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Creativity and its paradoxes: How the Indonesia movie industry can survive

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ABSTRAK

Kreativitas adalah motor penggerak ekonomi dunia saat ini. Bisnis yang tidak bisa mengejar ketinggalannya dalam kreativitas yang mewujud pada teknologi dan inovasi, sangat mungkin terhempas dan tidak mampu bersaing lagi. Industri film yang sarat dengan kreativitas memperlihatkan tegangan-tegangan dan situasi dilematis dari masa ke masa. Di satu sisi kreativitas sangat diperlukan untuk menghasilkan produk budaya yang berkualitas tinggi, namun di sisi lain komersialitas dan bisa diterima pasar menjadi kebutuhan dan syarat untuk tetap eksis. Penelitian ini ingin mengeksplorasi industri film di Indonesia dari sisi kreativitas sekaligus komersialitas dan hubungannya dengan paradoks kreativitas, sesuatu yang belum dilakukan oleh penelitian-penelitian sejenis sebelumnya. Penelitian dilaksanakan pada tahun 2015-2017 dengan menggunakan metode grounded. Industri film Indonesia dipilih sebagai studi kasus. Sejumlah wawancara dengan pembuat film (produser) dan penonton, serta focus group discussion dengan para ahli di bidang film dan budaya, telah dilakukan. Hasilnya menunjukkan bahwa pembuat film harus mengenal situasi paradoks ini dan mengelola kreativitasnya pada proses bisnis yang ia tekuni dengan lebih baik. Pengenalan perilaku konsumen, strategi dan inovasi marketing, dan strategi pembiayaan, selain dari penggarapan sinematografi dan story-telling, menjadi faktor kunci dalam mengelola kreativitas pada proses bisnis atau industri kreatif.

ABSTRACT

Creativity is the driving force of the global economy. Competitors will arguably outcompete companies that cannot accelerate creativity in terms of technology and innovation. Highly reliant on creativity, the movie industry exhibits tensions and dilemmatic situations from time to time. On the one hand, creativity is needed to produce high-quality cultural products. On the other hand,

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commercial success and market acceptance are crucial for survivability. This research explores the Indonesian movie industry in terms of creativity and commerciality and its relationship with the creativity paradox that is relatively understudied before. The research was conducted in 2015-2017 using the grounded method. We conducted several interviews with moviemakers and audiences and organized focused group discussions with experts (film-culture critics). The results show that filmmakers need to recognize this paradoxical situation and manage their creativity better. Besides cinematography and storytelling skills, a better understanding of consumer behavior, marketing strategies, innovation, and financing strategies are important factors in managing creativity in the movie industry.

INTRODUCTION

The rise of the creative industry that is economically driven by creativity indicates the Creativity Era in the third millennium. As the basis of creative economy, the creative industry, or commonly known as the content industry, encourages individual creativity and exploits intellectual properties or intangible assets. This industry largely depends on the commercialization of artistic and cultural activities. Consequently, many countries have recently begun to identify their creative industry sectors. However, they still define and categorize these sectors differently. Consequently, they also manage creativity as the core element of the content industry differently.

As a part of the creative industry, the movie industry has unique and typical characteristics. Firms in other industries can test their product prototypes before launching products into the market. However, firms in the movie industry cannot test movies before launching them to the market because movies cannot be prototyped. Thus, launching movies have only two options (success and failure) that makes the movie industry highly risky.

The Lord of The Rings is an example of box-office movies that recorded exceptional ticket sales. Its sequel, *The Lord of The Rings: The Return of King*, was also equally successful and even awarded *Oscar*. Peter Jackson, the director, can also improve New Zealand's position in the innovation index in the creative movie industry among the OECD countries from the low to top rank. He has initiated creativity and innovation management at the individual, regional (municipal-community entrepreneurship), and national (through local cities and districts) levels. These movies largely relied on laboratory-made production (70 percent of total production) and less popular actors and actresses. Consequently, the New Zealand movie industry was previously unpopular but has received global recognition since 2004. With only four million citizens, New Zealand has succeeded in developing a project-based and capital-intensive movie industry labeled as multi-level

entrepreneurship (de Bruin, 2005).

The emergence of Korean pop culture that dominates the global movie and music industries through its boy and girl-bands marks Asia's creativity era. South Korea nurture its creative industry expansively, including the emphasis on English speaking mastery at elementary school and professionally managed music classes and choreography. However, the success of New Zealand (through *The Lord of the Ring* movies) and South Korea (or even Hollywood and Bollywood) cannot be simply be copied by the creative industry in other countries, including Indonesia. Indonesian movies have not always been sufficiently appreciated by their domestic audiences, while foreign audiences even warmly appreciate others. Since the New Order era, foreign movies, especially Hollywood-made ones, have long been dominating the movie market.

Several studies have investigated the Indonesian movie industry. For example, Krishna Sen indicates strong government intervention towards the Indonesian movie industry (Alkhajar et al., 2013; Sen, 1994). Other scholars also recognize political aspects in media and popular culture from Hollywood in the Indonesian movie industry. There is also a dichotomy between “idealist movies” dan “commercial movies” in the Indonesian movie industry stated by Ekky Imanjaya (Paramaditha, 2017). While there have been numerous studies in the Indonesian movie industry, they have not emphasized how this industry manages creativity in the production process to achieve higher quality and, at the same time, remain competitive and profitable. Accordingly, the research seeks to analyze the causes of insignificant improvement in the Indonesian movie industry’s creativity since 1906 when the first Indonesian movie was made. Specifically, this study aims to answer the following questions. First, what are the dynamics and trajectories of the Indonesian movie industry? Second, what are the strategies of the Indonesian movie industry to stay competitive and even successful? This study will focus on movies produced in the Reformation Era to address the research questions better.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Indonesian Film Crisis

Indonesian cinema goes back approximately one century ago when the first movie titled *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* showed in 1926. This movie was produced based on a Sundanese legend. Since then, the Indonesian movie industry had hibernated, however, the desire to survive and even dominate the domestic movie market remained strong despite several critical time points (Ardiyanti, 2017; Riyanto & Suwanto, 2015). The Indonesian movie industry’s turbulent condition persists through the New Order and Post-Reformation era. Focusing on the Indonesian film industry in the Post-Reformation era (1998-2015), Figure 1 displays the number of annual film production based on film genre.

Figure 1
The Annual Indonesian Film Production, Based on Genre

The Post-Reformation era that started in 1998 has brought long-awaited greater freedom of expression to the Indonesian movie industry. Previously, the Indonesian movie market was dominated by foreign films, especially Hollywood-imported ones, in the New Order era. Initiated by several notable filmmakers such as Garin Nugroho, Riri Riza, and Mira Lesmana, young filmmakers, have welcomed the new era enthusiastically with highly creative films, such as *Puisi Tak Terkuburkan* (Unburial Poetry) by Garin Nugroho, *Kuldesak* (*Cul-de-Sac*) and *Petualangan Sherina* (Sherina's Adventure) by Mira Lesmana and Riri Riza.

However, such novel and creative films did not always attract much audiences' interest. Although more films were produced with more diverse genres, the number of viewers declined (Barker, 2011).

The findings complement previous studies that highlight the New Order government's dominance in the Indonesian movie industry (Barker, 2013). Further studies continue underscoring the differences between idealist and commercial films by analyzing Indonesian popular culture based on the ruling ideology (Waldron, 2016). In this respect, ideology refers to the sociological basis of more complex cultural products. The new generation of filmmakers has renewed the so-called "national film" in the New Order era and remade film elements as popular culture. They could freely make their films with even completely new genres because of no more restrictions (Surya et al., 2017).

Creativity

As the basis of the creative economy, creativity is an intangible asset that can produce unique, valuable, and meaningful products and services. Great thinkers such as Plato, Freud, and Popper have defined creativity as being "divergent, impulsive,

and messy” (Suwala, 2017). Creativity is inherent to and possessed by individuals that turns them into "geniuses". A research result by Richard Florida shown that creativity is considered essential for social and economic growth due to positive correlation between urban economic growth and the presence of the creative class (Moss, 2017).

The historical view of creativity in terms of socio-psychology offers one of the main theories of creativity. For example, the achievement of minor or major creativity requires a different structure of knowledge, skills, and abilities. Besides, different contextual and personal factors influence individual and team creativity. Further, hidden motivations mediate the relation between contextual factors and creativity (Amabile & Pillemer, 2012). They also provide further views on creativity in psychology that are interrelated with other scientific fields, multi-level, and interdisciplinary. In management studies, creativity is defined as a process and as a result. Those who seek to produce creative products need to involve cognitive and behavioral processes, such as linking broad sources and searching ideas, enabling people to be more creative in their works.

All work types at every organizational level require creativity. More experienced individuals are not automatically creative. However, highly complex works likely make individuals creative. Creative people usually have divergent thought patterns, although certain conditions may require convergent thought patterns while organizations need a balance between convergent (logical) and divergent (imaginative) thinking (Kačerauskas, 2016). Creative individuals are accustomed to seeking information, conducting intensive communication, and exploiting creative freedom to find solutions to complex work processes. Additionally, creativity in business processes also leads to certain risks that require certain incentive systems and sufficient knowledge to engage in creative tasks, fulfill superiors' orders, and allocate resources without ignoring creativity. Creative people play an important role in business processes to conduct business transactions and achieve the best results by encouraging work relationships that involve creative individuals and creative leadership in attitudes that foster a creative culture (Muzzio & Paiva Júnior, 2018; Seidel & Rosemann, 2008).

The creative process is iterative and involves various search, discovery, and problem-solving processes. In management, creativity as an outcome is defined primarily as exploring novel and useful ideas, solutions, and processes. Novelty and usability are both considered important criteria for creative activities. Thus, highly novel but useless or unfeasible ideas are not considered as “creativity.” The definition differs from several psychological studies in brainstorming that define creativity in terms of originality, fluency, and flexibility. This research uses originality, novelty, and value-creation as several creativity characteristics by Peter Drucker in his article “The Discipline of Innovation” (Pacione, 2015).

The organizational literature considers creativity necessary but insufficient for innovation. While creativity emphasizes novelty and usefulness, innovation stresses the implementation of those new ideas and procedures. Hence, innovation refers to the execution of creative ideas, and not all creative ideas end up in innovation. Executing those ideas is not always easy due to many tensions and unexpectedly complex situations that may lead to a paradox of creativity (Anderson et al., 2014).

Paradox of Creativity

By its very nature, creativity tends to require free, unrestricted, and highly flexible situations. –Therefore, it must be supported by adequate resources. However, business needs to control and monitor creativity. Such a dilemma is labeled as the creativity paradox. A paradox itself is defined as a dilemmatic situation, polarity involving competing values or contradictions that threaten normalcy. Paradoxes can be unresolved problems, repeated cycles that polarize or contradict individuals into groups (Leslie et al., 2015; Waldman et al., 2019).

Understanding the creativity paradox will enable organizations to overcome and manage the paradox to achieve better performance. However, many managers fail when faced with the challenge of stimulating innovation in their organizations. Some try to give unlimited freedom to their organizations that will only create chaos instead of outstanding performance. Others try to stimulate their employees' creativity through predetermined programs and activities that usually result in ordinary results.

Hill et al. (2014) identify the difficulty of overcoming the creativity paradox. Managers inherently face paradoxes or fundamental tensions when advancing innovation. On the one hand, they need to release or free employees' talents. On the other hand, they also have to combine the varied talents to obtain useful and cohesive results. The paradox is further broken down into six paradoxes to highlight the dilemma of "releasing" and "integrating" and its implications in leading innovation. Figure 2 illustrates these six paradoxes.

Figure 2
Creativity Paradox –adopted from Hill et al. (2014)

Leaders who focus on the "harness" position will never perfectly release the slices of genius in their employees. Meanwhile, those on the "unleash" side will always face chaos and never solve problems for the common good. The "unleash" leadership style is also not easy, especially for those used to the top-down style or who consider conflicts and loss of control unpleasant. Even qualified, innovative leaders also realize the difficulty in emphasizing a single managerial style in responding to the paradox. Creating new and useful ideas or initiatives requires leaders to constantly redefine their organizational needs, modify them, and adjust their employees' behavior. This paradoxical situation will never disappear, and this is the core of the innovation process. Hence, the paradox can only be managed but never be resolved properly. Understanding the paradox and its causes may be helpful but does not make it easy to handle. Thus, organizational innovation requires both the willingness and ability of the people within the organizations. Those who aim to innovate must be able to collaborate, experiment, and integrate possible solutions. Individuals in charge must be able to carry out these activities productively. Further, leaders and their followers must cooperate to achieve the desired innovation by removing the obstacles. Successful organizations develop profound awareness and help their members to survive these stresses or pressures that will prevent them from being negatively affected by these conflicting pressures.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was conducted with a qualitative method, namely grounded research. Grounded research or grounded was first initiated by Glaser and Strauss (Khan, 2014; Noble & Mitchell, 2016). This methodology was commonly used by professionally trained sociologists. In its development, grounded theory as a method was expanded for applications in political science, social welfare, public health, educational sociology, nursing, urban planning, even business and administration, and anthropology. The growing adaptability of grounded was proposed by Straus and Corbin as a set of research methodologies for other areas such as communications, psychology, and other social works (Allen, 2010; Kosasih, 2018). The research steps were systematized to collect data, conduct an in-depth analysis of interviews, and build concepts that can explain the data (Charmaz, 2008). In general, grounded as a method aimed to construct or discover theory from data systematically obtained from social research.

However, in its development, this method underwent several changes and new ideas. Beginning with the Classical Grounded Theory (CGT) initiated by Glaser and Strauss that was commonly called Glaserian, the GT approach was then developed into the Straussian-style Qualitative Data Analysis. Furthermore, this method was developed by the constructivists into the Constructivist Grounded

Theory and the subsequent approach of this methodology was called the Feminist Grounded Theory (Allen, 2010).

This research was indeed very broad due to its use of grounded research as a research method. There was no initial hypothesis or some theories chosen as a theoretical framework. The concept of creativity paradoxes emerged after interviewing movie makers. It takes a long time to interview back and forth to generate the validity of several triangulation interviews. However, during the process, this study combined with discourse analysis –using the “*Siti*” movie as a discourse—to facilitate discussion and interviews with informants. In other words, this research tried to focus on Indonesian films according to the relevant discourse during the research period (2014-2017).

Instead of following the classical Glaserian method, this study argued that knowledge should be obtained through a process of building ideas throughout the study. There was a process of interpreting several phenomena into meanings. It was possible to have a basic knowledge framework at the beginning of the study. The concept existed and emerged from a construction process, not just found as initiated by Glaser. This research proposed that knowledge was produced from the world's experience and observations, organized in the form of schemes, categories, and embodied in concepts.

This research consisted of four stages, started by the document study that analyzed 1,468 Indonesian movies. The second step interviewed the informants throughout 2015-2017 who were classified into four informant types, namely: (i) 20 moviemakers (producer, scriptwriter, director, art designer, and some actors/actresses), (ii) 253 viewers (audience) in eight cities, (iii) two cinema managers from XXI and CGV, (iv) and three government representatives in the creative economy sector. The third step organized a focus group discussion with two cultural and movie experts in Bandung. Lastly, the fourth step reinterviewed several relevant individuals (movie maker, cinema owner/secretary, or government representative) regarding several findings to generate a confirmation as the triangulation validity.

Several research processes included: (i) *codes*, a process to identify *keywords* and *key points* from interview results, (ii) *concepts* that collected similar codes (*key points*) from interview results to be inputted in the group, (iii) *categories* that gave meanings and broadened the concepts into similar groups to be used as the foundation for the theory, and (iv) *theory* that comprised of concepts and categories that were decoded and interpreted. Figure 3 describes the four research phases.

Figure 3
Research Process

This study used the “*Siti*” movie (produced in 2015) as the discourse to be discussed with 253 viewers in 8 cities to answer the research question. “*Siti*” was one of the Indonesian films that were not distributed locally but received awards at several film festivals abroad.

ANALYSIS

Data Results and Discussions

Table 1 summarizes the interviews with 253 spectators in eight Indonesian cities. The “*Siti*” movie (figure 4) was chosen as the discourse topic because it was selected as the best Indonesian film at the 2015 Indonesian Film Festival but failed to be distributed in the domestic market. Hence, the film represents a creativity dilemma. The film also won the Arte Award at Busan Film Festival, a prestigious award from a French production house and distributor, and was nominated at the Telluride festival in the United States. “*Siti*” was an independent film produced by Ifa Isfansyah in 2014. As he said while interviewed in Jakarta, the film was made on a low budget and was shot in black-and-white. The film depicted how a young, marginalized woman named Siti tried to save her family’s daily lives.

Figure 4
“*Siti*” Movie

(Source: Andre Tanama, “*Siti*” graphic designer, 2017)

Numerous Indonesian films other than *Siti* (such as Garin Nugroho’s) also have won best film awards at several domestic and foreign festivals and failed at the domestic market. These facts indicate that Indonesian films always experience this

peculiar tension between creativity (being of high-quality and valued both locally and internationally) and commercial success. Hence, we interviewed 253 viewers ranging from 17 until 55 years old.

Table 1
Findings from the Audience from Eight Cities in Indonesia

Name of Location	Have you ever watched a movie entitled "Siti"?	Do you like Indonesian movies?	Do you like foreign movies?	Why?
Jakarta	No, what kind of movie is that?	No	Yes	I don't have time
Lombok	No	No	Yes	Indonesian films are not good
Denpasar, Bali	No	No	Yes	Indonesian films are not good
Jatinangor	No, what kind of movie is that?	Yes	Yes	Foreign films are better, but sometimes I watch Indonesian movies too.
Bandung	No	No	Yes	I am so busy, no time to watch movies
Sidikalang	Yes	Depends on the story, genre, and other factors	Yes	Indonesian movie getting better now
Salatiga	No	I like it	Yes	Comedy and drama are the best.
Nias	No	Yes	No	Indonesian films are still often watched, even if they are "old school."

The summary in Table 1 was then analyzed and classified (Analysis 1) in graphical form, as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5
Indonesian Film Enthusiasts as Respondents to Foreign Films

On the one hand, many movie makers introduced newly creative ideas through their national films, as evidenced by many Indonesian films that won various prestigious international film festival awards. On the other hand, the domestic film industry was still not conducive to national films, both in terms of the audience and regulations concerning film-making. Consequently, new and creative film ideas were not widely accepted because they do not receive adequate supports from stakeholders.

Indonesian films also faced an additional dilemma because Indonesian theaters applied a three-day criterion that required films to attract a certain number of viewers within the first three screening days. Theaters will discontinue screening films that fail to attract sufficient viewers in these first three days.

We then elaborated on how producers or moviemakers used their creativity to make Indonesian movies in the Post-Reformation era while aiming for commercial success in the domestic market (widely accepted by the Indonesian audiences). Because we lacked data on the number of audiences or ticket sales from the cinema operators, not all Indonesian films produced in the Post-Reformation era can be analyzed (twenty films) were discussed with two experts in Bandung (Table 2). We then continued the discussion by conducting multiple interviews with several moviemakers and cinema managers in different places and times, namely Sheila Timothy, Joko Anwar, Chand Parwez, Ifa Ifansyah, Garin Nugroho, Atid Sammaria, Key Simangunsong, and Motulz (as the director and art-designer).

Using Drucker's theory of creativity and innovation in entrepreneurship, we discussed the selected twenty films with these experts by asking their opinions on the novelty, originality, and meaningfulness/value of each film. Table 2 (Appendix) displays the results of our discussions with these experts on the selected twenty films.

Analysis of Creativity with Market Penetration

We then continued the discussion of the twenty films displayed in Table 2 by reinterviewing several notable movie makers (Riri Riza, Slamet Raharjo, Chand Parwez, Key Mangunsong, Motulz, Ifa Ifansyah, Sheila Timothy, Joko Anwar, Ari Sihale, Nia Zulkarnaen, and Garin Nugroho) separately in 2015-2016 to confirm the previous FGD results. Further, we asked again the questions previously asked to movie makers to two cinema owner and manager representative in Jakarta, Ms. Catherine Keng from XXI and Ms. Dian Soenardi from CGV. Referring to Indonesian movies that won international awards, they noted that Indonesian movies were sometimes too segmented and too "artistic" for the market that not all local audiences could understand.

The interview results were then discussed again with the experts to develop a four-quadrant diagram with the Y(vertical) axis representing the creativity level and the X (horizontal) axis indicating the commerciality or marketability level for the 20

films analyzed. The numbers inside the circles refer to the film's titles, as explained in Table 2. Figure 6 below displays the diagram.

Figure 6
The relation between Creativity and Commerciality (Manurung, 2016)

Explanation of each quadrant (K.1 to K.4) is described as follows:

Films in quadrant one were considered highly creative but attracted few audiences. They were *Puisi Tak Terkuburkan*, *Denias: Senandung di Atas Awan*, *Tabula Rasa*, *Sokola Rimba*, *Lima Elang*, *Miracles: Jatuh dari Surga*, and *Aach...Aku Jatuh Cinta*. When asked why they considered these movies unappealing to their tastes, the audiences' responses varied. For example, they answered that these films were difficult to interpret, and they preferred "light" movies, no famous actors/ actresses starred in these films, and the stories were too "weird" for teenagers who preferred Hollywood-style, happy-ending movies.

Films in quadrant two were considered quite good and creative and at the same time welcomed by the market (attracting sizable audiences). They were *Petualangan Sherina*, *Jelangkung*, *Get Married*, *Bulan Terbelah di Amerika*, *Sang Pemimpi*, *The Raid*, and *Habibie dan Ainun*. The discussions revealed that these films met several criteria, namely, (i) having ideas of novelty/virtue, (ii) offering originality, and (iii) delivering useful values and meaning for the audiences.

Films in quadrant 3 (*Si Jago Merah* and *Penghuni Lain*) were considered less creative and could not penetrate the market. Although famous actors starred in these films, these films were directed less satisfactory, and the story ideas were not developed sufficiently. Further, as a horror movie, *Penghuni Lain* was considered less attractive and ordinary. The audiences also mentioned that no famous actors starred in this film.

Films in quadrant 4 (*Virgin: Ketika Keperawanan Dipertanyakan*, *Kuntilanak 2*, and *5 cm*) were considered moderate (insufficiently creative) but penetrated the market. The audiences noted that *Virgin*'s story was quite interesting, and the famous models starring in the movie managed to play their roles well. The actress was even nominated as the best actress at the Bandung Film Festival and the Indonesian Film Festival.

Our discussions with experts, movie makers, audiences, and cinema owners illustrate that several moviemakers in the Post-Reformation era have managed to overcome the creativity paradox by producing highly creative movies appreciated by the audiences (gained substantial market penetration). The analysis of the relation between creativity and market penetration in the Indonesian film industry, such as those included in quadrant 2 (K-2), suggests the key factors in managing creativity in the film industry. Figure 7 displays these factors.

Figure 7

The New Concept of Managing Creativity in the Movie Industry (Manurung, 2016)

Sheila Timothy believed that novel ideas with sufficient research and funding were the prerequisites to produce good Indonesian movies. Her opinion was affirmed by Joko Anwar, Riri Riza, Garin Nugroho, and Chand Parwez. Further, Ifa Ifansyah mentioned that the limited budget should not discourage moviemakers from producing creative works, and Chand Parwez emphasized hiring famous actors/actresses to attract audiences. Joko Anwar, Riri Riza, and Ifa Ifansyah agreed that attractive story-telling was crucial. Sheila Timothy noted that when she started producing *Wiro Sableng* in 2017, high-quality cinematography became an increasingly important factor in producing a good film. Motulz and Key Mangunsong (an art designer and film director, respectively) affirmed her opinion. Hence, all of the movie makers interviewed concluded similarly that the Indonesian

movie industry needed to launch more innovative marketing strategies to compete with foreign movies.

Additionally, the findings also indicate a non-ideal condition when moviemakers could not manage the creativity paradox well as represented by films in the other three quadrants (K-1, K-3, K-4) as shown in Figure 8. Movies in quadrant one were considered highly creative but failed to attract sizable audiences. Movies in quadrant three were considered less creative and failed to penetrate the market. Meanwhile, movies in quadrant four were considered moderate (insufficiently creative) but highly capable of penetrating the market.

Figure 8

Unmanageable Creativity (non-ideal condition) in the Movie Industry (Manurung, 2016)

However, although many Indonesian films in the Post-Reformation era have won several prestige awards from international or local film festivals –for instance, Garin Nugroho movie namely “*Opera Jakarta*,” “*Siti*” by Ifa Ifansyah, “*Modus Anomali*” by Sheila Timothy, “*Denias: Senandung di Atas Awan*” by Alenia Production-- they still lacked appreciation from local audiences. In other words, Indonesian movies still faced non-ideal conditions because of obstacles from local audiences. These non-ideal conditions were confirmed by two cinema managers, Ms Catherine Keng from XXI and Ms Dian Soenardi from CGV. They mentioned that Indonesian movies were sometimes too segmented to the market. In a film meeting in Jakarta (November 2015), Mr. Triawan Munaf, as the Chief of Creative Economy Agency (BEKRAF), explained that Indonesian movie makers urgently needed innovative marketing strategies. Unfortunately, BEKRAF had no strategy to help Indonesian movie makers at that time. This condition indicates that the Indonesian movie industry still needs much helps from the Indonesian government, especially to penetrate the domestic market.

CONCLUSIONS

As a cultural and creative product, movies have to be produced according to their particular eras or *Zeitgeist*. The current movie production is arguably different from previous ones. Moviemakers have to continuously accumulate their knowledge

of art, culture, and technology. Further, they also have to conduct market research and exploit their creativity in movie production as well. Creativity is within the business management realm and an asset that has to be managed properly. Effective managers have to maintain “fluid” and flexible work climates in their teams and understand when to prioritize “concessions” and when to start “running a tight ship” in controlling teamwork.

Our results suggest that Indonesian movies remain prospective in the Post-Reformation era. Young movie makers can use freedom of expression to manage their creative works and offer several innovations, such as new genres, new story-telling, new fund sourcing, and new marketing strategies. The Indonesian movie trajectory dynamics show that Indonesian audiences increasingly tend to appreciate Indonesian movies after the Reformation era. The analysis of 20 movies also demonstrates that producing highly creative and qualified Indonesian movies that are commercially successful is possible through appropriate strategies. Hence, producing movies is not always a “gamble.” In other words, moviemakers who can manage their creativity paradox effectively will likely be appreciated by audiences or penetrate the market. We also develop a new model that represents the important factors in managing the creativity paradox. The movie industry arguably needs six key factors to minimize the creativity paradox, namely (i) new storyline ideas, (ii) attractive story-telling or script, (iii) sufficient field research, (iv) high-quality cinematography, (v) innovative marketing strategies, and (vi) famous actors and actresses. Besides, the Indonesian government's role remains crucial to support the Indonesian movie industry, especially in marketing the movies in the domestic market.

This research contributes to the literature by highlighting how to manage creativity and its paradoxes in the movie industry. This research has several limitations. First, we only analyze movie production in the Post-Reformation era. Second, this study does not discuss television movies. Third, only informants from eight cities were selected in this research. We then advise future studies to expand their research data and use different research approaches for the analysis.

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APPENDIX

Table 2
Analysis of Creativity in Twenty Post-Reformation Indonesian Films

No	Movie Title	Producer/ Director	Number of Viewers	Opinion	From	Experts
				Novelty	Originality	Meaningful ness
1	<i>Puisi Tak Terkuburkan</i> (Unburied Poem)	Garin Nugroho	---	√	√	√
2	<i>Petualangan Sherina</i> (Sherina's Adventure)	Mira Lesmana	1,400,000	√	√	√
3	<i>Denias: Senandung di Atas Awan</i> (Denias: Hum above the Clouds)	Nia Zulkarnaen and others.	200,000	√	√	√
4	<i>Jelangkung</i>	Jose Purnomo	1,300,000	√	--	--
5	<i>Virgin: Ketika Keperawanan Dipertanyakan</i> (Virgin: When Virginity Questioned)	Hanny R, Saputra, Chand Parwez Servia, and others	1,100,000	√	--	--
6	<i>Tabula Rasa</i> (Blank Slate)	Sheila Timothy	27,829	√	√	√
7	<i>Get Married</i>	Chand Parwez S.	1,389,454	√	--	--
8	<i>Si Jago Merah</i> (The Red Champion)	Chand Parwez S.	44,684	--	√	--
9	<i>Kuntilanak 2</i>	Raam Punjabi, Rizal Mantovani	1,200,000	--	--	--
10	<i>Bulan Terbelah di Langit Amerika</i> (Split Moon over American Sky)	Rizal Mantovani	838,383	--	√	--
11	<i>Sang Pemimpi</i> (LP 2) (<i>The Dreamers</i>)	Mira Lesmana	1,742,242	√	--	√
12	<i>Penghuni Lain</i> (Other Occupants)	Roman Malik	16,045	--	--	--
13	<i>Sokola Rimba</i> (Jungle School)	Mira Lesmana / Riri Riza	39,443	√	√	√
14	<i>Lima Elang</i> (Five Eagles)	Santy Harmayn, Salman Aristo/ Rudy Soejarwo	121,764	√	√	√
15	<i>Siti</i>	Ifa Isfansyah	9,030	√	√	√
16	<i>Miracles: Jatuh dari Surga</i> (Miracles: Falling from Heaven)	Ichwan Persada	8,207	√	√	--
17	<i>The Raid</i>	Ario Sagantoro / Gareth Evans	759,895	√	√	√

No	Movie Title	Producer/ Director	Number of Viewers	Opinion Novelty	From Originality	Experts Meaningful ness
18	Habibie <i>dan</i> Ainun (Habibie and Ainun)	Damoo Punjabi dan Manoj Punjabi / Faozan Rizal	4,488,889	√	√	√
19	5 cm	Sunil dan Ram Soraya, Rizal M.	2,392,210	--	--	--
20	<i>Aach...</i> Aku Jatuh Cinta (<i>Aach...</i> I'm Falling in Love)	Raam Punjabi, Garin Nugroho	20,757	√	√	--