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Avoiding the death of the newspaper industry in Indonesia and the transformation of the digital media business

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Abstract. The circulation of newspapers in Indonesia has been at its lowest point in the last 10 years. Print media companies have collapsed and closed, and most have shifted to online media businesses. What is the fate of various print outlets and media in Indonesia amidst the death knell of print media business in Indonesia? What is the ultimate strategy to save the print media business in Indonesia and can the business survive until 2030? The paradigm of this research is qualitative. The research took place from January 2023 to December 2024. Data collection techniques were via literature review, observation, and documentation. As a result, the circulation of various print media in Indonesia has decreased drastically by around 1 million copies per year. By the end of 2023, the circulation will be around 5 million copies. The researcher predicts that by 2030, the number of print media companies is estimated to be only 100 companies. Emergency rescue efforts for the print media business through: media transformation, attracting young readers; integration of print media, online media, and social media businesses; and maintaining content according to the needs of customers and potential readers.

Keywords. circulation, transformation, digital, newspapers, collapse

1. Introduction

The fate of various print media companies in Indonesia is currently continuing to decline. Especially from 2012 to December 2023, the circulation of various print media has plummeted and continues to experience a very significant decline. In 2012, the number of print media in Indonesia (daily newspapers, weekly newspapers, tabloids, and magazines) was 1,329 companies with the ability to publish 23,370,884 copies; by the end of 2023, the number of remaining print media was 538 publications with the ability to publish 4,943,529 copies (Pers, 2023). This means that over the past 10 years, 791 newspaper companies have collapsed and closed or there has been a decrease in the number of circulations of 18,427,355 copies or 78.85 percent over the past decade.

The decrease in the number of companies as well as the number of circulations is an event that can be said to be the "doomsday" for the print media industry. If the law of statistics

applies regularly and consistently, then it is certain that in just 5-10 years (2029-2034), the number of print media circulating in Indonesia could approach zero, aka completely closed.

PT Era Media Informasi closed the Gatra Magazine edition on July 31, 2024. In addition, it also closed various Gatra.com, web companies, Gatra Jateng magazine, Gatrpedia.com site, Gatra TV channel closed all its companies because the company was at a loss. Koran Sindo—suddenly stopped its print edition and its electronic newspaper edition on April 17, 2023. Previously, Harian Republika, a national religious newspaper, surprisingly stopped publishing its last print edition on December 31, 2022. Almost at the same time, four other print media also ended their print editions, namely: Tabloid Nova, last published on December 22, 2022; Bobo Junior Magazine, last published in December 2022; Mombi Magazine, last published on December 28, 2022; and Mombi SD Magazine, last published on December 21, 2022. Previously, Suara Pembaruan closed its last print edition on January 29, 2021. Even Koran Tempo, last published on December 31, 2020 and Indopos, last published on December 29, 2020.

The condition of the newspaper industry in various countries is also quite concerning. One of the oldest newspapers in the world, Wiener Zeitung in Vienna, Austria, closed its print edition on June 30, 2023. The newspaper, which was first published on August 8, 1703, only lasted for 320 years. The closure of the oldest newspaper was due to changes in national press policy in Austria, where the issuance of a Law on April 27, 2023 stipulated that government agencies and companies were no longer required to advertise in the newspaper.

The newspaper has now switched to online media only. The newspaper, which was founded in 1703, was called Wienerisches Diarium, then changed its name to Wiener Zeitung in 1780. In 1857, Emperor Franz Joseph I nationalized the bi-weekly newspaper to become the country's official newspaper (Crellin, 2023). Previously, the Guatemalan newspaper La Hora published its last edition on Friday, November 12, 2021 (Putri, 2021).

Most surprising again, even in Germany, the largest newspaper in Germany, Bild will lay off hundreds of its workers. This is due to efforts to reduce the burden of its regional operations in 2023, and increase the use of Artificial Intelligence towards a full digital media transition in the media company (Amani, 2023).

The collapse of various types of print media, both abroad and in Indonesia, actually began mainly since 2012 until now. This event is a sign of the times that there is an extraordinary shift from the tradition of the print media industry to online media or digital media. The extraordinary, massive, and systemic growth of Internet technology has conditioned most of its users to utilize various gadgets for various purposes, including in terms of accessing sources of information, news, and entertainment. Research related to the fate of the print media industry has been intensively conducted by researchers since 2012 until now. In 2012, researchers revealed the fact that the growth in the number of Internet users in Indonesia continued to grow rapidly; which can reduce the number of newspaper readers. Through two previous studies (Supadiyanto, 2012; 2015) researchers have predicted that in 2020, the number of Internet users in Indonesia will reach 200 million people; while in 2025, the number will be 250 million users. The researchers' predictions have almost come true. In fact, in 2023 the number of Internet users in Indonesia in March 2023 has reached 215,626,156 people (Indonesia, 2023).

Furthermore, in 2013, researchers continued research on the presence of electronic newspapers that would automatically kill the existence of printed newspapers (Supadiyanto, 2013). In 2020, researchers published the results of a study entitled: (Opportunities) Death of Newspaper Industry in Digital Age and Covid-19 Pandemic. The COVID-19 pandemic has

been very beneficial for online and internet media, and has destroyed the print media business; including further strengthening the chances of the death of the print media industry which is increasingly real (Supadiyanto, 2020). Finally, it was proven, from 2012 to 2023, referring to SPS data (2023) history recorded that there have been 791 print media in the form of daily newspapers, weekly newspapers, magazines, and tabloids whose fates were tragic, namely: closing, collapsing, going bankrupt, and dying. Are media entrepreneurs and media workers still fanatical that print media can be maintained until the end of the world? The possibility of the print media industry dying is always open at any time if it is not anticipated properly from now on. In Japan, the circulation of various newspapers also continues to decline every year. The number of newspaper circulations in Japan is 30.85 million copies per day. This number has decreased by more than 2 million copies when compared to the number of circulations in 2021 (Department, 2023).

When 20 young Indonesian journalists visited Japan in the Japan-East Asia Network of Exchange for Students and Youth (Jenesys) 2022 program from 15-21 February 2023. On that occasion, they visited the editorial office of Shinano Mainichi Shimbun or Shinmai, which is the fourth largest newspaper in Japan after Yomiuri Shinbun, Asahi Shinbun, and Chunichi Shinbun; where the circulation reached 410,000 copies of the morning edition and 25,000 copies of the afternoon edition. In 2018, the circulation of the local newspaper reached 489,502 copies and controlled more than 60 percent of the market share (Leba, 2023).

This study is urgent to reaffirm how far the ability of various print media companies will be able to survive in Indonesia; until 2030, 2040, or is it sufficient until 2043, as predicted by Philip Meyer?

Recent studies on the fate of the print media industry business in the world and Indonesia have not been carried out much until now; so there are no recent research results that discuss the ideal print media business model to be implemented today so that the print media business can continue to survive.

There are two problem formulations. First, what is the fate of various print media in Indonesia today amidst the death knell of various print media companies that have collapsed due to a decline in circulation, a decline in the number of readers, and a decline in advertising revenue in Indonesia? Second, what is the ultimate move to save the print media business in Indonesia and can the business survive until 2030? Based on a search of previous research results, facts related to the fate of the print media industry can be presented. First, research initiated by Teri Finneman, Will Mari, and Ryan J. Thomas (2021) revealed various strategies launched by community newspaper companies in the United States to survive during the COVID-19 pandemic by shifting their income from previously dependent on advertising to replacing it from donations, grants, and other creative market strategies. Community newspaper journalists in the United States still believe that there are other creative and complex ways to find other new revenue options (Teri Finneman, 2021).

Second, research by Nakil Sung and Jaekyeong Kim (2020) captures a good picture of the print media industry in South Korea which continues to experience a downward trend. Young people with low education in South Korea tend to spend less time reading newspaper articles and online media. People tend to rely on the Internet to access newspaper articles (Kim, 2020).

Third, research by Firmansyah, Sophia Novita, Atie Rachmiatie, Septiawan Santana K., Alex Sobur, and Dian Widya Putri (2022) found that some of the research respondents, namely potential readers, admitted that they were still interested in consuming newspapers.

Newspapers have the advantage of being more factually proven. In addition, the existence of print media, namely *Pikiran Rakyat* in West Java, can still survive, but not as a source of income but only as a company icon (Firmansyah, 2022).

Fourth, research by Satria Kusuma (2016) revealed that print media has a character, namely clear, complete and detailed news; and has accompanied human civilization for centuries so that it is not easily forgotten. However, the rapid development of Internet media has allowed readers of print media to switch to online media (Kusuma, 2016).

Fifth, research initiated by Bella Dwi Syahputri, Devy Anggita Putri, and Prahasti Ken Dewani (2020) showed that of the 434 print media observed from January to April 2020, 71 percent of print media companies experienced a decline in turnover of up to 40 percent due to a significant decline in advertising (Bella Dwi Syahputri Ispriadi, 2020).

Sixth, Supadiyanto's research (2020) confirms that the COVID-19 pandemic has further depressed various print media industry companies in Indonesia. During the COVID-19 outbreak in Indonesia from 2020 to the end of 2022; several newspaper companies collapsed. The current condition, various newspapers that have gone bankrupt and closed due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic are *Republika* closing on December 31, 2022; *Mombi Magazine* closed on December 28, 2022, *Mombi SD Magazine* and *Bobo Junior Magazine* (all three owned by Kompas Group) closed on December 21, 2022; *Suara Pembaruan* closed on February 1, 2021; *Koran Tempo* closed on December 31, 2020 and switched to digital media; *Indopos* collapsed and closed on December 24, 2020 (Supadiyanto, 2020).

Seventh, research by Rajab Ritonga and Eko Nugroho (2017) shows that newspapers will not disappear or die technologically, but will only change form into electronic newspapers or news portals. The printed newspaper disappears, but the media name remains because it only changes form to online media (Nugroho, 2017).

Eighth, research by Deandra Syarizka (2022) proves that various digital media companies in the United States have proven that the subscription business model can be a more stable source of income for journalism than advertising. The success of digital media companies in Indonesia in implementing subscription schemes has begun to be replicated by digital media in Indonesia. The transformation of Tech in Asia Indonesia into a subscription digital media carried out in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic was carried out in the fifth growth phase of the organization, which prioritizes the principle of collaboration. The selection of a soft paywall business model for Tech in Asia Indonesia's digital subscription has so far proven to be a new source of income that helps companies maintain their business through difficult times amid the pandemic. This business model also has the potential to be a more stable source of income in the long term (Syarizka, 2022).

Ninth, research by Oyokunyi Jon Ita, Ekeanyanwu, Nmandi Tobeckukwu, Aniebo, Samson. (2017) concluded that the economic downturn in Nigeria has an impact on people's ability to spend on media access needs, including newspapers. As a result, newspaper purchases have decreased. This puts newspapers in Nigeria at risk of extinction. For economic patterns to be directed to involve mergers and acquisitions, changes in traditional news gathering methods, and exploring local language publications must be implemented if they are to survive after 2030.

Tenth, research by Zinggara Hidayat (2016) emphasized that the majority of households in Indonesia have switched from wired to wireless devices. As a result, print media consumption has decreased drastically in each family. Television broadcasts are still watched by families as well as consuming online media. The development of online media access in Indonesia has fostered new habits and cultures in media. From the 10 previous studies, it can

be concluded that the condition of the print media business has been concerning both domestically and abroad in the last 10 years. Even after the COVID-19 pandemic was declared over in early 2023, the print media industry is still concerning.

Even Koran Sindo, a national newspaper in Indonesia recently closed on April 17, 2023. National Geographic, a world-renowned print magazine, dramatically laid off 19 journalists on Wednesday, June 28, 2023. This further strengthens the fact that print media is only a matter of time, some of them will close and switch to online media.

This research aims to capture the fate of various print media in Indonesia in 2024, which is waiting for the death knell of various print media companies that have gone bankrupt and collapsed due to a decrease in the number of circulations, a decrease in the number of readers, and a decrease in advertising revenue in Indonesia. In addition, this research aims to find various creative efforts or efforts as the ultimate move to save the print media business in Indonesia so that at least it can still be read by readers until 2030.

2. Research method

The paradigm of this research is qualitative. Statistical data analysis of print media circulation data published by the Press Company Association (SPS) for the 2008-2022 edition is the mainstay. The qualitative paradigm is carried out by conducting a literature review and direct observation in the field related to the development of newspaper dynamics in Indonesia.

Primary data sources come from observations related to the real conditions of newspaper circulation in the field today. Secondary data sources from the results of literature studies. Data collection techniques through observation and literature studies. Data analysis using the Miles & Huberman Model or Flow Model. The steps are: data reduction stage, data presentation stage (display), and conclusion/verification stage (Ghony, 2012, p. 306). Data analysis is carried out by processing various qualitative data findings into comprehensive data. The research period took place from January 2023 to December 2024.

3. Discussion

3.1 The Fate of Newspapers in Indonesia and the Death Knell

Based on the study of various existing references, the fate of the print media industry in Indonesia is currently in a very critical condition. Statistical facts show this. The following is a real report on the condition of the newspaper, magazine, and tabloid industry in Indonesia; Table 1 below.

Table 1: Circulation Movement Data of Various Newspapers in Indonesia 2008 to 2022

Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023
Number of Print Media	1.008	1.036	1.080	1.329	1.329	1.297	1.321	1.218	810	793	744	644	593	538	538	-
Total Circulation (million)	19,1	20,8	21,9	25,3	23,3	23,1	23,4	21,5	19,1	17,2	14,3	12,9	7,42	4,9	4,9	-
Analysis +/- (million)	-	1,7	1,1	3,3	-1,9	-0,31	0,27	-1,8	-2,5	-1,9	-2,9	-1,4	-5,4	-2,5	0	-

Source: Processed from data from the Press Company Union/SPS (2008-2023) (Press, Media Directory SPS 2022-2023, 2023)

Referring to the statistical data in Table 1 above, it is very clear that the negative trend that has hit various print media companies in Indonesia has experienced a very significant decline. If calculated mathematically, the number of circulations of various newspapers in Indonesia from 2008 to 2022 has experienced an extraordinary decline. Initially, the circulation was 19,084,826 copies in 2008, leaving only 4,943,529 copies at the end of 2022. This means that there has been a decline in newspaper circulation of 14,141,297 copies in 16 years. In other words, there has been a sharp decline in the number of circulations of various newspapers by 1,010,092.65 copies per year. If the law of linearity applies, then it can be predicted simultaneously; that newspapers in Indonesia will end their fate in the next 5 years or 2029. Because the circulation of newspapers is currently almost 5 million copies, if each year decreases by 1 million copies per year; then only 5 years; the circulation will be heading towards 0 copies.

Let's analyze in more detail, during the period 2008 to 2023, there were 4 major events in Indonesia. First, the 2009 General Election. Second, the momentum of the 2014 General Election. Third, the 2019 General Election. Fourth, COVID-19 in 2020 to 2022. The 2009 General Election which was held on July 9, 2009 was attended by 3 pairs of Presidential Candidates-Vice Presidential Candidates, namely: Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono-Boediono; Megawati Sukarnoputri-Prabowo Subianto; and Jusuf Kalla-Wiranto. The result was that Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono-Boediono won a landslide victory in just one round. The momentum of the 2009 General Election, if observed by referring to the table above; caused an increase in the number of circulations of various newspapers, namely 1,729,342 copies. Because the number of circulations in circulation in 2008 was 19,084,826 copies; while in 2009 the number of newspapers circulating throughout Indonesia was 20,81,168 copies. This means that the newspaper industry in 2009 grew by 9.1 percent. The hypothesis is that the 2009 Election campaign and the 2009 General Election were some of the triggers for the increase in the number of circulations. This is because political elites from the central to regional levels competed to win various positions in the legislature and executive through the 2009 Election. They used one of the newspaper industries as a medium for political advertising. This opportunity was seized by media entrepreneurs to offer their services.

The 2014 General Election on July 9, 2014 was contested by Presidential Candidates-Vice Presidential Candidates Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla and Prabowo Subianto-Hatta Rajasa; won by Joko Widodo-Jusuf Kalla. In the 2014 General Election, looking at the table above; it turns out that the number of newspaper circulations in Indonesia in 2014 was 23,336,020 copies and in 2013 it was only 23,060,155 copies. It was recorded that there was an increase of 275,865 copies. This means that it only increased by 1.2 percent, too small.

The 2019 General Election was held on April 17, 2019, contested by Presidential Candidates-Vice Presidential Candidates Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin and Prabowo Subianto-Sandiaga Uno. The winner is Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin. In the 2019 General Election, by looking at the existing table; if compared to the number of copies in 2018 before the 2019 General Election, the number of copies was 14,298,731 copies. In 2019, the circulation was 12,867,856 copies; so there was a decrease in the number of copies by 2,876,507 copies. Or down as high as 20.12 percent. The decrease in the number of newspaper circulations is very significant. It is suspected that politicians in the 2019 General Election preferred to advertise on television media and began to shift their advertisements to online media and social media. Indications can also be seen in the trend of campaign advertisements for the 2024 General Election. This suspicion needs to be studied further as a follow-up to this research. The COVID-19 pandemic has hit the entire world since the end of 2019 until the end of December 2022,

including in Indonesia which occurred since March 2020; in fact, it has had a wide impact on various areas of life. The COVID-19 pandemic has had a major impact on Indonesia, resulting in 161,954 people dying until December 31, 2023; 6,813,790 people were exposed to the virus. Meanwhile, the total world population who died from COVID-19 was 6,962,409 people; while those exposed were 700,695,570 people (Worldometer, 2023).

In fact, the COVID-19 pandemic in Indonesia in 2020 has resulted in a decrease in newspaper circulation of 5,442,202 copies or 73.3 percent, extraordinary. In 2021, the number of newspaper circulations fell again by 2,482,125 copies or 33.4 percent; while in 2022, the number of national newspaper circulations fell again by 2,482,125 copies or equivalent to a decrease of 50.2 percent.

The question is, can the 2024 General Election on February 14, 2024 increase the number of newspaper circulations in Indonesia? Observing the facts of the 2009, 2014, and 2019 General Elections, it turns out that; automatically the 2024 General Election cannot immediately increase the number of newspaper circulations; because the experience of the 2019 General Election proves it so. Moreover, in 2023 to 2024, the number of Internet and social media users in Indonesia will be increasingly massive. The number is getting bigger, and politicians believe that advertising on social media and online media is considered more effective than advertising in newspapers.

Related to this assumption, we will prove that the 2024 General Election will not increase the number of newspaper circulations in Indonesia. What is certain is that currently all print media business actors are still very confused about the existence of newspapers. When researchers used to present research results at various national and international forums related to the existence of the print media industry, such as at the Indonesia Media Research Awards and Summit/IMRAS 2012 and 2014 forums; including when researchers asked questions to national figures such as Dahlan Iskan, regarding the researcher's concerns related to the newspaper industry in Indonesia; they confidently answered that the newspaper business is still prospective and promising. Now the optimists who believe that the newspaper industry in Indonesia is still prospective have begun to change their beliefs and must revise their thinking to improve themselves to digitize their business.

By looking at the statistics above, we can be sure that the current condition of the print media industry is truly worrying. Because the main problem is the decline in the number of newspaper circulations which is now below 5 million copies per day. This means that if this is left alone, the newspaper industry in Indonesia could get even worse. Researchers even dare to predict that newspapers in Indonesia, even if they can still survive; will only leave 100 newspaper companies that have a strong character in governance, are reliable in guaranteeing the quality of their content; and have loyal customers. Which newspaper companies can still survive in these difficult conditions in the next 5-10 years. They are companies that have strong roots in the regions and at the same time have strong connections at the central level, and excel at the world level. Integration between the strength of local networks and central networks, while if possible having a strong international network. This business network strength triangle model must be held by print media company business managers; so that print media companies do not collapse early on.

3.2 Emergency Operation to Save Newspaper Business

The question is, what is the effective way to save various newspaper businesses until the end of December 2024 which are really on the brink? If we compare it to the human body;

various newspapers in Indonesia, even at the world level, are experiencing complications and acute illnesses, more precisely chronic internal diseases.

There is only one way to cure people with complications and acute illnesses. First, perform a total surgery; including amputation if needed; or cut off certain body parts so that the complications do not spread to other parts of the body. The total surgery must be performed by a doctor, even several heart surgeons; lung specialists, blood cancer specialists, and so on.

If the total surgery is performed by a fake doctor or someone who is not in the profession; it is certain that the results of the operation will be a total failure. Second, the occurrence of an unpredictable miracle. For example, in the future there will be an extraordinary event, such as an "antithesis/opposite of the COVID-19 pandemic" event so that people will again need and miss the presence of newspapers in Indonesia. Third, steps to save the print media business in the most logical and most urgent way, namely:

First, newspaper companies must be able to obtain main income not only relying on the results of newspaper sales and income from the number of advertisements that come in and are broadcast; but from other models. This other revenue model is like getting a commission (from both parties, both from the buyer and seller of goods/products/services) from goods that have been sold thanks to advertisements placed in the newspaper, grants, donations, subsidies from the state, and other innovative sources of income.

Second, newspaper companies are able to play the role of online media business, social media business, and print media business in one breath which is packaged in an interactive model. The method is that newspaper media companies that are currently published routinely in the print media model are maintained; managing sites whose content is different from the print version, but becomes an actualization of the development of information on the development of print media information, and interacting with their social media. The direction of social media management is oriented towards getting monetizing.

Third, the emergency step is to merge two or more newspaper companies into one new media company entity; but still be able to maintain previous customers and the network that the previous company already has. There are two advantages to this method. The first: is to carry out business efficiency from a financial and human resources aspect. Second, this method is to reduce the tightness of the level of competition between print media companies which is still relatively high in various provinces in Indonesia. Assume, that if the number of newspapers in each province in Indonesia is only 3 print media companies; then the number of print media companies is only 114 print media companies. Meanwhile, currently, the number of print media companies in Indonesia is 538 print media companies.

The fourth step is to make young people love the culture of reading newspapers again. The path that can be taken is through national policy; where the Press Council together with all newspaper companies in Indonesia synergize with the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research, and Technology to organize a national movement to read newspapers at least once a week; followed by writing articles in newspapers at least once a week. On the other hand, various newspaper editors provide special columns for students to express their ideas and articles in the newspaper. If the students' articles are published in various newspapers; then they will automatically be interested in reading the newspaper and of course will buy it to report to their families, extended families, and friends. Fifth, the momentum of the 2029 General Election and the 2029 Regional Head Election must be utilized by print media company managers to stimulate the print media business; because hundreds of thousands of Legislative Candidates (Regional People's Representative Council, Regional Representative Council, and People's

Representative Council) and Presidential Candidates-Vice Presidential Candidates. That is why the position of the mass media is very much needed to push through the 2029 Presidential Candidates-Vice Presidential Candidates and Legislative Candidates, as well as Regional Head Candidates in attracting sympathy and votes from voters. Mass media is a mainstay for Presidential Candidates-Vice Presidential Candidates, Legislative Candidates, and Regional Head Candidates to help win in the political contest. Print media business managers have the opportunity to gain many political advertising profits, General Election news, and an increase in the number of newspapers that will be sold in line with the 2029 General Election and Regional Head Election campaign season. That is truly a golden opportunity that should be used as momentum for the revival of the print media industry in Indonesia.

Through these 5 emergency rescue steps, it is hoped that the print media business, which is currently at its lowest point, can be saved so that it can survive. The target is to reduce the number of print media companies significantly; but circulation or its circulation can increase along with the number of new readers from among young people.

4. Conclusion

There are two major conclusions in this study. First, the fate of various print media in Indonesia in the last 10 years is facing the death knell. Because many print media companies have collapsed and closed; many print media companies have switched to online media, and some have completed it with electronic newspaper editions. The number of newspaper companies that used to be in the thousands is now only hundreds. The number of newspaper circulations that used to be more than 25 million copies per day is now less than 5 million copies per day. The decline in the number of print media companies and their circulation is due to many factors. The number of newspaper buyers and readers has dropped drastically; minimal regeneration from young newspaper readers; decreased advertising revenue obtained; and the increasing number of people who are more enthusiastic and access the Internet (online media) and social media is a real threat to the existence of loyal readers of print media. The COVID-19 pandemic that occurred in Indonesia from March 2020 to December 31, 2022, has further depressed the print media business. Print media workers must be creative and innovative in responding to this condition.

Second, there are 5 ultimate moves to save the print media business in Indonesia, namely: various newspaper companies must be creative by finding new sources of income, namely getting commissions, grants, donations, subsidies from the state, and other innovative sources of income. So don't just rely on advertising revenue and results from newspaper sales (circulation). Another strategy is that various newspaper companies can play the role of online media business, social media business, and print media business in one breath packaged in an interactive model. This synergy is an important key. Another emergency step is to merge two or more newspaper companies into one new media company entity; but still be able to maintain previous customers and the network that the previous company already has. The fourth step is to make young people rekindle the culture of reading newspapers through a national movement to read newspapers at least once a week. The final step is to take advantage of the momentum of the 2029 General Election and the 2029 Regional Head Elections as an opportunity to revive the print media business.

There are three types of recommendations, namely academic, practical, and social recommendations. The academic recommendation from this study is so that the results of this study can be followed up by other researchers, especially to examine the impact of the 2029

General Election campaign on advertising revenues for print media companies, broadcast media, and online media. In addition, research related to the existence of electronic newspapers as a new habitus in managing the print media business also needs to be studied further so that new business models or formulations can be found in the print media business. Practical recommendations are that the results of this study can be utilized by various print media companies to be able to play a combination of print media, electronic newspapers, online media, and social media businesses so that they can survive and continue to exist, especially in attracting young readers and writers. The social recommendation is that the public can continue to use print media as an alternative reference for accessing information that is reliable and credible.

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