) describes The Jakarta Post, Tempo and Republika as relatively objective in coverage of the issue, and different articulations have been written in their editorials, giving a balanced coverage of the Malaysia-Indonesia tension. He also categorizes Metro TV and tabloid papers as provocative and play a noticeable role in developing the impetus of the anti-Malaysian campaign.

In the case of Ambalat, Indonesian media played influential role and even become active participant in promoting nationalism and patriotism as well as sounding government policy. Following the concession of the area around Ambalat given from Petronas to Shell while the Indonesian diplomatic note did not gain so much attention from its counterpart, media coverage leaned towards nationalist groups in political debate to call the government for a more formidable policy towards Malaysia. It was shown in how the media framed the news at time of Ambalat crisis. Media pressures were believed as one of the most significant factors that led to firm policy towards Malaysia. Media depicted the navy deployment to Ambalat commanded by President SBY in 2005 and highlighted that it was the right policy that should be done by the government ('Sengketa Ambalat dimata Media', <http://www.semestanet.com/2007/11/09/sengketa-ambalat-di-mata-media/>). A studi by Amelia (2009) based on *Kompas online* shows that media appraised that policy, and the government positively represented. On Ambalat case and other territorial issues, the media mostly played as CNN effect as intensifier in pre-crisis situation by blowing the media coverage to public. The media also played as manufacturing consent, particularly when the executive took strong stance to Malaysia.

Nevertheless, in migrant issues and cultural feuds, that considered as grey area issues, the Indonesian policies are largely framed by the media as weak and undecisive. In the case of 'cultural stealing' issue for example, media kept pressure the government from July to September 2009. Triggered by Malaysia tourism advertisement on the Discovery channel that perform a segment on the Pendet dance of Bali. This was seen by the Indonesian media as another instance of Malaysia 'stealing' elements of Indonesian culture (Noor, 2009). The advertisement was later apologized for the error and admitted that it was done by a non-Malaysian company, and not the Malaysian government to blame for the fault. However, media coverage has already justify anti-Malaysia public opinion that led to massive rallies in many cities in Indonesia. The same pattern also occurs when there is bad incident experienced by Indonesian workers in Malaysia. In short, there is policy uncertainty in which leads to elite dissensus,

proving by so many controvertial statements voiced by elites, mainly from political opponents that aspire a tougher policy against Malaysia.

From policy-media interaction, it can be casted that media has taken side by employing executive challenger elites' frame perspective. Since 2009, Indonesian political stage witnessed the emergence of middle right polical parties that articulate a new form of nationalism. Parties such as Gerindra led by Prabowo and Hanura led by Wiranto focus mainly on issues of national interest. Gerindra, for example appeals to the electorate on the basis of a rehabilitated nationalism that sought to restore the national pride of the country and there is strong intention to bring Indonesia back to old time when it was a formidable power in the region. Other competitor of SBY government is Megawati. She blame SBY as unconvincing to defend the rights and interests of Indonesian workers in Malaysia. On the issue of Ambalat, Megawati also accused SBY of to Malaysia unsatisfactory and not defending the integrity of Indonesia as a nation-state (Noor, 2009). SBY himself always states that Indonesian sovereignty is a final price but the dispute shall be resolved through peaceful diplomatic table. The dark cloud of diplomatic solutions is considered unsatisfactory and led to war of opinion and political debates between elites that enjoy highly media coverage. Media also perform as agenda setter, since not rarely the debates has been set by the media.

Media also sought to play as promoter of groups in society interests that seek to challenge what they cast as government lame policy. By keep on informing and give view points of the conditions of migrant workers and variety issues on Indonesia and Malaysia relations, it give momentous time for so many migrant workers related NGOs such as Migrant Care, anti-Malaysia campaigning NGOs such as *Benteng Demokrasi Rakyat* (Bendera), *Barisan Muda Betawi*, *Relawan Ganyang Malaysia* and *the Relawan Pembela Demokrasi* (Repdem), to run pressures to the government. The emergence of NGOs that articulated strong policy and sometimes war against Malaysia added complexity of actors in formulating policy to in respond to certain issue against Malaysia. Although it is hard to find evidence, the moratorium of sending migrant workers to Malaysia, signed by Man Power and Transmigration Minister in 2009-early 2012, was the result of political pressures in which media through its coverage ('RI lifts moratorium on Sending workers to malaysia', <http://www.antaraneews.com/en/news/78109/ri-lifts-moratorium-on-sending-workers-to-malaysia>). Indonesian government also began more responsive to anticipate the emergence of any cultural disputes by preparing short, medium and long strategy to protect Indonesian heritage ('RI prepares three strategies to face Malaysia's cultural Claims', <http://www.antaraneews.com/en/news/83103/ri-prepares-three-strategies-to-face-malaysias-cultural-claim>). It should be noted, however, the criticisms towards SBY policy relating to Malaysia are not solely a matter of foreign policy *per se*. It is also parts of complex domestic politics competition. Taking Malaysia issues as a fragile policy of SBY government, the challenger would expose the weak side of the government. Issue relating Malaysia is often used as pressures to attack the government, not only on foreign policy sphere but also other policy domain. Nevertheless, based on policy-media interaction model, in the case of Indonesia-Malaysia relations, media plays it function as agenda setter for political debates between elites that would likely influence the direction of Indonesia policy against its neighbour.

## **Conclusion**

This paper shows that in theory, media so many potentials to influence foreign policy. While direct influence of media in foreign policy is hard to be proved, this paper maintain that media plays significant yet indirect role in foreign policy decision making. Indonesian media is not as string as the US media to make a CNN effect regarding a certain external issue, though Indonesian media now enjoys freedom and

independency. Indonesian media, however, is not solely become the amplifier of executive policy. Based on policy-media interaction model, this paper shows that the role of the media in Indonesian foreign policy began from its critical coverage to several unresolved issues between the two nations. Due to lack of decisive policy, media take sides in the political debates, setting the agenda of debate while at the same time promoting the interests of marginal groups. The foreign policy towards Malaysia becomes highly debated and the government encounters so much pressures from competitor elites and groups of society demanding popular policy. The ban to send migrant workers abroad and a more responsive diplomacy towards Malaysia are parts of the result of media roles. Nevertheless, this research should be tested in detail and case by case to find a more comprehensive relations between the media and foreign policy.

## References

### Books and Journals

- Cohen, Bernard (1994), 'A View from the academy', in W.L. Bennet & D.L. Paletz (eds), *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion and US Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*, Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Evans, Garreth (1992), 'Opening Address to the University of Canberra Faculty of Communication Conference on Media Images of Asia/ Australia: Cross Cultural Reflections, 27 November.
- Harmon, Matthew. T (1999), 'The Media, Technology and The United States Foreign Policy: A re-examination of CNN Effect', *Sword and Ploughshares*, Vol. VIII, no. 2.
- Holst, Frederik (2007), "(Dis-)Connected History The Indonesia-Malaysia Relationship," in Eva Streifeneder and Antje Missbach (eds.), *Indonesia – The Presence of the Past. A festschrift in honor of Ingrid Wessel* / Berlin: regiospectra Verlag, pp. 327-340.
- lisgindarsah, 2012, *Indonesia's Democratic Politics and Foreign Policy-Making: A Case Study of Iranian Nuclear Issue, 2007-2008*, RSIS Working Paper, Singapore: S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies
- Jacobsen (2000), 'Focus on the CNN Effect Misses the Point: The Real Media Impact on Conflict Management is Invisible and Indirect', *Journal of Peace reseach*, vol. 2, no.1.
- Kelana, Musafir, Abubakar Eby Hara (2009), "Quo-vadis Kekerabatan Malaysia-Indonesia?", *Jurnal Komunikasi Massa*, Vol. 2 No. 2 January , pp. 97-111.
- Khalid, Khadijah Md. & Shakila Yacob (2012), "Managing Malaysia-Indonesia Relations in the Context of Democratization: The Emergence of Non-State Actors", *International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, pp. 1-33.
- Livingston and Eachus (1995), 'Humanitarian Crisis and US Foreign Policy: Somalia and the CNN Effect Reconsidered', *Political Communication*, Vol. 12, no. 4.
- Natalegawa (2011), 'Annual Press Statement Of the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, 7 January 2011
- Naveh, Chanan (2002), 'The Role of the Media in Foreign Policy Decision Making: A Theoretical Framework', *Conflict and Communication online*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2002
- Noor , Farish. A(2009), 'Malaysian-Indonesian Relations and the 'Cultural Conflict' between the Two Countries', RSIS working paper, Singapore: S Rajaratnam University
- O'Heffernan, Patrick (2001), 'Sobering Thought on Sound Bites Seen Round The World', *Default Slugline*, 2 July.



- Robinson, Piers (2001), 'Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy', *European Journal of Communication*, vol. 16, no. 4
- Wardhani, Baiq L.S.W (2008), "Trends in Indonesia-Malaysia Bilateral Relations in Post Seharto Period", paper for the International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities (ICoSSH'08), University Sains Malaysia, in Penang 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> June 2008.

### **Internet Sources**

- Bayuni, Endi (2010), 'Commentary: Malaysia's arrogance versus Indonesia's envy',  
<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2010/09/04/commentary-malaysia%E2%80%99s-arrogance-versus-indonesia%E2%80%99s-envy.html>
- Yusuf, Iwan.A ( 2012) Konflik Ambalat, Nasionalisme, dan Wacana Keberpihakan Media',  
<http://bincangmedia.wordpress.com/tag/kasus-ambalat/>
- 'Media Picu Ketegangan RI-Malaysia',  
([http://www.waspada.co.id/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=219763:media-picu-ketegangan-ri-malaysia&catid=17:nasional&Itemid=30](http://www.waspada.co.id/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=219763:media-picu-ketegangan-ri-malaysia&catid=17:nasional&Itemid=30) )
- 'Malaysia gerah dengan berita dari Indonesia', <http://fokus.news.viva.co.id/news/read/173744-malaysia-gerah-dengan-berita-dari-indonesia>
- 'Sengketa Ambalat dimata Media', <http://www.semestanet.com/2007/11/09/sengketa-ambalat-di-mata-media/>
- 'RI lifts moratorium on Sending workers to malaysia', <http://www.antaranews.com/en/news/78109/ri-lifts-moratorium-on-sending-workers-to-malaysia>
- RI prepares three strategies to face Malaysia's cultural Claims',  
<http://www.antaranews.com/en/news/83103/ri-prepares-three-strategies-to-face-malaysias-cultural-claim>