

A Critical Analysis of Reforming LPP TVRI as a Public Communication Medium in the Digital Era

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ABSTRACT

This article critically examines the implementation of Government Regulation (PP) No. 13 of 2005 concerning Public Broadcasting Institutions (LPP) of the Republic of Indonesia Television (TVRI) in the last two decades. This study assesses the effectiveness, challenges, and institutional transformation of LPP TVRI in facing an increasingly complex digital media landscape. Through a policy evaluation approach and an analysis of the content of institutional documents, this study reveals the gap between normative mandates and implementation practices in the field. The findings show that the reform of LPP TVRI has not been fully adaptive to the demands of digitalization and public participation. In addition, the emergence of Government Regulation No. 4 of 2024 strengthens the urgency of updating the paradigm of public media governance in Indonesia. TVRI's reform as a public communication medium in the digital era requires more open, innovative, and accountable governance.

Keywords: LPP TVRI, Public Broadcasting, Media Reform, Digitalization, Policy Evaluation, Public Communication.

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INTRODUCTION

The journey of public broadcasting institutions in Indonesia cannot be separated from the dynamics of post-New Order political democratization. In the midst of a wave of reform, the public demands a public media free from the dominance of state power and the pressure of the media industry. TVRI, which was previously a state-run broadcasting institution, is expected to become a new, democratic, independent, and participatory entity through its transformation into LPP TVRI.

Broadcasting reform in post-New Order Indonesia was marked by the passage of Law No. 32 of 2002 concerning Broadcasting, which aimed to democratize the national broadcasting system. As an implementation of the Law, Government Regulation No. 13 of 2005 stipulates the transformation of TVRI into an independent and non-commercial Public Broadcasting Institution (LPP). However, along its journey, LPP TVRI faces various challenges

in realizing this vision, especially amid the rapid development of digital technology and ASO (Analog Switch Off) policies that require migration from analog to digital broadcasting.

Government Regulation (PP) No. 13 of 2005 is an essential milestone in TVRI's transformation from a state broadcasting institution to a public broadcasting institution (LPP). However, after 20 years of implementation, questions have arisen about the extent to which the reform has succeeded in realizing TVRI as an independent, professional, and responsive public communication medium in the context of digital technology and community needs. This study aims to critically examine the implementation of these policies in the context of changing media ecosystems.

METHOD

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FINDING AND DISCUSSION

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Digitalization, ASO Policy, and TVRI's Organizational Readiness

Digitalization in the broadcasting sector has been officially accelerated by the analogue switch-off (ASO) policy mandated in the Job Creation Law (Law No. 11/2020), which amended Law No. 32/2002 on Broadcasting. The implementing regulations require that all analogue terrestrial television transmissions end by no later than November 2, 2022. Kominfo divides ASO into three stages, starting on April 30, 2022, in 56 service areas across 166 districts and cities. By June 2023, analogue broadcasts had been fully switched off in 288 out of 514 towns and districts (or 140 out of 225 broadcast areas), showing that the

transition remains uneven across the archipelago. At the same time, the national coverage of digital TV signals reached nearly 80 percent of the population, according to Nielsen data cited by the Ministry of Communication and Informatics, while one industry report noted that only about 35 percent of households were equipped with digital terrestrial television (DTT) receivers, with a goal of nationwide coverage by the end of 2025. These figures indicate that, from a policy perspective, Indonesia has taken a decisive step toward digital broadcasting. However, from a user and infrastructure perspective, the transition is still underway and geographically unequal.

Within this national framework, TVRI serves a dual role as both a content provider and a multiplexing (MUX) operator. Kominfo reports that, as of 2023, TVRI operated 95 digital transmitters, while private broadcasters operated 227, supporting 678 television stations that had migrated to digital broadcasts in 112 service areas covering 341 districts and cities affected by ASO. Open data from TVRI further indicate an ongoing expansion of digital transmission units, including specific allocations for “3T” (frontier, outermost, and underdeveloped) regions, which are crucial for fulfilling its universal service mandate. Meanwhile, procurement documents for multiviewer systems and other digital monitoring equipment financed by the 2023 state budget suggest that TVRI’s digital infrastructure is still under active construction rather than fully consolidated. Significant capital expenditure is required simply to ensure basic technical readiness across its network. This highlights a structural tension: TVRI is expected to be the backbone of the digital terrestrial ecosystem, yet its own infrastructure upgrades remain incremental and heavily reliant on annual state budget allocations.

Public Participation, Accountability, and Deliberative Governance

From a regulatory perspective, the governance structure of LPP TVRI includes several formal points for public participation and accountability. Law No. 32/2002 and its implementing regulations on public broadcasting specify that the Supervisory Board (Dewan Pengawas) is a body representing society, the government, and the public broadcasting institution itself, tasked with overseeing the achievement of the public mandate. Essentially, this structure adopts a corporatist model of representation, where “the public” is represented indirectly through board members rather than through direct, routine engagement with audiences. Meanwhile, TVRI is legally required to operate as a transparent, efficient, and corruption-free organization that provides services “quickly and accurately,” and it must also be periodically accountable to the public for the use of public funds. These provisions align with principles of good governance and deliberative public administration, where citizens are not only media consumers but also rights-bearing stakeholders entitled to information, explanations, and redress.

In practice, TVRI’s accountability mechanisms are strongest in the areas of formal performance and information disclosure but are much weaker in dialogic participation. TVRI runs a Public Information Transparency Officer (PPID) portal that regularly publishes audited financial statements, institutional performance reports (LKJIP/LAKIP), and other “periodic information,” including service standards and public service announcements. As

part of these obligations, TVRI conducts annual public satisfaction surveys (Survei Kepuasan Masyarakat, SKM), whose results show generally positive overall scores. The 2023 national SKM recorded an index of 83.974 for TVRI, categorized as “good,” while some regional stations, such as TVRI Nusa Tenggara Timur, reported indexes above 95 with a service quality grade of “A” (perfect).

These instruments show that TVRI does gauge audience satisfaction and publishes the results, meeting a basic standard of accountability through survey-based feedback and public reporting. However, from a deliberative governance perspective, these mechanisms remain mostly unidirectional and technocratic. Studies on public service broadcasting in Indonesia highlight that public involvement is still mediated by elite-controlled structures like supervisory boards and regulatory agencies. At the same time, ordinary citizens have limited influence over programming choices or editorial standards. Research on public information disclosure further notes that, among Indonesian government agencies, the fulfillment of transparency obligations is generally low, and TVRI is expected—but not yet fully capable—to serve as a model for open government communication.

In TVRI’s case, “participation” is often limited to satisfaction surveys, complaint channels, and occasional consultations, rather than to ongoing forums where different social groups collaboratively define what counts as public value in broadcasting. Consequently, TVRI’s role in the democratic public sphere remains limited: it provides information and some avenues for feedback but has not established interactive spaces—online or offline—where citizens can discuss content, examine editorial decisions, and jointly develop programming agendas. To strengthen TVRI as a deliberative public service media, it is necessary to move beyond compliance-focused reporting and foster more meaningful, inclusive, and continuous public engagement.

DISCUSSION

Law No. 32 of 2002 concerning Broadcasting became the main legal foundation for broadcasting reform after the New Order. This law signifies a major shift in Indonesian broadcasting: from a centralized, state-controlled system to a democratic, multi-participant one. In line with reform efforts, this law identifies three types of broadcasting institutions: public, private, and community broadcasting. From this law, Government Regulation No. 13 of 2005 was established, explicitly governing the operation of public broadcasting institutions, including TVRI. This regulation is a normative derivation that aims to embody the spirit of media democratization found in its parent law. However, in practice, this regulation faces challenges in interpretation and resistance from the old system, which has not been fully transformed.

One of the purposes of Law No. 32 of 2002 is to ensure that public broadcasting is independent and free from government and market intervention. However, reality shows that the institutional design of LPP TVRI, as stipulated in Government Regulation No. 13, still does not fully guarantee this autonomy. The provisions regarding the appointment of the board of directors and the supervisory board, which remain centralized in the government, provide a weak guarantee of LPP's structural independence.

On the other hand, Law No. 32 has not been comprehensively updated to address digital dynamics and media convergence. This has led to a lag in regulating the digital ecosystem, particularly regarding over-the-top (OTT) platforms, content distribution algorithms, and internet-based distribution systems. This lag has direct implications for LPP TVRI's challenge to navigate the digital space with substantial legal certainty.

Digital transformation in Indonesia is further accelerated by the national policy of Analog Switch Off (ASO), which officially began implementation in 2022. ASO is a concrete manifestation of the transformation of the broadcasting system from analog to digital, aiming to enhance broadcast quality, increase frequency spectrum efficiency, and expand public access to high-quality broadcasting. This ASO policy presents a golden opportunity for LPP TVRI to make a strategic leap in transformation. However, as noted in the policy implementation evaluation approach, LPP TVRI is not fully ready in terms of infrastructure, human resources, and digital content strategy. Digitalization has opened up a new gap: between broadcasters that are responsive and adaptive to new media and those that remain confined to conventional broadcast logic.

This change also requires a paradigm shift from one-way broadcasting to a two-way communication model (narrowcasting and dialogic media). The public is no longer just a passive consumer but an actor who actively produces, disseminates, and interprets information. Unfortunately, the structure and institutional culture of LPP TVRI have not been sufficiently flexible to respond to this type of public participation. ASO's policy should be accompanied by a comprehensive agenda: the transformation of LPP into a public-based, multi-platform media, not just the addition of digital channels or improvements in image quality. Without strategic repositioning, digitalization can become merely a technological cosmetic that fails to address the core of the problem: the social relevance and democratic functioning of LPP in the digital age.

The relevance and implications for future reform in this context are that the urgency to revise Law No. 13 of 2005 is becoming clearer. Indonesia needs a new regulatory framework that: Ensures the independence and sustainability of LPP structurally and financially; Recognize media convergence and provide regulatory space for OTT and social media; Develop a participatory model in broadcasting governance, especially for public institutions; Encouraging integration and synergy between LPPs (TVRI and RRI) together with ANTARA, including the potential for the formation of an efficient and effective National Public Media Holding. In line with the concept of "New Public Services: From Management Steering to Serving," which emphasizes the government's role as a facilitator that empowers the community rather than merely acting as a controller or regulator. In this paradigm, public services no longer focus on bureaucratic efficiency alone, but on how the government can serve and meet the needs of the community in a participatory and democratic manner (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2015: 10)

TVRI, as LPP, cannot stand alone in facing this challenge. It needs progressive regulatory support, critical public support, and a modern vision of leadership. Law No. 32 of 2002 emphasizes that broadcasting is organized in accordance with Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution, and that the principles of benefit, fairness and equity, legal certainty,

openness, proportionality, professionalism, efficiency, and effectiveness guide it. In this context, LPP TVRI is expected to serve as a medium for information, education, healthy entertainment, social control, and social cohesion, reaching all regions of Indonesia. Government Regulation No. 13 of 2005 then stipulates that LPP TVRI must be independent, neutral, non-commercial, and directly responsible to the President.

Although LPP TVRI formally maintains an independent position, in practice, various structural challenges hinder its independence. One of the main issues is reliance on the state budget (APBN), which is often accompanied by political interference in the appointment of directors and supervisory board members. The case of the dismissal of TVRI's President Director, Helmy Yahya, in 2020 is a clear example of how political dynamics can undermine this institution's independence.

An evaluation of LPP TVRI's 20-year journey shows that despite reform efforts, the institution still faces various obstacles in realizing its vision as an independent and adaptive public media. LPP TVRI's two-decade journey demonstrates that, despite its transformation into an independent and adaptive public broadcasting institution, it still faces various challenges in adapting to technological developments. A strong commitment from all stakeholders is necessary to reform LPP TVRI's structure, regulations, and work culture, enabling it to fulfill its strategic role in the digital era.

The approach to public affairs in the previous era—centralized, non-participatory, and not accommodating to the public interest—must be acknowledged as having fostered public distrust and even antipathy. According to Edelman (2023), such sentiments are characteristic of the era of anti-bureaucracy and anti-government. The application of sound governance principles is crucial to the effective delivery of public services and the performance of the state apparatus. This is because the government designed the concept of sound governance principles to increase the potential for change within the bureaucracy, thereby realizing better public services. Additionally, the public continues to perceive the bureaucracy's public services as slow, unprofessional, and expensive.

This is another factor that supports the dynamics of LPP TVRI, whose employees are still mostly civil servants. Thus, the relationship with applicable government regulations limits the space for work movement to some extent, requiring professionalism in upholding the principle of independence. For example, LPP TVRI gets a state budget allocation every year. However, this dependency is often used as a control tool. In 2019, the Supervisory Board's dismissal of TVRI President Director Helmy Yahya was a highlight. This dismissal is strongly suspected to have been triggered by TVRI's decision to broadcast innovative programs, such as the English Premier League (EPL), which are considered outside the institution's conservative programming package. This polemic initiates a discussion about who actually controls TVRI's editorial direction—the public or the government.

Over the past 20 years, Indonesia's media landscape has undergone massive disruption. The existence of platforms such as YouTube, TikTok, and Netflix has changed people's information consumption patterns. The younger generation tends to access news through gadgets rather than television screens. LPP TVRI is still considered slow in adapting to the needs of modern society. The Kompas R&D survey (2021) shows that only 9% of

respondents choose TVRI as their primary source of information, far behind private television and even social media. Static, less creative content that is not oriented to the needs of young people is the leading cause of decreased relevance. However, LPP TVRI has responded with digital initiatives, such as TVRI Klik and its official YouTube channel. However, in terms of content strategy, visual appearance, and understanding of digital algorithms, TVRI still lags behind private and independent digital media. This digital stuttering has led to a loss of audience and reduced the social relevance of TVRI as public media.

Although the law and government regulation mandate community participation, there is no strong mechanism to ensure public involvement in performance evaluation, program preparation, and budget allocation. Annual reports and performance evaluations are rarely widely published, making LPP TVRI appear to be an ordinary state institution rather than a public one. Within Habermas' framework, political legitimacy is achieved only through open and equal communication ("deliberation") in the public sphere—not simply through formal representative mechanisms. Habermas' main message emphasizes that legitimate public decisions must be based on a shared discourse between the public and the state, utilizing argumentative reasoning. Deliberation is significant in the context of LPP TVRI as a public institution with a normative mandate that can serve as a catalyst for various stakeholder interests and widely disseminate information to the public. Deliberative democracy, in this context, is defined as a view that prioritizes public deliberation among free and equal citizens as the core of the legitimacy of political decision-making and self-government (Hardiman, 2009).

CONCLUSION

LPP TVRI has, for the past two decades, been torn between becoming a true public institution and remaining a state institution under a new name. Its identity as a public media has not fully formed due to weak independence, limited innovation, and a lack of a loyal audience base. Twenty years since the implementation of Government Regulation No. 13 of 2005 marks an important milestone in the journey of LPP TVRI as a public communication medium in Indonesia. An evaluation using a public policy approach shows significant achievements but also complex challenges. To remain relevant amid the digital revolution and changes in audience behavior, LPP TVRI must immediately update its institutional orientation, strengthen content innovation, and establish a more participatory, inclusive, and modern governance system. Thus, TVRI can answer its historical mandate as a pillar of accountable, independent, and fair public information. An evaluation of the implementation of LPP TVRI's normative mandate reveals a gap between the regulatory framework and public expectations. Structural, cultural, and political factors contribute to the weak effectiveness and responsiveness of these institutions. Institutional reform, digital innovation, and enhancing public participation are crucial to bridging the gap between normative mandates and the delivery of genuine public services.

Government Regulation No. 13 of 2005 established the legal basis for transforming TVRI from a government broadcasting institution into an independent, professional public

broadcasting institution that serves the public interest. The document affirms several key principles: independence from political and economic influence, alignment with the public interest, community representation on the supervisory board, and the obligation to produce broadcasts that are educational, informative, and reflect cultural diversity. However, in practice, the mandate has been implemented with many deviations. First, independence is still an illusion. At times, the appointment of the Board of Supervisors and the Board of Directors is often influenced by political interests. Second, the dominant funding model comes from the State Budget, leaving TVRI without the flexibility to make strategic decisions. Third, public participation remains mainly symbolic rather than substantial. The institutional reforms mandated by Government Regulation No. 13 of 2005 have proven insufficient to position TVRI as a progressive and relevant public media in the digital landscape.

The digital revolution presents both challenges and great opportunities. Over the last decade, Indonesians' media consumption has shifted massively to digital platforms. YouTube, TikTok, Instagram, and podcasts are the primary platforms where people obtain information and entertainment. This has led to a significant decline in public attention to conventional television, particularly among younger generations. Unfortunately, TVRI was slow to respond to this challenge. Digitalization at TVRI is primarily technical, such as the migration to the terrestrial digital broadcasting system (DVB-T2), but it has not addressed content transformation, distribution formats, or public interaction. TVRI's institution remains entrenched in a vertical, one-way, and bureaucratic broadcasting model. Several innovative efforts have indeed emerged, such as TVRI's YouTube channel and various digital educational content. However, it has not yet transformed into a strategic multiplatform ecosystem. The integration of an integrated digital newsroom, audience data, and collaboration with the digital creative community remains limited.

On the other hand, TVRI faces an identity dilemma: between maintaining institutional dignity as a formal public broadcaster and becoming more popular amid a fast-moving, opportunistic media market. On the other hand, the issuance of Government Regulation No. 4 of 2024 marks a significant turning point in the discourse on public media reform in Indonesia. This regulation opens the door to institutional consolidation among TVRI, RRI, and the ANTARA News Agency within the "national public media holding" scheme. The goal is to achieve efficiency, integrate resources, and enhance the competitiveness of public media institutions in the digital era. Within the framework of Public Policy Formulation, this is the state's response to the challenges of national media governance. However, its effectiveness depends mainly on how it is implemented. Whether holdingization will strengthen independence and professionalism or even pave the way for a new centralization of power in public communication, given that Structural Reform must be accompanied by value reform: strengthening public service ethics, budget transparency, protection of editorial freedom, and accountability mechanisms based on public participation. However, TVRI, as LPP, has a mission to organize healthy public communication—that is, communication that fosters critical, inclusive, and socially

impactful awareness. In the context of information polarization, a flood of hoaxes, and a crisis of trust in the media, credible public broadcasting institutions are urgently needed.

To avoid becoming a mere historical artifact, TVRI's reform must be based on a new paradigm of public broadcasting in the digital era. There are at least five dimensions of projection that need to be strengthened:

1. Content and Data-Based Digital Transformation

TVRI is not enough to migrate to digital technology. More importantly, it transforms its content business model from a broadcast-centric to a user-centric one. Content needs to be adapted to the consumption patterns of digital society: short, interactive, contextual, and multiplatform. The use of big data and AI for audience analysis is also inevitable.

2. Accountability and Public Participation

LPP TVRI's legitimacy will be strong only if the community feels a sense of ownership and involvement. The Board of Trustees must be elected through a participatory, open process. Annual performance evaluations need to be reported to the public online and transparently. Even the complaint mechanism and public input can be integrated through digital applications.

3. Creative Collaborative Ecosystem

TVRI cannot work alone. He needs to establish a space for collaboration with the film community, research institutions, universities, indigenous organizations, and independent content creators. With this ecosystem, TVRI will have a rich, high-quality supply of local content.

4. Visionary Leadership

Leaders in TVRI must have visionary capacity, not just bureaucratic administrators. Reform requires figures who can bridge the value of public services with the business logic of contemporary media and ensure the sustainability of institutional innovation.

5. Protection of Public Journalism

TVRI, as a public media, must also be a protector of journalistic values. In the disinformation landscape, public journalism is the last bastion of quality information. TVRI needs to prepare investigative journalism units, media literacy programs, and educational platforms for the public.

TVRI reform is not just an organizational improvement, but part of a big agenda to build a healthy and civilized information civilization. Over the last two decades, the biggest failure has not been a lack of regulation but rather the inability of institutions to absorb the "Spirit of the Times" (Zeitgeist), the dominant intellectual, social, and cultural atmosphere of a given period. It is the "spirit of the age" that shapes how people think, feel, and act during that period. It is time for the public to no longer view TVRI as an outdated institution that is constantly being "improved," but as a shared space where the narrative of Indonesia's future is shaped—through content, popular voice, collaboration, and technology.

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