Media and Transformation in Germany and Indonesia: Asymmetrical Comparisons and Perspectives

Anne Grüne / Kai Hafez / Subekti Priyadharma / Sabrina Schmidt (eds.)

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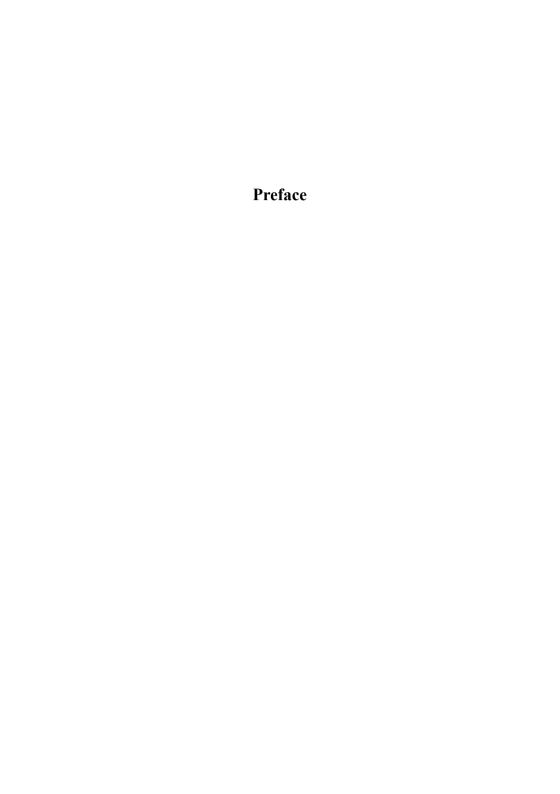
Preface: Proceedings of the Conference "Media and Transformation in Germany and Indonesia: Dynamics and Regressions in Global Perspective"

Anne Grüne and Sabrina Schmidt

The world of academia is usually considered to be among the most globalized social systems. Transcontinental research networks, regular international conferences, international publication media, the systematic use of a lingua franca and widespread cosmopolitan worldviews among researchers seem to transcend spatial boundaries easily. The modern age with its instantaneous forms of international communication has effectively eliminated many obstacles for global knowledge creation. However, a sobering reality check reveals continuous divides between national, regional and geolinguistic academic communities. This situation contributes to a Euro- and Ethnocentric coinage inscribed in academic research and output. Postcolonial Studies, of course, have already exposed this inherent Eurocentric angle of much academic knowledge and discourse. Thus, whilst the academic world largely applies and adapts "Western" concepts of humanities and of social science, its alleged global character has to be queried. The deconstruction of the abovementioned imbalance of perspectives is only the first step towards a qualified global academia system though. The second would be an intensified dialogic knowledge production based on a mutual recognition of different academic communities. Yet, the counter flow of non-Western knowledge to the West is much less vital and often left to "Orientalists" and other area specialists, while mainstream academic subjects like Sociology, Political Science or Media and Communication Studies remain Eurocentric in terms of their issue orientations or applied theories and methodologies (Hafez 2013). Additionally, essentialist concepts of "cultural proximity", coupled with language hurdles and a serious lack of contextual knowledge, subconsciously determine our academic work, which applies not only to "Western" but academic communities in general.

If we now apply the demand for mutual interest to both Germany and Indonesia against the backdrop of our common professional experience, we can find at least a few scholars who specialize in the respective contexts, among them are those who have contributed to our project. However, it is much harder to find academic work that integrates research into comparative schemes. The project of "de-Westernization" of academia (e.g. Thussu 2009; Grüne & Ulrich 2012), it seems, must

not only strive for a broader global picture, but also for a redefinition of underlying historical patterns of cultural and sociopolitical relatedness. Therefore, the main premise of this book is to move away from national based case studies to substantial comparisons and to "tear down", as Divya C. McMillin argued, the "insulation" (2007: 195) of area based scholarship to reach new forms of comparative research. This can also inspire sustainable transnational collaboration and knowledge creation. What can countries or regions learn from each other if they step outside their nationally framed perspectives and engage in a more intense global dialogue? Despite all its limitations, the book is a groundbreaking endeavor in comparative media and communication research, and brings together well-known researchers from hitherto fairly separate academic communities.

Indonesia, the state with the largest Muslim population in the world, is in a process of continuous societal transformation. From the perspective of Media and Communication Studies, recent political developments towards an increasingly consolidated democratic system are of great interest. The comparison with Germany may seem unusual and asymmetrical. The countries differ with regard to the religious and cultural practices, and media and social developments are neither intertwined nor similar at first glance. A closer look, however, reveals structural similarities between Germany and Indonesia. In both countries, dynamics and regressions of political transformation under pressure from radical political movements are observable. Hyper-modernization in parts of the economies and social life-worlds of post-modern urbanization are widespread in both societies. Moreover, the countries wear the burden of a heritage of genocides and cultural struggles over the multi-ethnic and multi-religious fabrics of society. The book deals with the role media play in the course of these political, economic and cultural transformations. Do they "follow" or "lead" the changes in political systems and societies?

This work is based on a three year collaborative project of mostly German and Indonesian scholars under the headline of "Media Systems and Communication Cultures – Germany and Indonesia in Comparative Perspective" (2015-17). The project was coordinated by the Media and Communication Studies Department of the University of Erfurt (UE) in Germany (Anne Grüne, Sabrina Schmidt and Kai Hafez) and the Faculty of Communication Science, Universitas Padjadjaran (UNPAD), Bandung, Indonesia (Subekti Priyadharma). While the collaboration also

encompassed excursions by German students to Indonesia and vice versa, the book is a documentation of the proceedings of an academic conference that the two coordinating institutions arranged together with a number of colleagues from different universities in Germany, Indonesia and in one case also from Egypt. The title of the conference was "Media and Transformation in Germany and Indonesia: Dynamics and Regressions in Global Perspective" and took place at the UNPAD in Bandung from November 1-3, 2017. To enable the above-mentioned dialogue on comparative research, the conference was based on speeches dealing with either comparative or single country studies that were followed by short interventions by a number of researchers from Indonesia in four consecutive round table discussions. The panels and round tables concentrated on four topic areas of media and transformation (see below). Being recorded and summarized as panel reports, they can be found at the end of each topic section. In the section's introductions, the editors laid out some leading questions for the following chapters and also identified the core comparative trends.

The conference topic of media and transformation was divided into four panels, which had also already built the analytical matrix of the preceding workshops and the bilateral student projects in 2015 and 2016. Logically, they also structure the sections of this book:

- Section 1: Media and Political Transformation: Adapting the logic of media systems comparisons (Hallin & Mancini 2004), the first section aims to cover transformations in the relationship between media and the state, political parties, the profession of journalism and the forces operating in media markets.

- Section 2: Media Representation and Racism: The discussion focuses on current developments regarding public participation, media representation, and the social recognition of ethnic, religious and social minorities. Racializing media discourses as well as empowering self-representations in the public realms of Germany and Indonesia are presented and analyzed.

- Section 3: Internet and Counter Public Sphere: The discussion of public spheres involves an analysis of differences and similarities in the public arenas of the two countries with a special focus on the (counter-)public functions of the Internet vis-à-vis traditional forms of the public sphere. Hence,

the relevance of transformative public spheres for the democratic development of the two countries is subject to debate.

- Section 4: Popular Culture and Democracy: Phenomena of popular cultural articulation (e.g. classic mass media entertainment, street art, alternative media and youth cultures) can also contribute to social developments as far as they are part of (counter-)public spheres. Communication cultures thus have to be considered within the analysis of the vital transformations of the two countries.

As is evident from the previous summary, the conceptual architecture of the whole cooperation project and the conference, in particular, roughly followed a comparative media systems logic concentrating on all relevant aspects of the media's relations with the state, political forces, the public sphere (including the Internet), societal groups (like minorities) as well as articulations outside the established realm of mass media and/or the Internet (through popular culture).

The character of academic projects, especially those of inter-continental collaborative research and teaching, requires more than academic contributions. The completion of this project has involved so many people to whom we yield a lot of thanks. First and foremost, our gratitude goes to all our academic colleagues who have been involved in the conference and book project, either as authors, rapporteurs and/or participants of the panel discussions.

We are also very grateful to the numerous students from the University of Erfurt and the UNPAD who participated in the exchanges and/or helped us organizing the same. We must emphasize that the students themselves became the evidence for the necessity and also the feasibility of global comparative research. They managed to implement bilateral research projects on topics ranging from the political relevance of the Punk and Street-Art scene in Bandung and social activism in Erfurt, to the role of online communication for local NGOs and marginalized rural communities in both countries, to media self-representation of the Christian minority in Indonesia and the Muslim minority in Germany, and the character of election campaigns and political parallelism of the media in both Indonesia and Germany. The huge interest in global and comparative analysis was also evident in the projects of a number of PhD students from UNPAD and other German and Indonesian universities (TU Ilmenau, Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

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General Introduction

Globalization and the Need for Asymmetrical Comparisons of Global and National Political Centers and Peripheries

Kai Hafez and Subekti Priyadharma

The comparison between Germany and Indonesia could be considered strange at first sight. The countries seem "most different" and the comparison therefore asymmetrical on almost all possible levels. Politically Germany is an established democracy while the Indonesian democratic experiment is still fragile. In economic terms, Germany is among the richest countries in the world, while Indonesia, despite being a member of the G20 (Group of Twenty), is on the borderine between a developing nation and an industrial state. Last but not least, cultural differences between "Western" and "Asian-Islamic" societies seem insurmountable. A research project dealing with Germany and Indonesia could therefore be accused of "comparing apples with oranges".

However, it is in the logic of comparative social inquiry that we do not know whether Germany and Indonesia are really "most different". Other than natural objects, social entities are not essential objects. Social reality is complex, consisting of so many dimensions and sub-cultures. Therefore it is legitimate to compare Germany and Indonesia, because it is unclear whether they really *are* apples and oranges. A systematic analysis of the differences and commonalities of two large democracies, members of the club of rich nations that have a history of political and ethnic genocide seems like a relevant and direly needed endeavor in times of "globalization".

The relationship between the media and political, societal and cultural transformation is changing rapidly on a global scale. Indonesia, the so-called "Facebook country", which has one of the highest rates of social media use in the whole world, might be more "Western" in many ways than many European or North American countries. Is the former "East" turning into the "new West"?

The Missing Link between Theory and Practice – Comparison as a Source of Academic Knowledge

This is why we compare: to see things from a different perspective. There is nothing worse than a rejected comparison. There might be situations in life when we

have to stop comparing, as for instance in lifelong marriages. However, for scholars, comparison is the lifeblood of academic curiosity. In terms of methodology, comparative work is located between descriptive empiricism and theory. Comparing means systematization through analogies.

In Islamic theology, analogies – in Arabic: *qiyas* – are among the principles of knowledge creation. Qiyas is used whenever there is no general rule that can be applied to a certain case. Interestingly enough, Ibn Hanbal, the medieval legal school many radical Islamists refer to, prohibited comparisons. He refused to externalize the Muslim experience – and that is where stagnation of the Islamic world began. Resistance to comparison is very often a sign of dogmatism.

Of course, comparative social enquiry can also distract us from the path of knowledge. From all the countries in the world – which do we compare? Analogies can be erroneous. After the "Arab Spring" revolts in 2010/11, some advisors to the Egyptian government wanted to turn the state media into public service media, and used European examples such as the BBC etc. as a role model. However, that was not helpful, because Egyptian civil society is much too unstable to participate in European-style regulatory bodies. Comparison is a real adventure and an experiment with unsure results. How do we know that we have chosen the right comparison? In many cases, we need a *tertium comparationis* to judge whether a comparison is meaningful or not. In the case of Egypt, a theory of civil society would have rendered a comparison of media systems invalid.

The example shows that comparative work can inform theory through dense descriptions, but is not the theory itself. Theories are sets of related ideas, which *define* possible objects for comparison. Media systems theory rests on the idea that national media systems are integrated entities that can be compared in order to better understand the achievements and deficits of the single entities. Comparative work used to be based on rather crude systematics. Just think of "Four Theories of the Press" by Frederik S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm, which simply divided the media systems along media-state relations into "authoritarian", "communist", "liberal-democratic" and "social-responsible" media systems (1963). However, those times have passed. Modern media typologies such as the one by Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini are based on complex, multi-level approaches that incorporate political, cultural, economic and professional variables: Intervening states, polarized media systems, changing consumer cultures

and media markets, and universal journalistic standards (Hallin & Mancini 2004; 2012) – criteria that can also be applied to emerging nations like Indonesia (see e.g. Lim 2011; 2012; Nugroho et al. 2012; Heychael & Wibowo 2014; Steele 2018; Sen & Hill 2011).

In the end, Germany and Indonesia face some, but not all the same challenges, and the media systems might be different, although their experiences are not completely sealed off so that it might be possible to learn from one another. Are they really young and old media systems? True, there might be more freedom of opinion in Germany – its blasphemy laws are no longer in effect. However, there are also backlashes – right wing populism, hate speech and increased censorship by the state (Hafez 2017). Indonesia might have more experience with multicultural diversity than Germany. Ultimately, both Indonesia and Germany are in a constant process of transformation. There is no such thing as an entirely consolidated media system.

Essentialism, Asymmetrical Comparisons and Communication Studies

There are those who think they have already found the answers. There are those, who – to use a phrase used by the great Prussian explorer Alexander von Humboldt – hold worldviews of clashing civilizations although they have never *seen* the world. To understand the real relations between differences and commonalities, we must not only resort to complex theoretical models, but also need to go beyond the surface structure of cultural symbolism. Do Islam and Christianity in fact hold different values? It really depends on the type of realization found in each religion and on the social practices of both faiths. If we dig deeply enough, we find social patterns of liberalism and fundamentalism anywhere in the world (Hafez 2010). We have never believed in essential cultural differences, only in temporary and partial fluctuations of the mainstream *Zeitgeist*. We have never believed in "Asian values", as we never believed in "Western values". However, we do believe in human values.

Up to now, there are only a few so-called asymmetrical or most different comparisons in Media and Communication Studies. Moreover, there are almost no works comparing Indonesia and Germany. Some argue that Media and Communication Studies have become more diverse – others are more skeptical and de-

mand a "de-Westernization" (Curran & Park 2000; Grüne & Ulrich 2012). Although communication scholars should compare, they hardly do. Is it because they hold unreflected essentialist biases? Prejudices disguised as premises? Hidden "Orientalism" and/or "Occidentalism"? A reluctance to be really modern and rational? A refusal to constitute a global partnership between academic communities?

Many phenomena that seem to support culturalist views of essentially different media and communication cultures are vested in separate media discourses that seem to create or, at least, to support stereotypical world views. Germany and Indonesia seem asymmetrical: a North-South or East-West comparison, a traditionally "Christian" country on the one hand and a country with the biggest Muslim population in the world on the other. This comparison seems odd at first.

If Germany and Indonesia do not share collective memories with regard to what they have experienced during and since the Second World War, it is because they usually do not access the same sources of knowledge, and because of political inequalities and other inequalities imposed on them. Many Indonesians follow Western media. They know many things about the Western world, whereas the average Westerner would know less about Indonesia. Westerners do not usually follow Indonesian media. Global communication and the international flow of information is therefore asymmetrical. Indonesians and Germans do not share the same media environment.

Culturally, Germany and Indonesia are often trapped in individualist-collectivist binary worldviews that could create prejudices and even be destructive if applied to generalizing society. Cultural factors do, however, not determine the Indonesian media system (Hanitzsch 2004). This is precisely why knowledge sharing is so important.

Power, Media and Modernity/ies

Politically and economically, Germany and Indonesia, although equally destroyed by the Second World War, did not follow the same path of development in the aftermath of that war. The once divided Germany has turned out to be one of Europe's and the World's powerhouses, while Indonesia is slowly but surely catching up, being among the most promising economies of the near future. The fact

that Indonesia has been a member of G20 for quite some time shows that the country is in the process of moving from a peripheral position to the center.

However, is there really a single center? The concept may be a remnant of post-colonial thinking, suggesting that some countries stay dependent of other more powerful countries. Is Jakarta – or Java for that matter – really *the* center of Indonesia and of Indonesian media (Armando 2014)? Are the New Federal States of Germany, the former East Germany, positioned at *the* periphery of German politics and economy, and must they always refer to their Western counterparts for their development goals?

Third World countries might be situated at the global economic periphery, but that does not mean that they have to consider the West to be the role model for all types of social, democratic and media transformations. Indonesia is as dependent on the West as the West is dependent on the global periphery. Instead of asymmetrical dependence, interdependence, a certain autonomy for "peripheral" countries to follow their own path and hybridity in the sense of Homi Bhabha (1994), is a much more realistic vision for the future.

Jan Servaes and Patchenee Malikhao argue that "there is no universal path to development" (2002: 11). There is also no single narrative of social transformation. History has taught us in the course of human civilization that no country was constantly so powerful that it was always located in the center. The examples of the Persian Empire, the Ancient Greek or the Roman empires, the Mongols, the British Empire, the Ottoman Caliphate and Nazi era Germany have demonstrated that the world is constantly changing. "Change" is the only constant.

This is also why the comparison needs to be asymmetrical, for these two countries do not share the same preconditions to begin with. We need to take this challenge in order to locate ourselves in the map of the world's transformation process. If Germany and Indonesia, among others, are part of an ongoing process of transformation, then no single country is fully developed. "*[A]ll* countries are still developing," says Dorothea Kleine (2013: 22). No country is entitled to be *the* center of modernity. All countries are central in their respective context. Center and periphery are contextual terms. This is why it is so important to study the plurality of centrality and periphery.

For example, what solutions can we offer with regards to ethnic and religious minorities and other marginalized groups in both countries that are often misrepresented in both Indonesian and German media? Minorities are often victimized due to center-periphery power tensions. The media should definitely see themselves as part of the communicative construction of hegemony. For sure, there are always differences and similarities between the countries, which we need to identify in order to understand them better and use that knowledge for better transformation.

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Section I

Media and Political Transformation

Section I: Media and Political Transformation
Introduction

Kai Hafez

Despite several structural differences between the media systems of Indonesia and Germany, the papers and the roundtable discussion of the conference "Media and Transformation in Germany and Indonesia: Dynamics and Regressions in Global Perspective" in Bandung 2017 have revealed some amazing parallels between the countries. We seem to be witnessing a clear trend towards a re-ideologization not only of political actors, but also of the mass media and, with the help of social media, also of the citizenry in both countries. While after the Cold War many in the West considered ideological cleavages to have become obsolete, the subsequent (neoliberal?) *Zeitgeist* has not generated a stable global consensus. In Indonesia Islamist groups, in particular, have introduced a new radical element into the political culture. Even in the heart of liberal democracy, in Europe and the United States, a new political polarization has occurred (see chapters by Armando and Hahn & Liewehr).

Modern democratic media systems have always differed in their degrees of political polarization. However, up to which point is radical polarization legitimate and healthy for the media to remain integral parts of democracy? Hahn and Liewehr and Armando as well as the participants of the roundtable argue that new technologies and enhanced competition that result from the digitalization of the media have triggered a general tabloidization of journalism in Indonesia as well as in Germany (see also Russ-Mohl 2017). Universal current trends within mediated political communication therefore seem as important as long-term structural differences. Both media systems are united in the modern logic of segmented public spheres colliding in the realm of increasingly commercially or politically motivated mass mediation, which in turn is destabilizing liberal democracy.

However, there are also long-term structural differences between the German and the Indonesian media systems (see chapter by Rochyadi-Reetz & Löffelholz). While in the West, mostly upcoming right-wing radical politicians are challenging the liberal media, in Indonesia such challenges are also being prompted by vested political parties and the state itself. In his chapter, Armando argues that in con-

temporary political communication in Indonesia, two pushing factors of radicalization are entangled: a populist attack by radical Islamists on the democratic state and the interests of established politicians, who are both part of the system and media owners at the same time. In theoretical terms, so-called "strategic groups" within the establishment seem to be collaborating with "conflict-oriented groups" within the opposition to change the system (Schubert et al. 1994).

It remains to be seen, however, whether the relative distance of German media capital to real political interests comprises a bulwark against populist attacks on democracy and on media freedom. It may appear that most mainstream media in Germany are critical of right-wing populists. However, not only the tabloid media, but also the media of reference, especially in talk shows (see chapter by Hahn & Liewehr), have all too willingly submitted to the right-wing parties' agenda of refugees, refugees and refugees only. The scandal-driven populist spin seems to offer a real seduction to the commercial Western media (Hafez 2019).

The crisis of ethical self-regulation of journalism in Indonesia, which Armando bemoans, is also an issue in Germany (Deutscher Fachjournalisten-Verband 2015), although debates on alternatives to existing forms of ethical self-regulation or more effective co-regulation of the internet are marginal. Unlike in Indonesia, in Germany there is no big debate on whether and how freedom of opinion and the media should be expressed or limited. Protection of the secular freedom of opinion might be more common in older democracies than in relatively new ones like Indonesia. In Germany, as in the United States, attacks against media freedom are mostly a privilege of the far right. However, in the younger democracies of Eastern Europe, like Poland and Hungary, state interventions in the media system are already a reality. Nevertheless, it seems that the practice of censorship, which goes way beyond universal standards of ethical self-control in journalism such as truthfulness, fact checks and the protection of privacy, and includes the restriction of all kinds of articulation, is more central to Indonesian society than it is to Germany. In Indonesia, the legal system, politicians and governments have revitalized a far-reaching form of censorship that largely transcends the need for ethical control of the media. As a result, Indonesian media freedom has been ranked down by *Freedom House* or *Reporters Without Borders*. Despite there being a "cosmopolitan" Islamic tradition in Indonesia, radical Islamists, irresponsible politicians,

and a widespread misuse of Islamic media ethics, seem co-responsible here (Steele 2018; Hafez 2018).

At the same time, Germany is struggling to find a meaningful approach to the regulation of hate speech in social media. More restrictive laws have been passed against the rising tide of incivility in digital media. However, there is still ample room for debate. Germany has so far not restricted hate speech against ethnic, religious or other social groups, as long as it shies away from direct promotion of violence. Indirect effects of legal hate speech, however, are not only to be observed in the United States, where Trump fans have murdered Jews and other opponents of their racist world-views. Increased anti-Semitic and anti-Muslim violence can also be witnessed in Germany.

The roundtable of the conference agreed that Indonesia interferes much more with freedom of speech than Germany does. However, the comparison is also a warning to Western societies that the West might lose – one or the other way, *through* or *against* the right wing –, if social cohesion decays any further. Both countries, it seems, are in search of a revitalization of public spheres, which remain stable and liberal despite all necessary ideological polarization. To overact and run ahead of dangers induced by Islamists and right-wing radicals, and to self-restrict constitutionally guaranteed ethical freedoms, will certainly not rescue the democratic system. We should not confound defense-ready democracy with authoritarian approaches to dealing with fascism.

Thus, despite comparable challenges like political radicalization, hate speech, polarization and tabloidization of the media, differences between the media systems prevail. Neither is media ownership in Germany as politically motivated as it is in Indonesia, nor are public service media, despite the commercial symbiosis with populism, a sphere of political hate speech. The German state has issued laws against hate speech on the internet, but restrictions are more moderate than in Indonesia. Even if they were to become stricter, they would hopefully not blur the line between protecting human rights and authoritarian interference with the freedom of speech. Like in Indonesia, organized ethical self-regulation in Germany is in crisis. As was made clear during the roundtable debate, both countries share the problem of underdeveloped audience ethics and inefficient press councils. How-

ever, in Germany ethical behavior is clearly the business of the journalisticprofession and its audiences – and of nobody else, while in Indonesia the state and politicians are pretending to be the guardians of freedom.

Looking back at an authoritarian and, at times, genocidal past, both countries have come a long way towards consolidating democratic media systems. Participants of the conference agreed that in times of global challenges, world-wide comparisons like the one between Germany and Indonesia might help to find common answers.

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A Pressing Tale of Two Countries: Comparing the Media Systems of Indonesia and Germany

Mira Rochyadi-Reetz and Martin Löffelholz

Globalization is a compelling reason to conduct comparative studies between and among nations. Societal problems like climate change and migration transcend cultures and any attempt to solve them requires concerted efforts beyond borders and regions. This chapter compares the media systems in Germany and Indonesia, which are different in various ways, and not only because the former is in Europe and the latter is in Asia, but because they have varied historical and cultural contexts. To compare the media systems of the two countries, we have applied a theoretical framework based not only on the indicators proposed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), but also other indicators like press freedom, Internet freedom, cultural dimensions, and media trust, which have been suggested by various scholars (Brüggemann et al. 2014; Hardy 2012; Norris 2010).

This chapter begins with an overview of theory and methodology when comparing media systems, and then analyzes the two countries' reach, their respective trust of the media, and the state of press freedom and internet freedom. Furthermore, we describe various aspects of media systems such as political parallelisms, media ownership, state intervention, media regulations, and the journalists' professionalism. Finally, we present our conclusions based on an analysis of both media systems.

Theory and Methodology when Comparing Media Systems

In our comparison of media systems, we refer to two seminal works: "Four Theories of the Press" by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956) and "Comparing Media Systems" by Hallin and Mancini (2004). Both contribute significantly to the knowledge on how to classify and compare media systems, as well as the subsequent discussions on how to do so in a better way (Hardy 2012). Taking their starting point from the work of Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956), Hallin and Mancini's model tends to pay more attention to empirical than to normative aspects (Hardy 2012). It is based on an analysis of 18 Western democratic countries

along four dimensions: (1) development of the media markets; (2) political parallelism; (3) journalistic professionalism; and (4) the degree of state intervention in the media system. Grounded on those dimensions, they classify the countries into three distinct clusters: (1) the Polarized Pluralist, (2) the Democratic Corporatist and (3) the Liberal Media Systems.

The typology of media systems by Hallin and Mancini (2004) has had its share of positive feedback and critical comments. Political scientist Pippa Norris argues that the model proposed by Hallin and Mancini "suffers from several shortcomings that need to be addressed before we can conclude that this provides an appropriate conceptual typology" (2009: 331). She observes that the classification of countries is based on anecdotal evidence and not on a wide range of cross-national indicators provided by various institutions. For example, Norris observed also that the UK being grouped with the US is misleading, because even if both share freedom of speech and self-regulation as principles of their respective newspapers, the UK has a very strong public service broadcasting system and a different newspaper landscape to that in the US. In addition, she argues that the typology provided by Hallin and Mancini (2004) is difficult to replicate due to the lack of conceptual precision with regards to the operationalization of the three classifications.

Aside from the ones articulated by Norris (2009), Hardy (2012) summarizes other criticisms of the model. He claims that it neglects important factors affecting media systems like country size, market size, regionalism, ethnic and linguistic structure, laws, and religion. In addition, he argues that the model's focus on the media is narrow as it also neglects popular culture and media culture. In the context of media systems, he refers to Hafez, who defines culture as "exchanges between subjects and group in their capacity as bearers of linguistically and historically imbued norms, ways of life and tradition" (Hafez 2007: 8). Hardy (2012) recommends the incorporation of media cultures like community media, user-generated content, and transnational media, as well as ethnic minority media and other forms of alternative media. He also stresses the need to analyze not just the vertical relationship between media institutions and political structures, but also the horizontal dimension of media cultures. This, of course, proves to be challenging, as it requires that theory shall be based on state as well as on cultural perspectives when comparing media systems.

Ten years after the establishment of the typology of media systems by Hallin and Mancini (2004), Brüggemann et al. (2014) revisited the model and conducted empirical research to test it. They examine and operationalize each dimension of the model based on some publicly available data from 2007 to 2011. After comparing 17 western countries using statistical methods to test the hypothesis generated from the theoretical framework of Hallin and Mancini (2004), their study shows high levels of internal consistency with regard to three of four dimensions of media systems. However, Brüggemann et al. suggest that the dimension of the role of the state should be further split into three sub-dimensions such as (1) public broadcasting, (2) ownership regulation and (3) press subsidies. Notwithstanding their initiative, they argue that their study does "not cover all dimensions that are relevant for an analysis of media systems, especially beyond the scope of political communication, beyond the traditional media, and beyond Western countries" (2014: 1062). They recommend therefore further investigations using qualitative in-depth case studies for a single country or for small numbers of countries. In response to the critical comments, Hallin and Mancini (2012) edited the book "Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World", which presents media systems in six countries (Brazil, China, Israel, Italy, Russia, South Africa) and in three specific regions outside the Western world (Baltic, Asian and Pan-Arab media systems).

Based on Hallin and Mancini's (2004, 2012) and Brüggemann et al.'s (2014) reflections, this chapter aims to contribute to the body of knowledge by comparing two quite different media systems, namely Germany and Indonesia. As a former colony Indonesia has the biggest Muslim population in the world; it consists of more than 17,000 islands with more than 300 languages. There is cultural diversity among Indonesians in terms of norms, habits and rituals. In terms of democracy, the terms "free press" and "free speech" were only introduced in 1998, making Indonesia a young democracy and "partly free" (Freedom House 2017c) as far as media are concerned. On the other hand, Germany's media system is "free" (Freedom House 2017c); it is a highly industrialized country with excellent levels of technology and innovation. Christianity is a major religion in the country, and despite the fact that the number of members within the Protestant and Catholic churches is decreasing (Eicken & Schmitz-Veltin 2010), Christian rituals are still widely celebrated. For example, only Christian holidays are recognized officially

as national holidays in Germany; public radio *Deutschlandfunk* broadcasts Christian and Catholic Church service programs every Sunday morning. Meanwhile Indonesia acknowledges the holidays of six officially recognized religions as national holidays.

Given these backgrounds, comparing the media systems in Indonesia and Germany is challenging, even if, from a global perspective, the world seems to be increasingly connected. For instance, Indonesia's most popular online news *detik.com* also publishes news from *Deutsche Welle*, Germany's international broadcasting network. In addition, both countries have been cooperating politically for many decades, are economically linked and have developed diverse cultural and scientific relationships. Despite this collaboration and internationalization, however, different aspects of modern life in the two countries are rather distinct and disconnected, leading to obvious systemic differences (Hafez 2007). This raises the question of whether current media system models, such as the one developed by Hallin and Mancini (2004), can provide a meaningful basis for comparing differences and commonalities in rather distinct countries. That is why it is important to compare the two countries in order to broaden the knowledge of how existing theories and concepts, mainly based on the Anglo-American perspective, can be applied regardless of existing geographical, historical, and cultural differences.

Audience Reach and Trust in Media

In order to compare media systems in the two countries, it is essential that both systems are "compared on the basis of a common theoretical framework, and also that this is done by drawing on equivalent conceptualizations and methods" (Esser 2013: 115). Thus, in comparing the media systems of Indonesia and Germany, we apply dimensions proposed by Hallin and Mancini and add several indicators, which have been proposed by other scholars (e.g. Brüggemann et al. 2014; Hardy 2012), such as press freedom and Internet freedom, as well as social media and public trust in media.

It is imperative to assess the media's reach in Indonesia and Germany. Hafez (2007) argues that technology and internet reach are important factors in analyzing media systems. Table 1 shows huge gaps in terms of newspaper and internet reach in both countries. Germany has a relatively wide newspaper and internet